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GREAT BRITAIN,

Chiefly of England,

FROM THE FIRST PLANTING OF CHRISTIANITY, TO THE END OF
THE REIGN OF KING CHARLES THE SECOND;

WITH A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE
AFFAIRS OF RELIGION IN IRELAND.

COLLECTED FROM THE BEST ANCIENT HISTORIANS, COUNCILS, AND RECORDS,

BY
JEREMY COLLIER, M.A.

NEW EDITION,
WITH A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR, THE CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS CONNECTED
WITH THE HISTORY, NOTES, AND AN ENLARGED INDEX, BY
FRANCIS BARHAM, ESQ.

*Juvat integros accedere fontes,
Atque haurire. LUCRET.
Nec studio, nec odio.*

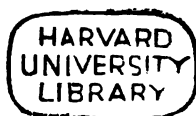
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AN

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

PART II.—BOOK V.

THE duke of Northumberland's ambition had been hitherto successful. He had prevailed with the king to overlook the lady Mary's right, to break through an act of parliament, and transfer the crown upon the lady Jane of the house of Suffolk. MARY.
341.

His next business was to draw the lady Mary within his reach. To this purpose, a letter was sent, signed by the king and council, to bring her to court. The pretence was, that she might entertain the king, and make him pass his time the better in his sickness. The princess, being glad to find her interest revive and her person grow acceptable at court, set forward towards London. When she was come within half a day's journey, she received private intelligence from the earl of Arundel of the king's death, and that an ambush was laid for her. Upon this notice she retired into Norfolk. The king's death was kept secret two days, on purpose to draw her into the snare, and make London declare for the lady Jane.

Queen Mary, having withdrawn herself to a safe distance, sent a letter to the lords of the council, in which she expresses her regret for the king's death, and puts up her claim to the crown. She founds her title partly upon an act of parliament, and her father's last will, giving a hint of her prior right by descent and proximity of blood. From hence she proceeds to acquaint them she was not ignorant of the preparations they

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were making to overbear the constitution and defeat her right. However, she was willing to pardon what was done, and forget this usage, provided they recollected themselves, and went no farther from their duty. In the close, she charges them upon their allegiance to proclaim her in the city of London and elsewhere. This letter is dated from Kenning-hall, in Norfolk, July the 9th, 1553.

Fox, vol. 3.
p. 14.
*They deny
her title,
and advise
her to ac-
quiesce.*

The lords of the council, in their answer, which was immediately returned, gave her to understand they could not submit to her pretensions; that the crown was now vested in their sovereign lady queen Jane, "not only as they speak by good order of old ancient laws of this realm," but likewise by the disposition of the late king in his letters-patent signed by himself and under the broad seal; that the most part of the nobility, the privy council, the judges, and several other persons of distinction, had agreed to this conveyance, and subscribed the instrument. They put her in mind of the defects in her mother's marriage, of the divorce which happened, and of her own illegitimacy by act of parliament. They make the lady Jane's title stand upon a bottom of descent, and the plea of the "right line." They take their leave by advising the queen to drop her claim, and behave herself like a good subject. This letter is dated from the Tower of London, July the 9th, which is the same date with the former. It is signed thus, as it stands in Fox :—

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Thomas Canterbury.	R. Rich.
The Marquess of Win-	Huntington.
chester.	Darcy.
John Bedford.	Cheyney.
Will. Northampt.	R. Cotton.
Thos. Ely, Chancellor.	John Gates.
Northumberland.	W. Peter.
Henry Suffolke.	W. Cecill.
Henry Arundel.	John Cheeke.
Shrewsbury.	John Mason.
Pembroke.	Edward North.
Cobham.	R. Bowes.

All these, as Fox observes, excepting the duke of Northumberland and sir John Gates, were afterwards pardoned. As

to the council's letter, there are some things in it remarkably singular. They found the lady Jane's title upon the ancient laws of the realm ; when, it is very well known, the disposing the crown by letters-patent was altogether new and unprecedented. They seemed sensible this colour was too faint ; and, therefore, set forth afterwards that the lady Jane claimed by "just inheritance and lineal succession." But this was another plain mistake : for, not to mention the title of the princess Elizabeth, it is evident the queen of Scots, as being descended from the eldest daughter of king Henry VII., stood next upon the royal line. Thus we see to what distress great men are driven by a bad cause ; how they embarrass themselves with contradiction, and fall foul upon their own arguments.

To proceed : the council went on with the lady Jane's title, brought the mayor and aldermen into their interest, and proclaimed their pretended sovereign with the usual solemnity. This lady was conveyed from Durham-house to the Tower by water, and attended with a splendid train ; and though she suspected the meaning of this pompous appearance was to put a new character upon her, yet, not being certain of the king's death, she hoped he might either recover, or at least alter his resolution, and leave her to a private condition. But when she perceived the dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland, her father and father-in-law, saluted her with a new air of ceremony and submission, she seemed much surprised ; and now the duke of Northumberland acquainted her that the king was dead, had declared her his successor, and that her title was recognized in the manner above-mentioned. This was no acceptable speech to the lady Jane. She appeared disturbed, and at a loss, and by no means reconciled to her advancement. But, since an answer was to be given, after some pause for recollection, she told the duke of Northumberland, that, as far as she understood, natural right and the constitution of the kingdom cast the government upon the princess Mary ; that she was unwilling to encumber her life and her conscience with a character which did not belong to her ; that those who broke through right to grasp a sceptre were infamous in story ; that to scruple the stealing a shilling, and digest the usurpation of a crown, was mere bantering of justice, and mocking God Almighty. To this she added the instability of human affairs, and the danger of a public eminence ; and, therefore, desired the liberty of a

MARY.

July 10.
The lady
Jane pro-
claimed, but
accepts the
title unwill-
ingly.

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private station. But being solicited to accept the crown by the two dukes, her mother, and her husband, she forced her inclination, resigned to their importunities, and was dragged, as it were, into treason ; and since a young lady had so much authority to mislead her,—since she was so earnestly pressed by such near relations,—it is no wonder to find her understanding surprised ; and that she should surrender to their disposal.

Several persons of condition declare for queen Mary.

On the other side, the queen, having a fair intelligible title, gained upon the country, several persons of condition immediately declared for her, and went to her court. Amongst these were the earl of Bath ; sir Thomas Wharton, son to the lord Wharton ; sir John Mordaunt, son to the lord Mordaunt ; sir William Drury, sir John Shelton, sir Henry Benningfield, Henry Jerningham, John Sulierd, Richard Higham, &c. The lady Jane's council were likewise informed, that the earl of Sussex, and his son Henry Ratcliff, esq., were marching into the same interest with their forces. These things presaged a contest, and made a formidable appearance. It was therefore thought advisable to levy an army with all expedition, to seize the lady Mary, as they called her, and bring her to London. The duke of Suffolk was pitched upon for the general. His being the lady Jane's father, it is likely, recommended him to this post. But those of the council, who wished well to queen Mary, found their endeavours would be clogged unless the duke of Northumberland was sent off. They persuaded, therefore, the pretended queen to keep her father at court, and give the duke of Northumberland the command of the army ; that no man was better qualified for this employment than that duke ; that an insurrection in Norfolk having been lately suppressed by him, his name would dishearten the mutineers, and bring them to submission ; and, in case they proved obstinate, a nobleman so remarkable for conduct and courage was most likely to reduce them. The lady Jane, being solicitous for her father, closed with this wrong advice, and desired the duke of Northumberland to undertake the expedition. The duke, who was apprehensive of the consequence, would gladly have declined the charge ; but this being not within his choice, he immediately set forward with a body of six thousand,—Newmarket being appointed for the general rendezvous. As he marched through London, he was not saluted with any acclamations, or signs of countenance. The people gazed at him,

Northumberland commands the army for the lady June.

but gave no mark of their affection. He took notice of their coldness to the lord Grey. "The people," says he, "crowd after us; but I do not find any of them cry, 'God speed.'" MARY.

The queen had a strong interest in London, notwithstanding the lady Jane was in possession and managed the administration in the regal style: but no show of the nobility, no compliance of the judges, no sovereign figure, or pretence of religion, were thought a counterpoise to a legal title. The duke of Northumberland, who was a man of reach, had taken all the precaution imaginable, and made use of the best disguises. He knew queen Mary's religion was a very unacceptable circumstance. To harangue strongly upon this topic, and awaken the people's fears, must therefore be serviceable business. This was the most likely way to perplex the cause, to steal on the blind side of the subject, and debauch them from their duty. To this purpose he had engaged a great many of the London clergy to declaim against the queen, and frighten the audience with fears of persecution. Bishop Ridley was so unhappy as to engage in this service. He was ordered by the council to preach at Paul's-cross upon this occasion. And here he employed his rhetoric against queen Mary: he dilated upon the misfortunes of living under her government; that they must expect a foreign power would be brought in upon them; and, more than that, the established religion would be destroyed. And here he acquainted them with the conversation already mentioned, which passed between the queen and himself in the late reign; that she was unalterably fixed in her misbelief; and that nothing could be looked for from her reign but an utter subversion of the true faith, and overthrowing all that had been brought about with so much difficulty by the king her brother. *Bishop Ridley preaches for the lady Jane's interest.*
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Fox, p. 16.

Now it must be said, that this bishop, though in other respects a worthy person, mistook his point lamentably, and began at the wrong end of the business: he ought first to have disproved the queen's title, before he had prepossessed the people against her government. If she had a right by descent or act of parliament, a different religion could be no bar to her claim: there was not so much as any law pretended for that purpose¹. To preach against the queen from arguments of interest and convenience, was altogether foreign and indefensible: to recom-

¹ A similar argument was subsequently applied by the Non-jurors to the case of James II.

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mend injustice from the pulpit, was no good expedient to serve the reformation. But as it happened, the bishop's unfortunate harangue signified not much. The audience was not to be imposed on: they knew that unless they betrayed their faith, and threw their religion up, no power on earth could take it from them; that Christianity obliged them to be just, and "render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's."

*The fleet
comes into
the queen's
service.*

To go on: the people's inclination lay on the right side, and the queen now was reinforced with four thousand foot, commanded by sir Edward Hastings, brother to the earl of Huntington. These men were raised for the lady Jane, at the instance of the duke of Northumberland; and that which gave a farther advance, and seemed to turn the scale, was the coming in of six men of war into Yarmouth haven, and declaring for the queen. These ships were ordered by Northumberland to cruise upon the coast of Suffolk and Norfolk, and to intercept the queen in case she endeavoured an escape beyond sea. But being driven by storm into Yarmouth, Jerningham prevailed with them to take service under queen Mary. This was a lucky accident: and now the queen being furnished with artillery and ammunition, resolved to march against Northumberland. Another circumstance which increased her forces, was a promise she had given the Suffolk men, not to make any alteration in religion. If this promise came free and undemanded, it was an encouragement to their duty: but if they engaged upon condition, and articulated with their sovereign, their caution went too far. For either she had a right, or she had none: if she had none, their correspondence was criminal: if they believed she had a right, they ought to have run the risk of her government, served her without terms, and rested the event with Providence. The queen was now at Framlingham castle, near the sea in Suffolk; she marched hither for the better security of her person: for, from hence she might have transported herself, in case her affairs had miscarried.

*She promises
the Suffolk
men not to
make any
change in
religion.*

July 15.

To take a view of the course of matters on the other side. The duke of Northumberland marched from London to Cambridge, where he came in on Saturday the fifteenth, his being chancellor of the university, and high steward of the town, gave him fair expectations here. In the evening he sent for Dr. Edwyn Sandys, master of Catherine-hall, and vice-chancellor, and desired him to preach before him the next day. This was a touchy motion, considering the juncture; for the doctor could

neither decline nor comply, without apparent hazard. Besides, MARY.
the warning was short upon so critical an occasion. However,
the vice-chancellor, concluding it his best way to appear in the
pulpit, took a text, which looked on the duke's side, and seemed Josh. i. 16.
to favour the enterprise. But he hovered so much in generals, July 16.
managed with such caution, and left so much room for a neutral
construction, that he satisfied the audience, and yet kept
a reserve for defence with the other party. On Monday, the
duke of Northumberland marched with his troops to St.
Edmundsbury: but here, instead of receiving intelligence of
the reinforcement and rendezvous at Newmarket, letters of
very unacceptable contents were brought him, from some of the
lords of the council. And being disappointed in his succours,
and finding matters perplexed and going backward, he counter-
marched to Cambridge the next day. From hence he wrote
pressing letters to the lords of the council to send him more
forces. Those lords who were in the queen's interest, taking
a handle from this message, moved for the levying men with all
expedition: but then they were of opinion, that some of the
board ought to be employed in this commission: to trust any
body else might prove of ill consequence, and carry the forces
to the enemy, of which they had an instance already, in the
revolt of sir Edward Hastings. Upon this pretence, they pre-
vailed with the duke of Suffolk to open the Tower gates, and
give them their liberty. And now the marquess of Winchester,
lord treasurer, the earl of Pembroke, the earl of Arundel, the
lord Paget, and sir Thomas Cheyney, lord warden of the Cinque
Ports, began to discover themselves, and make a party for the
queen. To this purpose, they engaged as many of the council
as they could find, to meet at Baynard's castle: they pretended
dispatching some matters of state with Lavall, the French
ambassador; but their business was to set aside the lady Jane,
and bring on a revolution. And here, the earl of Arundel, who
had been sent to the Tower by Northumberland's contrivance,
opened the design, and fell upon the mal-administration in the
late reign. He told the lords, "that all the instances of
injustice, cruelty, and miscarriage, were to be charged upon
Northumberland: that this nobleman, contrary to all law and
conscience, had put by king Henry's issue from succeeding to
the crown: that he was strangely surprised, men of such qua-
lity and character, as their lordships, should suffer themselves

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Rom. iii. 8.
Rom. xiii. 5.

Godwin,
Annal.

*She is pro-
claimed in
London.*

*The council
declare for
the queen.*

to be governed by that duke, and assist him in his wicked practice: that it was by their countenance, a daughter of the house of Suffolk had taken the state of a queen, and appeared a royal pageant: but though this lady had the title, the power would be lodged with her father-in-law, Northumberland; and by this means he would have an opportunity of gratifying his ambition, of playing his humour at the full stretch, and disposing of their lives and fortunes at pleasure. It is true, religion," says he, "is made the great motive of these extraordinary proceedings; but this is nothing but pretence, and holy grimace. For, as to religion, if we are in earnest, that will not allow us such unwarrantable latitude. I am so much a divine, as to remember the apostle 'forbids us doing ill, that good may come of it:' and that we ought to be subject even to ill princes, 'not only for wrath, but for conscience-sake.' Besides, how is it certainly known that the princess Mary intends a change in religion? I am assured her answer to the Suffolk men implies a kinder resolution. Now what distraction is it to run upon inevitable ruin, only to avoid what may never happen? I heartily wish this had been considered at first, and no false steps made in the matter: but since misbehaviour can only be retrieved by counter-practice, I conceive the best thing we can do, is to quit the usurpation, and proclaim queen Mary."

The earl of Arundel's speech was seconded by the earl of Pembroke, who, clapping his hand to his sword, declared boldly that he was ready to fight any man of a contrary sentiment. The rest concurring in the same opinion, the lord mayor and aldermen were sent for, who, joining with the lords, went in a body to Cheapside, and proclaimed queen Mary with sound of trumpet; from hence they made a cavalcade to St. Paul's, where *Te Deum* was sung upon the occasion. The next business was to secure the Tower, which some would have thought they should have done in the first place; but, it is likely, they concluded the city's declaring for the queen would strike a terror into the duke of Suffolk, and frighten him to a surrender. This happened accordingly, for when the duke received a summons to join himself with the rest of the council, he went to the lady Jane's apartment, ordered her to lay aside the state of a queen, and content herself with the fortune of a subject. The lady, not at all discomposed, told her father she

was much better pleased with this news than when she mounted the throne, purely in obedience to himself and her mother. She was sensible her resigning to their authority, though against her inclination, was a great fault, but now she did that which perfectly pleased her. The duke of Suffolk went immediately to the council, and subscribed a recognition of the queen with the rest. When her majesty was proclaimed in the city, the people were extremely pleased with the turn : in-somuch, that at the pronouncing the name of Mary, they shouted so loud, that the rest of the proclamation could not be heard.

MARY.
Id. Stow.
Holinshead.

The lords Arundel and Paget, being thus successful in their attempt, went immediately to the queen with thirty horse, and gave her an account of what had passed. The rest of the board sent the duke of Northumberland intelligence how things stood, with orders to subscribe the recognition, and disband his army. The duke was not ignorant of the posture of affairs : and therefore, before he received their letter, he proclaimed queen Mary at the market-place in Cambridge, and threw up his cap, as a sign of satisfaction. The army was immediately disbanded, and the men of quality waited upon the queen ; and laying all the blame of the usurpation upon Northumberland, prevailed for their pardon. The lady Jane was taken into custody, and the duke of Northumberland arrested by the earl of Arundel, and brought up to London : the earl of Huntington, and the lord Hastings, the earl of Warwick, Ambrose and Henry, two other sons of the duke of Northumberland, Sir Andrew Dudley, his brother, sir Thomas Palmer, sir John Gates, Henry Gates, and Dr. Edwin Sandys, were likewise seized, brought up, and committed to the Tower. The earl of Huntington and his son were quickly discharged. Gates and Palmer were executed, the earl of Warwick, the duke of Northumberland's eldest son, fell sick, and died in prison. Ambrose and Henry Dudley were pardoned, and so was sir Andrew, their uncle, after he had been tried for treason, and found guilty. Dr. Sandys got friends to intercede for him, and after about a year's imprisonment, being set at liberty, went off into Germany. The duke of Suffolk, after four days' confinement, was, by an unusual clemency, pardoned¹. Sir John Cheek, the late king's preceptor, the chief justices, sir Roger Cholmeley

*She pardons
most of those
who had
appeared
against her.*

¹ Such clemency was indeed unusual in those times, and more than could have been anticipated.

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.

*Six miles
from Lon-
don.*

August 3.

*The deprived
bishops
restored.*

*Stow's
Annals,
p. 613.*

*Regist.
Bonner,
fol. 331.*

345.
Fox.

and sir Edward Mountague, who, with the rest of the judges, had given their opinion for defeating the queen's title, were likewise discharged; though Mountague did not come off without a fine. The princess Elizabeth, with a thousand persons of quality of both sexes in her train, rode from the Strand to Wanstead to congratulate her sister. And now the queen having got over the contest, disbanded her forces, consisting of about thirteen thousand men; and, being met by a numerous appearance of noblemen and ladies, made a solemn entrance into the city. When she came to the Tower, Thomas, duke of Norfolk; Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; Courtney, son and heir to Henry, late marquess of Exeter; and the duchess of Somerset, who were all confined in the Tower, presented themselves, and kneeled to her on the parade. She saluted them, and called them her prisoners. The next day, Courtney was created marquess of Exeter, and the other prisoners last mentioned pardoned and discharged. Two days after, as Stow reports, Bonner and Tunstal were set at liberty, and restored to their sees. Day of Chichester, and Heath of Worcester, lately deprived, had the same good fortune. As to the time of Bonner's restitution, Stow was somewhat mistaken, as appears by the date of a commission issued by the queen for this purpose. By this instrument, bearing date September the 5th, 1553, John Tregonnel and William Roper, esqrs., Geoffry Glyn, William Cooke, and Henry Cole, doctors of law, &c., are constituted delegates, to which the marquess of Winchester, the earl of Arundel, the earl of Derby, the earl of Shrewsbury, sir Richard Southwell, sir Robert Southwell, sir Edward Carne, and sir Richard Read, are joined for more solemnity. The purport of this commission was to authorize the persons above-mentioned to inquire into the process against bishop Bonner. These delegates, having examined the proceedings, pronounced his deprivation void, and restored him to the dignity, jurisdiction, and profits of his bishopric. By the way, these commissioners were most of them laymen, and any two empowered to give sentence. Thus, bishop Ridley was set aside, of course. This prelate, upon the queen's being proclaimed in London, went to wait on her at Framlingham-castle, where he was coldly received, as he might reasonably have expected.

On the ninth of August a funeral office was performed for king Edward. The dirige was sung in Latin. A mass of

requiem was celebrated the next day, at which the queen and ^{MARY.} the court ladies offered. The corpse was buried at Westminster; Day, bishop of Chichester, preached the sermon, and here all the service was in English. ^{Stow.}

Saunders thinks the queen was too much governed by her affection upon this occasion; he blames her for recommending her brother's soul to the mercy of God, and having any share in the funeral solemnity; his reason is, because the king died out of the communion of the Church—he means the Church of Rome. He tells us she was better instructed afterwards, and consented, though with great regret, that her father should not be publicly prayed for¹.

About this time Bourne, a canon of St. Paul's, preached at Paul's Cross. He was of a warm temper, and very averse to the reformation; he not only revived the old custom of praying for the dead, but likewise declared that Bonner, bishop of London, had been imprisoned and barbarously treated for preaching a sermon there about four years since. Some of the audience being exasperated with this passage, told him the bishop had preached abominable doctrine. Upon this others of the mob grew more mutinous, and were climbing the pulpit to pull him down. Bourne stepped back, and one Bradford, a preacher of note in king Edward's reign coming into his place, endeavoured to compose the people, and recover them to good behaviour. To this purpose, amongst other discourse, he cited the text in the epistle to the Romans, where St. Paul commands "every soul to be subject to the higher powers." But it seems passion was too strong for conscience at this time, for one of the audience launched a dagger at Bourne. It is true it missed him, but it was thrown with great force, as appeared by the rebound. Upon this, Bradford gave over his address, and with the assistance of one Rogers, another preacher, conveyed Bourne through the crowd with great difficulty, and lodged him in Paul's school.

De Schiam.
Anglic.
p. 353.

A disorder
at Paul's
Cross.

Stow and
Fox.

Upon this tumult an order of council passed, that the lord mayor and aldermen should call a common council the next day, and charge every householder within the liberties to take care their children, apprentices, and servants, should keep their parish churches on Sundays and holy days, and do nothing in disturbance of the public peace: and that every housekeeper should be obliged to answer for the behaviour of his family.

¹ Such was the amiable bigotry of ultra Romanism.

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.

Aug. 13.
*The queen
promises not
to alter re-
ligion.*

Council
Book.
Ex Biblioth.
R. Harley.
Armig.
*All preach-
ing without
the queen's
license for-
bidden.*
Council
Book.

Records,
num. 68.

*The legality
of the pro-
clamation
examined.*

The mayor and recorder were likewise commanded to set forth at the meeting, that on the twelfth instant the queen herself had declared to them, that notwithstanding her grace's persuasion as to religion continued as formerly, yet out of her royal clemency, her intention was not to force the consciences of her subjects, but leave them freely to their own recollection, and the instructions of godly preachers, which, through the divine assistance, she hopes may have a good effect. The mayor and aldermen were farther ordered to give notice to the curates within their respective wards to forbear preaching or public reading the Scriptures in their churches without a license from the queen.

A letter of the same import was directed to the bishop of Norwich, by which he was commanded not to suffer any person in his diocese, either priest, deacon, or otherwise distinguished, to preach or expound the Scriptures openly in any church, chapel, or other place, without special licence from the queen's highness. The same directions were probably sent to the rest of the bishops. Thus the pulpits were silenced, and the reformation in a manner stifled by the regal supremacy; and, to make the expedient operate more effectually, a proclamation was set forth, prohibiting all preaching or expounding of Scripture in any churches or elsewhere, except in the university schools, without the queen's license: and, because the proclamation seems nicely drawn, and great care taken in the manner of expression, I shall transcribe it for the reader, together with the form of the queen's license to preach.

That the queen pushed her prerogative in this proclamation, and carried the regale even beyond the stretch of the statutes in the two last reigns, is pretty apparent¹. For the clergy, being legally empowered to preach in their respective parishes, it is difficult to conceive how the silencing them could be warrantable, unless they had been convicted of some disabling offence, or suspended *ab officio* by their ordinary. To say the queen was head of the Church, and the fountain of all spiritual jurisdiction, is not sufficient to disentangle the case: for the crown is acknowledged the fountain of all temporal jurisdiction, and yet it is not within the power of the king or queen to shut up the courts of justice, to stop the course of law, or so much as to hinder any qualified person from pleading at the bar; and therefore, if the clergy had continued to preach, and taken no

¹ Something like a precedent occurred under Ed. VI.—Vide ante, page 262

notice of the proclamation, they could not have been legally punished. For when a man is settled in an office for life, he cannot be legally discharged the exercise of that office without proof of such misbehaviour as reaches to a forfeiture. And since there was no breach of duty in preaching, prior to this proclamation, it will follow there could be none after it. For, in the reign of king James I., it is resolved by the two chief justices, the chief baron, and another judge of the exchequer, "that the king by his proclamation cannot create any offence which was not an offence before; for then he may alter the law of the land by his proclamation in a high point. For if he may create an offence where none is, upon that ensues fine and imprisonment. They resolve farther, that the king has no prerogative but what the law allows him: that the law of England is divided into three parts, common law, statute law, and custom; but the king's proclamation is none of them." By this resolution, queen Mary's silencing the pulpits was altogether illegal.

MARY.

Coke's
Reports,
pt. 12.
fol. 76.

This proclamation discovered the strength of the queen's inclination, and gave a gloomy prospect to the reformed: however, some of the parochial clergy, thinking themselves either obliged in conscience, or at liberty by law, broke through the order, and continued their preaching: as for the rest, they acquiesced in the juncture, and went no farther than reading the Common Prayer, which was not prohibited. The other party, who stood affected to the Roman Catholic religion, concluding upon the countenance of the court, set up the altars, and officiated in the Latin service formerly received. This forwardness pleased the queen: whereas those who kept to the worship established, and declined over-running the laws, had a mark of dislike set upon them. Saunders blames the Roman Catholic clergy for officiating too hastily upon the queen's favour. He complains that many of them, who were involved in the late schism, never considered what censure and disabilities they lay under from the canons, and what objections there lay against the bishops that ordained them; but rushed through the discipline of the Church, and pressed up to the holy altars, without thought or reverence; and, for a punishment of this criminal negligence, he seems to believe the blessing of the queen's reign was shortened, and the face of religion changed.

346.

*The Roman
Catholic
clergy
censured by
Saunders.*

Saunders de
Schism.
Anglic.

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.

Council
Book.
*Several of
the reformed
bishops com-
mitted.*

The queen being resolved to set up her own way of worship, modelled the ministry accordingly : for this purpose, the broad seal was taken from Gooderick, bishop of Ely, and Gardiner of Winchester was made lord chancellor ; and, to strike a terror into the other party, and make them more passive to the court measures, some of the most eminent prelates and clergy were committed : for instance, Ridley was sent to the Tower, and Cox, dean of Christ Church, to the Marshalsea ; Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, and Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, were brought before the council, and committed to the Fleet ; and Latimer, late bishop of Worcester, appearing before the lords of the board, was, for his seditious demeanour, as the council-book words it, committed close prisoner to the Tower.

*The duke of
Northum-
berland's
trial.*

The next remarkable occurrence is the death of the duke of Northumberland, who, on the eighteenth of August, together with William Parr, marquess of Northampton, and John, earl of Warwick, the duke's eldest son, were arraigned at Westminster-hall, before Thomas, duke of Norfolk, then lord high steward. When the duke was brought to the bar, he acknowledged himself the queen's subject, and made strong professions of his allegiance, owned he had misbehaved himself, and that he did not intend to make any defence as to matter of fact ; but, being bred to the law, he desired the judgment of the court in two points : " First, whether a man acting by authority of the prince's council, and by warrant of the great seal of England, and doing nothing without the same, might be charged with treason for any thing which he might do by warrant thereof.

" Secondly, Whether any such persons as were equally culpable in that crime, and those by whose letters and commandments he was directed in all his doings, might be his judges, or pass upon his trial as his peers."

To the first question, the court, by advice of the judges, answered, " that the broad seal, pleaded by the duke, was not the seal of the lawful queen of the realm, nor passed by authority, but the seal of an usurper, and therefore could be no warrant to him." The answer to his second question was, " that if any persons were as deeply concerned in the revolt as himself, yet, in regard there was no attainder upon record against them, they were qualified by law to sit upon any trial, and

not to be challenged but at the prince's pleasure." To this the duke made little reply, but confessed the indictment, and so likewise did the other prisoners. MARY.
Stow's
Annals.

When judgment was given, the duke entreated the lords to move the queen's clemency for his sons : they were capable, he said, of doing good service to the public : that their taking the field against her majesty was purely an act of obedience to their father, and not any voluntary motion of their own. He likewise desired he might have some learned divine assigned him to settle his conscience, and assist him in his devotions ; and that two of the privy council might be sent to him, to whom he had some things to communicate, which might be very serviceable to her majesty.

Heath, lately restored to the see of Worcester, was ordered by the queen to visit the duke of Northumberland, and prepare him for death. And here the duke, either for want of arguments, or in hopes of a pardon, was gained over to the Roman Catholic persuasion. That his belief was different from his former profession, appears by his speech upon the scaffold :—where he cautions the people against novelties in religion ; *His speech.* and charges his death by being misled by false teachers : that these seditious preachers had opened the book, but did not know how to shut it. He exhorts them, therefore, to return to the old Catholic faith : that since this new teaching was entertained, God had withdrawn his grace, given up the nation, and punished them with tumults and rebellion, with plague and famine, not to mention other calamities : he therefore continues to exhort them to pay their duty to the government, and recover themselves to the ancient belief. That the confusions in Germany were a dismal instance of the danger in quitting the true religion : that the Catholic faith was an article of our creed : that this declaration was voluntary and unsuggested, and that it was formerly his inward belief, he appeals to the bishop of Worcester.

This duke was eldest son to sir Edmund Sutton, alias Dudley. This Dudley was a judge in the reign of king Henry VII. It was he and Emson, another judge, who suggested the project of putting old penal laws in execution, by which the subject was very much harassed : for which oppression they were afterwards both called to an account, and executed. His son, of whom I am now speaking, after some proficiency in the

Cotton.
Lib. Titms.
B. 2.
And character.

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.

347.

common law, applied himself to the profession of arms; and, notwithstanding his father's misbehaviour, was well received by king Henry VIII. It must be said, he recommended himself to his prince with advantage enough: he appeared enterprising and brave, and distinguished himself in the field upon all occasions. Thus he was raised for his merit by king Henry, who made him viscount Lisle, knight of the Garter, and admiral of England. He had reach and capacity, no less than courage, and wanted no qualification for a good general. He was likewise fortunate in his expeditions, and came off generally with success; but, after all, his principles were weak, and his conscience slenderly guarded. Thus his designs being nothing but interest, he over-grasped his subject, and his ambition undid him.

About this time, a report was raised, that Cranmer, to make his court to the queen, had promised to officiate in the Latin service. To wipe off this aspersion, the archbishop drew up a manifesto in defence of the Reformation. It runs to this effect:—

Fox, vol. 3.
p. 94.
*Archbishop
Cranmer's
manifesto.*

“As the devil is a liar, and the father of lying, so he has now stirred up his servants to persecute Christ, and his true religion. That whereas the great abuses of the Latin masses had been reformed in the two late reigns, and the service of the holy supper performed agreeably to the institution of our Saviour, and the practice of the apostles; so now the devil endeavours to restore the Latin satisfactory masses, a thing of his own invention and device. To bring this more easily about, some people have abused my name, and spread a story, as if I had set up the mass at Canterbury, and that I had offered to say mass before the queen at St. Paul's, and elsewhere.

“The archbishop denies the fact, protests against every part of the story, as a downright calumny: and with the queen's leave, offers to justify the English communion service, both from the authority of the Scriptures and the practice of the primitive Church. And on the other side, that the mass is not only without foundation in both these respects, but likewise discovers a plain contradiction to antiquity, and the inspired writings; and is stuffed, over and above, with many horrid blasphemies. And whereas Peter Martyr had been maliciously charged with ignorance by some people, the arch-

bishop, with the queen's leave, undertakes that this divine, MARY.
 himself, and four or five more of his choosing, will maintain the Reformation made in the late reign, with respect to doctrine, discipline, and worship, to be more orthodox and defensible, more agreeable to the true standard and primitive plan, than the belief and practice of the Church of Rome." The conditions required by the archbishop in the dispute, are these : " That God's word may be the judge, and that the arguments urged on both sides may be put in writing ; that the world may examine the force of what is alleged, and that neither party may have an opportunity of denying their assertions."

This declaration of the archbishop was penned with great vehemence and ruggedness of expression. Indeed, his zeal seems to have transported him too far. St. Paul when at Athens makes use of no provoking language, but disputes very gently even against the heathen idolatry. And afterwards, when Demetrius had raised the mob of Ephesus against him, Gallio, one of the magistrates, told the people, that the Christians they had brought before him had neither robbed their churches nor blasphemed their goddess. Now if persons who Acts xvii.

had infallibility and apostolic commission, declined opprobrious terms, and were smooth in their application : if the case is thus, those of lower qualifications should, one would think, be temperate in their manner, and not indulge themselves in greater lengths of invective ; especially when they argue against a communion of Christians, and where both sides are agreed in the fundamentals of belief. But passions are sometimes strong, and allowance must be made for human infirmities. Besides, this paper of the archbishop's, lying in his window, was transcribed by bishop Scory, before it was finished, and shewn to several others. That the archbishop might have softened some of the expressions upon a review, is not impossible : but the manifesto being handed from one to another, it was not long before the council had notice of it. Acts xix.

The archbishop being ordered to appear, was questioned about it, and prompted to make an acknowledgment of his fault. Cranmer's answer was, that he did not deny his being the author of those papers, and that he was sorry they slipped through his hands in so imperfect a condition. " For," says he, " I intended to publish this declaration in a more ample manner, to have put my seal to it, and set it up at St. Paul's He is summoned before the council and committed.

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.

Heylin,
Hist. Ref.

Sept. 8,
1553.

Council
Book.
*His reso-
lution.*

Antiq. Brit.

*Peter
Martyr
permitted to
quit the
kingdom.*
348.

cathedral, and at all the other church-doors in London." There could be no interest in this answer: this was braving danger with a witness, and could proceed from nothing but conscience and extraordinary courage. However, the council were highly disobliged, looked upon the paper as a quarrelsome challenge, by which the archbishop endeavoured to prepossess the people, and create an aversion to their religion. And therefore, after a long and serious debating his offence by the whole board, "it was thought convenient, that as well for the treason committed by him against the queen's majesty, as for the aggravating the same his offence by spreading seditious bills, and moving tumults to the disquiet of the state, he should be committed to the Tower, there to remain, or be referred to justice, or further ordered, as shall stand with the queen's pleasure." The storm gathering against the Reformation was by this time easily foreseen; and therefore Cranmer, while at liberty, was advised to be governed by the caution and example of his friends, and consult his safety by retiring beyond sea: to which he very generously answered, that if it were to avoid his being prosecuted for any crime against the state, he should more willingly have resigned to their advice; but now, since his religion, in opposition to the errors of popery, was his greatest fault, he was resolved to run the risk, and rather lose his life than quit the kingdom.

This rigour against the English made the foreigners take the alarm, and provide for their going off. Peter Martyr's appearing so vigorously against the doctrines of the Church of Rome in the late reign, had now brought him under a character of disadvantage: and being publicly maltreated at Oxford, he retired to Lambeth some little time before the archbishop's imprisonment. Some of the bigoted papists moved for his commitment; but others of more justice and temper alleged, that since he came into England by the encouragement of the government, and under the protection of a safe-conduct, it would be dishonourable not to allow him the benefit of so solemn a security. This opinion carried it: and thus being discharged of his professorship at Oxford, he had a pass to go beyond sea, and was handsomely furnished with conveniences for his voyage by the lord chancellor Gardiner. But he was not used with the same civility with respect to his wife, who had been some time interred in St. Frideswide church, in

Oxford: for her corpse by public order was afterwards taken up and buried in a dunghill. Bucer and Fagius were treated much at the same rate at Cambridge; their bones being taken up and burnt. This persecuting pretended heterodoxy in the grave carries a coarse appearance, and looks like ill-directed severity. Tertullian complains, the heathens served the Christians in this manner, and reckons it as one of the last instances of inhumanity.

MARY.

Sannders de Schism. Anglic.

Tertull. Apologet.

About the same time, John Alasco had orders to forbear preaching, to break up his congregation, and quit the country. Their going off was reckoned a favour, as affairs stood: for it seems some who had a great share in the government, would have had them stopped for worse usage. The French Protestants quitted the kingdom soon after: and that they might have no colour to defer their voyage, orders were sent to the mayors of Rye and Dover to give all of them leave to embark, excepting such whose names were returned by the French ambassadors. Notwithstanding this order, great numbers both of the French and Dutch continued still in the kingdom: and had not some of them misbehaved themselves, they might probably have been undisturbed; but of this afterwards.

Notwithstanding archbishop Cranmer resolved to stand the shock, great numbers thought it advisable to withdraw. Some went to Antwerp, some to Emden, some to Deuxbourg, to Strasburg, and Worms. Some went to Frankfort, to Basil, Zurich, to Arrow, and to Geneva. These refugees are reckoned about three hundred by some writers, but others mount them to about eight hundred. The most considerable of the clergy were these: Poinet, bishop of Winchester; Barlow, of Bath and Wells; Scory, of Chichester; Coverdale, of Exeter; and Bale, of Ossory; Richard Cox, dean of Christ-church and Westminster; James Haddon, dean of Exeter; Robert Horn, dean of Durham; William Turner, dean of Wells; Thomas Sampson, dean of Chichester; Edmund Cranmer, archdeacon of Canterbury; John Ailmer, archdeacon of Stow; Bullingham, archdeacon of Lincoln; Young, precentor of St. David's; to these may be added, Grindal, King, Edwyn Sands, Jewel, Reynolds, Pilkington, Alexander Noel, John Knox, Anthony Gilby, Whittingham, Cole, Mountayne, Beaumont, Bentham, Bradbridge, John Fox, &c. The laity of distinction were, Katharine, last wife of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk;

Several of the reformed withdraw beyond sea.

Heylin's Hist. Ref. Memorial of Cranmer.

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.

Pref. to
Cranmer's
Book of the
Sacrament
in Latin.
Fuller.
Heylin.
*Horn's
apology for
retiring.*

Robert Bertie, esq., husband to this duchess; sir Thomas Wroth, sir Richard Morrison, sir Anthony Cook, sir John Cheek, &c. Those who went off unfurnished were supported with contributions from England. By the way, several of these refugees did not go off till some months after this time¹.

Horn, dean of Durham, soon after he got beyond sea, printed an apology for quitting the kingdom. He takes notice of his hearing some crimes concerning the state laid to his charge: that it was reported three letters had been written to him in the queen's name: that the purport of them was to command him to London. He protests he received but one of these, which was given him on the road, as he was coming up to clear himself: and that now, being apprehensive of harsh usage, he made his escape. In this apology he undertakes the defence of the preachers in the late reign, against whom it was now objected, that they neglected fasting and prayer, and indulged the people in all manner of liberty. This, he said, was altogether calumny: that, on the other hand, the great men, in king Edward's time, were so much disgusted at the freedom taken by the preachers, that many of them would hear no

Bp. Burnet,
pt. 2. p. 251.

sermons. The queen, to recommend her government, remitted a subsidy of four shillings in the pound for land, and two shillings and eight pence for stock, granted by king Edward's last parliament, and by consequence now due to the crown.

Upon the first of October the queen was crowned at Westminster. The bishop of Winchester officiated at the coronation service, and Day, bishop of Chichester, preached the sermon: the solemnity was very magnificent, and performed with the old ceremonies. The fifth of this month the parliament met.

The session was opened with a solemn mass of the Holy Ghost, according to the old custom. Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, and Harley, bishop of Hereford, came thither, as it is said, with a resolution to justify their doctrine. Fox reports, that when the service began these two bishops withdrew, out of scruple of conscience. The bishop of Lincoln was afterwards questioned for his non-compliance, and commanded to attend the lords; but died before the matter came to an issue: and,

Fox, vol. 3.
p. 19.

¹ Some historians state, there were above one thousand Protestant Englishmen who thus got safely out of the country by passing for foreigners.—Vide Rapin and Tindal.

as for Harley, he was excluded the house upon the score of his being married. But Beal, clerk of the council, in queen Elizabeth's time, relates this matter somewhat differently: he says, "Bishop Taylor took his place in his robes, but refusing to give any reverence to the mass, was violently thrust out of the house:" but as to Harley he says nothing.

MARY.

Bp. Burnet,
pt. 2, p. 252.

This parliament is censured for unfree elections, false returns, and illegal discharging of some of the members; but it is not probable the government would venture upon straining the constitution to this degree, nor be so early in violence. Besides, all this black imputation stands upon the credit of Beale's testimony. Now this Beale was not only a bigoted non-conformist, but, which is much worse, a person of a furious tempestuous spirit: he misbehaved himself, as will be seen afterwards, to a scandalous degree, and failed both in temper and probity.

Ibid.

The first act of this parliament was the repeal of certain statutes made in the two last reigns, concerning treason, felony, and præmunire. More particularly, all treasons are reduced to the statute of 25 Edw. III. cap. 2.; and all offences made præmunire since 1 Hen. VIII. are discharged that penalty.

Treasons enacted in the two last reigns repealed.

This first session continued but to the one-and-twentieth of this month, after which it was prorogued to the twenty-fourth. By repealing the acts of treason and præmunire in the two late reigns, the papists were more at liberty, and the terror of the regale was in a great measure taken off. Before I proceed to the second session, I shall give the reader a short account of the posture of affairs in the universities. To begin with Oxford: upon the queen's accession to the throne, the Roman Catholics, not waiting for any directions from the court, brought the old service into the churches, with all the train of ceremonies formerly used. The reformed, on the other side, went on with the English Common Prayer, though they almost despaired of having that liberty continued, and dreaded the approaching parliament. In short, both parties endeavoured to maintain their credit, and support themselves in their respective persuasion. The Roman Catholics laid themselves out in regulating the manners, and procuring the improvement of the young students: they made it their business to strike the imagination of the people, and appear solemn and pompous in their devotions: the reformed, besides the use of the English Liturgy, harangued the audience, argued for their doctrine,

1 Mary,
sess. 1. cap. 1.

The posture of affairs in the universities.

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and exerted themselves in the pulpit. Thus religion was party-coloured for some time in the university. But, when the queen's resolution was farther known, the heads of the college thought it proper to send up an address, and Mr. Jewel, fellow of Corpus Christi, was ordered to draw it. This was a nice task, and put upon him, without question, by those who meant no kindness : for it was taken for granted, he must either provoke the Roman Catholics, or lose the good opinion of his own party. But Jewel was so dexterous in his composition, as to escape the ambush. The address being both respectful and guarded, passed the approbation of Tresham, the vice-chancellor, and some other heads, and was well received by the queen. The substance of it was to this effect :

*The Oxford
address
penned by
Jewel.*

"The melancholy the university lay under for the death of king Edward was all dispelled by the expectation of a glorious reign in her majesty : that they were indeed extremely afflicted at the loss of so promising a prince as the late king ; but now that trouble was turned into joy by her majesty's success, and making her way to the throne through so much danger : and that they were sensible the public prosperity depended on her highness's preservation." Then the address dilates upon "the plots and rebellions concerted and raised against her ; what making of interest, what levying of money, what warlike preparations were on foot upon this occasion." Then there is mention made with what demonstrations "of loyalty and regard the queen was received in other places : that though the university of Oxford were not furnished with the ornaments of wealth to express their satisfaction ; however, what remained, which was little more than their learning, was entirely at her majesty's service. And though it was not in their power to show their joy and perform their duty in so pompous a manner, yet they should not fail doing it with the same heartiness and affection with the rest of her subjects : and that they should not cease to beg of God Almighty, that as the beginning of her majesty's reign has been prosperous and without bloodshed, so the same course of happiness may be all along continued."

Wood's
Hist. et
Antiq.
Oxon. lib. 1.
p. 274. et
deinc.

When Jewel penned this address, he had great hopes the queen would not have gone so far as she did in the alterations of religion ; for when she was proclaimed at Oxford, several noblemen gave the university such an expectation. After Peter Martyr's leaving the chair at Oxford, the divinity schools had a very thin audience. The greatest number of

the reformed belonged to Christ Church, Magdalen, and Corpus Christi: the two latter, with New College, were under the jurisdiction of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. This prelate delegated sir Richard Read and Dr. Wryght, archdeacon of Oxford, to visit these societies and model them to his fancy. These visitors set up the mass, punished non-compliers, and turned out several fellows. John Fox, the martyrologist, and Lawrence Humphrey were two of those ejected.

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Several ejected in both universities.

At Cambridge, where Gardiner was chancellor, most of the heads were turned out. None but Bacon, master of Gonville-hall, and Evans, master of Magdalen-college, continued unremoved.

About this time Holgate, archbishop of York, was committed to the Tower for heinous offences, without naming what the crimes were. It must be confessed this prelate was not of the most unblemished reputation. He had scandalously betrayed his see, and parted with almost all the manors to king Henry VIII., as hath been already observed. Besides this, he lay under a coarse imputation with respect to his marriage. By an order of council in the late reign, a letter was directed to him, to stop his coming up to town till the parliament sat. There was likewise a letter sent by the council to sir Thomas Gargrave, Mr. Chaloner, and Dr. Bookesby, "to search and examine the very truth of the matter between the archbishop and one Norman, who claimed the archbishop's wife to be his wife. And for their further instructions, the supplication of the said Norman is sent to them inclosed." It is not improbable, therefore, this might be one of the heinous offences for which he was imprisoned. For in the instrument of his deprivation it is said, "he was for his marriage committed to the Tower and deprived."

Fuller's Hist. Univ. Camb. Holgate, Archbishop of York, imprisoned, 37 Hen. 8. cap. 16.

Nov. 25, 1551. Council Book.

Harmer.

Upon the twenty-fourth of October, the parliament sat again, after two days' prorogation. I shall mention what passed with relation to the Church. First, the queen is declared born in lawful matrimony, and all sentences of divorce between king Henry VIII. and queen Catherine of Spain made void.

The statute sets forth, "that some very few malicious and perverse persons, envying the happiness of the king and kingdom, injected scruples into his highness's conscience, and brought him to a persuasion of the unlawfulness of his mar-

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The marriage between king Henry and Catharine of Spain declared lawful by the parliament.

riage. And to this intent, by bribery, menacing, and corrupt practices, prevailed with several universities, both abroad and at home, to declare against the marriage of her majesty's father and mother. And that Thomas Craumer, then newly made archbishop of Canterbury, most ungodly, and against all laws of equity and conscience, prosecuting the same wicked device of divorce and separation of the said king your father, and the said queen your mother, called before him *ex officio*, the hearing of the said matter of marriage, and taking his foundation partly from his own unadvised judgment of the Scripture, joining therewith the pretended testimonies of the said universities, and partly from bare and most untrue conjectures, gathered and admitted by him upon matters of no strength or effect, but only by supposal, and without admitting or hearing any thing that could be said by the queen your mother, or by any on her behalf, in the absence of the said late queen your mother, proceeded, pronounced, decerned, declared, and gave sentence, the same most lawful and undoubted matrimony to be nought, and to be contracted against God's law, and to be of no value," &c. From hence the act proceeds to repeal so much of the statutes of 25 Hen. VIII., cap. 22, and 28 Hen. VIII., cap. 7, as confirm the sentence of divorce. And in the last clause it is enacted, that the "marriage had and solemnized between your said most noble father king Henry, and your said most noble mother queen Katherine, shall be definitively, clearly, and absolutely declared, deemed, and adjudged to be and stand with God's law and his holy word, and to be accepted, reputed, and taken of good effect and validity, to all intents and purposes."

1 Mary,
sess. 2. cap. 1.

From hence it appears, this parliament under queen Mary made themselves judges of the meaning of the Scripture, and pronounced upon a cause within the verge of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

This act is supposed to acknowledge the papal supremacy by implication. The ground of this supposition is, that the lawfulness of the marriage stood upon the dispensation of pope Julius II., and therefore the act which declares the marriage good must by consequence acknowledge the pope's authority.

1 Hist. Trent.

And therefore father Paul thinks it a great singularity in the English nobility to oppose the restitution of the papal supremacy, which it seems they did afterwards, upon the queen's

motion for its revival. The historian represents this as an odd scruple, since their declaring for the marriage had involved their recognition of the pope's jurisdiction. But the reasoning of this author seems not conclusive. For the parliament might found their declaration upon Deuteronomy xxv. 5, and believe that king Henry VIII.'s marriage with Catherine of Spain stood upon the reason and equity of that law. MARY.

Notwithstanding the queen's clemency in pardoning most of those who endeavoured to set up the lady Jane, there seems to have been still some secret practices against her: for about this time, Robert Taylor, Edmund Coat, and Thomas Wood, were brought before the lords of the council, for their lewd reports that king Edward was alive. They were ordered to find sureties for their forthcoming. One Robert Robertham, belonging to the wardrobe, was soon after committed to the Fleet for the same misdemeanor, not to mention several others. Nov. 22, 1555.
Council Book.

To return: the act which stands next upon the print repeals certain statutes concerning religion, made in the late reign. The preamble sets forth, "that forasmuch as by divers and several acts, as well the divine service and good administration of the sacrament, and divers other matters of religion (which we and our forefathers found in this Church of England, to us left, by the authority of the Catholic Church,) be partly altered and in some part taken from us, and in place thereof new things imagined and set forth by the said act, such as a few of singularity have devised; whereof have ensued amongst us in very small time, numbers of divers and strange opinions, and diversities of sects, and thereby grown great unquietness and much discord, to the great disturbance of the commonwealth of this realm," &c. *Several statutes touching religion repealed.*

This act repealed the statutes in the late reign, for giving the communion in both kinds; for establishing the first and second liturgy; for confirming the new ordinal; for setting aside certain fasts and festivals formerly observed: and further by this act, the statute which allowed the marriage of priests, and legitimated their children, was repealed: and so likewise was the statute for making bishops by the king's letters-patent, and exercising their episcopal jurisdiction. By the way, the taking away this last act was undoubtedly a good thing. As to the rest, the Reformation was maimed by them, made illegal, Statutes at Large.
1 Mar. sess. 2. cap. 2.

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and the bishops and priests brought under incapacities for their function.

It is further enacted by this statute of repeal, "that all such divine service, and administration of the sacraments as were most commonly used in England, in the last year of the reign of king Henry VIII. shall be revived and practised after the twentieth of December next following:" after which term the officiating in any other service is forbidden. And lastly, it is provided that all persons of the clergy shall be at liberty in the mean time to use either the old or new service.

*An act
against
disturbing
preachers.*

The next act makes it penal to disturb any preacher in his sermon, or any priest in administering any part of divine service: and if any person abused the host, broke down an altar, crucifix, or any image in churches, chapels, or church-yards, they were to be seized by the constables, churchwardens, or any person present, brought before a justice of peace, and suffer three months' imprisonment. If the congregation connived at the disorder, and refused to apprehend the offender, the parish was to forfeit five pounds; and so were those who rescued them after an arrest. There is a proviso in this statute for saving the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts; and thus he that had been punished by the ordinary, stood clear of prosecution from the justices of peace, for any of the crimes above mentioned: and so on the other side, if the offender had been punished by secular justice, the ordinaries could not meddle with him. The divine service and sacraments protected by this act are only such offices as were prior to the Reformation, and used in the last year of the reign of king Henry VIII., or which should be allowed or set forth by the queen's majesty.

¹ Mary,
sess. 2. cap. 3.

It is probably supposed the late disorders at St. Paul's Cross, and throwing the dagger at Bourn the preacher, occasioned the making this act.

And to prevent mutinies and commotions of this kind, it is enacted by this parliament, "that if any persons, to the number of twelve or above, being assembled together at any time after the twentieth day of December next comming, shall intend, go about, practise, or put in ure, with force of armes unlawfully, and of their own authority, to alter or chaunge any laws made or established for religion by authority of parliament, which shall stand in force after the sayd twentieth day of December,

or any other laws or estates of this realm, or any of them : MARY.
 the same number of twelve, or above, beyng commanded or
 required by the sheriffe of the shier, or by any justice of peace
 of the same shier, or by the mayer, sheriffe, justices of peace, or
 bailiffes of any citie, borough, or town corporate, where any such
 assemblies shall be unlawfully had or made, by proclamation in
 the queen's name, to retire and repayre to their own houses,
 habitations, or places from whence they came, and they or any
 of them, notwithstanding such proclamation, shall remaine and
 make their abode, or continue together, by the space of one
 hole hour after such commandment or request made by pro-
 clamation, or after that shall wyllnglye, in forceable and
 ryotous manner, attempte to doe, or put in ure, any of the
 things above specified, that then, as well everye such abode or
 continuing together, as everye such act or offence, that after
 such commandment, or request, by proclamation had or made,
 shall be attempted to be done, practised, or put in ure by any
 persons, beyng of the number aforesayde, shall be judged
 felony in all and singular those persons that so shall make
 theyr abode, or continue together, or shall attempte or committ
 any such acte, and the offendours therein to be adjudged
 felons, and shalle suffre onley execution of death, as in case of
 felonye."

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This act is ordered to be read and published at every
 quarter session, and at every leet and law day.

1 Mary,
 sess. 2.
 cap. 12.
 Statutes at
 Large.
*The duke of
 Norfolk's
 attainder
 repealed.*

This sessions the attainder against the duke of Norfolk was
 repealed. Those who had purchased part of this nobleman's
 estate of the crown pleaded against the passing the bill. The
 case being somewhat remarkable, I shall translate it from
 Dyer's Reports. When this bill of attainder was passed by
 both houses, in the last year of king Henry VIII., the king
 by his letters-patent, mentioning the bill, gave the royal assent
 to it, empowering three or four of the lords to consent to it in
 his name. These letters-patent, as the purchasers set forth,
 were signed Henry Rex, under the king's hand. The broad
 seal was likewise put to them, and the commission annexed to
 the bill. The bill was likewise endorsed in these words, " soit
 fait come est desire."

Dated Jan.
 27. An. 38.
 Regni sui.

Now it was strongly debated by the judges whether this act
 was good or not. Those who had purchased some of the
 duke's estate procured a certiorari, directed to two clerks of

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the parliament, to certify the tenor of an act of parliament by which the duke of Norfolk was attainted. And here one of the clerks only made a certificate of the naked bill, without the circumstances above-mentioned. Upon this a question was moved whether the certificate was good, because one clerk alone had no authority to certify. And in regard the purchasers had procured a certiorari, and produced a copy of the act without taking notice of the commission exemplified in chancery; the duke got the original act laid before the judges at Serjeant's-inn by Spilman, clerk of the parliament. And here, as a strong proof and presumption that the king had not signed the commission, it was observed first, that the king's name was written under the test of the patent, whereas the custom was to sign above. Further, it was observed, that the hand was too perfect, and the letters too well cut for a person in so weak a condition; for the king died that very night in which this was pretended to be done. And some said it was not written, but stamped. This allegation was fortified by the lord Paget, who in this parliament, "under queen Mary, came into the house of Commons to testify his knowledge touching king Henry VIII.'s assent by letters-patent to the pretended act of the attainder of said duke; who, upon his honour, deposed that the same was not subscribed with the hand of the king, but the stamp only put to the letters-patent by one William Clerk. From hence it was argued the whole was void, and out of the provision by 33 Hen. VIII. cap. 21." Upon these grounds queen Mary's parliament declared the act of the duke's attainder void and of none effect.

Dyer's
Reports,
fol. 93.
Dec. 6.
The parliament dissolved.

This parliament, notwithstanding they had obliged the queen in the point of her mother's marriage, and complied so far in other respects, was quickly dissolved. The motives to this dissolution were probably the disinclination of the members for restoring the papal supremacy. This parliament would in all likelihood have gone back no farther than king Henry VIII.'s reformation. The lord chancellor Gardiner may be supposed of this sentiment. For this prelate had complied with king Henry's measures, and justified that king's proceedings in his book "*De verâ Obedientiâ*." Besides, the house of Commons, as we shall see afterwards, disliked the queen's marrying a foreigner, which might be another reason of her being willing to part with them.

As to the business of religion, the queen was resolved at first to revive the pope's authority: to this, besides the impression of her education, she thought herself obliged in point of interest. This was looked on as the best expedient to make her birth unquestionable, and silence all objections touching her mother's marriage. To carry on this design, it was thought requisite to call home cardinal Pole. The pope, hearing the death of king Edward VI., was not backward in soliciting his business, and sounding the queen's temper. To this purpose cardinal Dandino, his holiness's legate at the emperor's court, sent over Francisco Commendone to inform him how the queen stood affected. Father Paul reports that pope Julius III., upon the news of the queen's accession to the throne, declared cardinal Pole his legate for England. He concluded Pole's quality, learning, and exemplary life, made him the most proper person for the management of that affair. The historian adds, that Pole lying under an attainder of high treason, and suspecting the English court and parliament might be unfriendly to his purpose, thought it not prudent to hazard his person until farther information. It was, therefore, by Pole's order that Commendone was sent hither by Dandino. Commendone had instructions to conceal his character and business, and speak privately with the queen: thus he came over in a disguise and got a secret audience. The queen acquainted him with her resolution of reconciling the kingdom to the see of Rome; but that this business was to be managed with great caution and secrecy, that otherwise her government might be embroiled, and the whole design miscarry.

Commendone had a letter from her to the pope, in which she gave him assurance of her obedience to the apostolic see. She wrote likewise to cardinal Pole upon the same head, and advised Commendone to move the pope that Pole might be sent over.

Before I proceed farther, it may not be improper to observe that, during the session of the parliament, the queen had been solicited to marry. Three persons were proposed: Courtney, earl of Devonshire, cardinal Pole, and Philip, eldest son to the emperor Charles V. It was thought her inclinations stood fair for the young earl of Devonshire: he was a fine person, and of royal extraction, his grandmother being one of king Edward IV.'s daughters; but it is said this nobleman's fancy

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Commendone sent to the queen by cardinal Pole.

Hist. Council of Trent.

Bp. Burnet, pt. 2.

Godwin's Annal. *The queen solicited to marry.*

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did not direct him to the queen, that he had declined taking notice of an intelligible invitation, that he desired leave to address the lady Elizabeth, and that the queen was highly displeased with this preference of her younger sister. As to Pole, it was objected he was pretty far advanced in years; that being wholly given up to study and retirement, it was thought the royal function would be foreign to his genius; that the queen's affairs required a person of interest, of an enterprising temper, and one that could recommend himself to regard. That Philip of Spain was preferable in these respects; that he had been bred to the business of a crown; that he was heir to the greatest monarch in Europe: and that, by such an alliance, the trade of the kingdom would be improved, and the public interest considerably advanced.

*She makes
choice of
Philip of
Spain.*

Reasons of state and the lustre of the person determined the queen for Philip. The emperor, who must be supposed to have made the proposal, expected a considerable return from this marriage: that by this union with England he should be in a condition to disembarass his affairs, to be an over-balance against France, and recover his ground in Germany.

*She resolves
to close with
the court of
Rome.*

To proceed, Commendone arriving at Rome, reported his negotiation, and acquainted the pope with the queen's disposition to close with that court: this welcome news was communicated to the conclave, though not in the whole detail. The pope related only the queen's good inclination in general, without mentioning her letters: it is probable he might be afraid the design might suffer by being made public. However, it was thought fit to pursue the invitation, and not lose any time. Cardinal Pole, therefore, being charged with instructions, set forward for England.

Gardiner, having notice of the cardinal's journey, and being apprehensive either that the match with Spain might be disturbed, or that his own greatness might be eclipsed, by Pole's quality and character, sent to the emperor to stop the cardinal: he acquainted this prince that if matters were thus precipitated, they would certainly miscarry: that neither the marriage nor the revival of the papal authority were agreeable to the bulk of the English nation. That in case they were both brought on together, the people would take check, and the government lose its interest. That the cardinal at his coming would not fail to press the point of religion,—though

it was advisable to conclude the marriage before the other business came upon the board : and that when the queen was strengthened with so great an alliance, the papal authority would be easier digested. The emperor, being altogether of Gardiner's opinion, prevailed with Dandino to write to Pole, to make a halt in his voyage. But Pole keeping on, notwithstanding this letter, the emperor sent Diego Mendoza with express orders to forbid him going farther. Pole being thus arrested in his motion, complained of the usage : he remonstrated that the pope's authority suffered, that the interests of Christianity were checked, and England disappointed of the blessing of returning to the Catholic communion. The emperor, to prevent a clamour, gave the cardinal leave to travel from the Palatinate to Brussels. And here Pole was entertained until the marriage was adjusted : and to make him the more easy, the emperor gave him an honourable amusement, and employed him to treat a peace between himself and the French king.

MARY.

Cardinal Pole stopped by the emperor in his journey to England.

Father Paul, Hist. Council of Trent, October 28. A.D. 1553. The queen writes to the cardinal.

While the cardinal lay under this embargo, he received two letters from the queen. In the first, which was probably written at the emperor's instance, she acquainted him with the difficulties in giving up the regale, as it was settled in her father's reign. That the present parliament was averse to her relinquishing the title of head of the Church ; they concluded the parting with this branch of the prerogative was in order to a revival of the pope's jurisdiction, to which they were disinclined, and therefore the news of a legate's coming over was by no means acceptable to them. For these reasons she entreated him to halt a little. She likewise requested his advice how she was to manage provided the parliament could not be gained to repeal the late acts of supremacy. In the close, she desired to know how it came to pass that the secret instructions, with which she entrusted Commendone, were published in the consistory at Rome. And that this was matter of fact, her ambassador at Venice had assured her.

In her second letter, dated three months after the first, she acquaints the cardinal with her intention of filling the vacant sees : and here she desires to be informed how this may be done without any omissions of regard to the apostolic see : that she resolved not to carry the regale beyond the ancient prerogative prior to the schism. With this letter she sent him

Jan. 28. A.D. 1553-4.

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two acts of parliament, which she believed would be pleasing to him. For by one of them her mother's marriage was declared good; and by the other, the sacraments and Church service were brought back to the condition in which they stood in the last year of her father's reign.

*Pole's in-
structions
to Goldwell.*

The cardinal gave instructions to Thomas Goldwell, (afterwards bishop of St. Asaph,) to report his opinion to the queen upon the heads above-mentioned. As to the method for recovering the nation to their obedience to his holiness, he conceived the acceptableness of the person who first recommended the business might be a serviceable step. And since there was scarce any, either of the spirituality, or temporalty, who had not some way or other declared against the pope's supremacy, he thought no person so proper to propose this matter as her majesty;—that this had been the emperor's method in maintaining the justice of his quarrel against the French king. Upon this occasion he chose to be his own orator, and harangued upon the cause before the pope and cardinals. From hence Pole proceeded to hint, that since the pope had given him the character of a legate, the parliament ought to be reconciled to his business, and entertain him without scruple or disgust. And to this purpose it might be reasonably expected the attainder passed against him should be repealed. As to the charge of Commendone's having failed in point of secrecy, Pole endeavoured to satisfy the queen that this agent had answered the confidence put in him, and let go nothing which ought not to be divulged: and that he had reported the message he received from the queen to none but the pope.

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The cardinal went on to show his regret at his being stopped in his journey. The news of this unexpected usage, he was afraid, might be so ill-resented by the conclave as to make them suggest his being recalled. That this motion from her majesty for his not coming forward was different from her first commission: that since her highness seemed to abate in her zeal, he was afraid his holiness might be discouraged, and countermand him to Rome.

Biblioth.
Cotton.
Titus. B.11.

To prevent this, he despatched a gentleman to the pope, to excuse the delays in his journey. He acquainted his holiness with some advices he had received from the queen. The purport was, that she hoped the difficulties would be got over, and the parliament gained by degrees to the cardinal's satisfaction.

He acquainted the pope farther, that this stand upon their affairs was recommended by the emperor; that this prince advised the queen to proceed by gentle motions, and postpone the business of religion, till her interest was farther improved, and her government better settled. MARY.

The cardinal likewise solicited the emperor to give him leave to proceed in his voyage to England.

As to the two acts of parliament the cardinal received from the queen, they came short of his wishes, and gave him but a faint satisfaction. He sent the queen word, that the act which affirmed her mother's marriage was defectively penned; that it mentioned the wisdom of the kings of England and Spain in making the match, but forgot the main circumstance in the commendation,—that is, the act takes no notice of their procuring the pope's dispensation, without which the obstructions could not have been removed, nor the relation made defensible.

As to the other act, touching the sacraments, the cardinal approves the motive set forth in the preamble for making the law. The ground was, to put a stop to the rashness of some novelists, who had either retrenched the number or changed the ancient custom of administering the sacraments. Thus far the cardinal is satisfied; but then he charges the statute with breaking in upon the ecclesiastical discipline, permitting the use of the sacraments to persons unreconciled to the Church, and making the practice of a schismatical prince a precedent to govern this matter.

*Meaning
king Henry
8.*

In short, he exhorts the queen not to be disheartened or swayed by temporal considerations: that conscience ought to have the ascendant; that she is obliged, in the first place, to address God Almighty for direction, and to pray for the “spirit of counsel and strength;” that Providence had hitherto remarkably appeared for her, and made her way to the throne; that she had no reason to despond of the same protection; and that fears and obstructions are no discharges from duty; that, besides this, the lawfulness of her mother's marriage, and, by consequence, her title to the crown, stood upon the basis of the pope's dispensation, and could not be defended without owning the jurisdiction of the apostolic see: and therefore, for these reasons, her majesty would find herself obliged to run the last hazard, rather than drop the cause. However, to

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remove objections and smooth the passage, if the parliament should start at the pope's jurisdiction, as if the term of obedience to the see of Rome imported servitude and diminution of civil rights ;—to this her highness might answer, that his holiness's terms were not so unreasonable, neither would she ever consent to such an encroachment ; and that, for the cardinal, he would never charge himself with a commission to enslave his country. On the contrary, he seems not to question but that the pope's authority would be managed with that temper and reserve, that not only England, but other places in Christendom, would find their account in the precedent, and be much better for its being restored.

Cotton.Lib.
ibid.

Notwithstanding the queen's good opinion of the cardinal, she did not govern her affairs wholly by his advice. She was convinced by Gardiner the reconciling the kingdom to the see of Rome was pushed too fast by the cardinal, and that the marriage with Spain ought to be first despatched. The emperor concurred with these measures, and thus Pole was still detained in Flanders.

The parliament dissolved.

However, this expedient did not wholly disencumber the business of the match. The house of Commons were somewhat alarmed at this alliance with the emperor. They were apprehensive the queen's marrying with Philip might put the administration into foreign hands, and sit hard upon the liberties of the subject. In fine, they sent their speaker with twenty of their members to address the queen against marrying a stranger. The court perceived the lower house was likely to prove unmanageable, unless they were answered in their request ; and, therefore, on the sixth of December, the parliament was dissolved. And now Gardiner sent to the emperor, to acquaint him, that, unless extraordinary conditions were offered by his majesty, the marriage would be impracticable. He likewise suggested, that, without great remittances of money to gain the principal nobility and other leading men, the next parliament would prove no less troublesome than the last ; and that the queen must lay aside all thoughts of engaging with his son. The emperor and Philip resolved to give satisfaction, and come up to the terms of the English court. And, in the first place, the emperor borrowed 400,000*l.* sterling, and promised to send it over to be disposed of as Gardiner and his ambassador should think fit. The emperor did not part with this sum till Philip

had entered into security for the repaying the money upon his marriage with the queen. It seems the sending this money into England was made no secret by the emperor, but declared to some towns in Germany, to stop their importunities in demanding what they had lent. The credit of this story depends upon the information of the English at Strasburg. Some of these refugees printed a narrative of this matter, and sent it into England. The book is couched in the form of an address to the queen, nobility, and commons. It mentions the commons' address against the marriage, and the emperor's owning his lending his son 400,000*l.* for the purpose already related. The design of this money was, as it is said, to sway the elections, and bribe the members of parliament. This Strasburg narrative likewise complains of great partialities in the court of Chancery, and that none could have common justice but those who came into the Spanish measures. This book, though commended for gravity and simplicity of style, was none of the happiest performances. To speak plainly, it is little better than a libel upon the administration, discovers a disaffection to the government, and does not altogether become the character of those who retired from persecution, and suffered upon the score of conscience. But, it is to be hoped, not many of the English exiles were concerned in this matter.

MARY.

Bp. Burnet,
pt. 2. p. 262.

Id.

354.

To go back a little : it has been already observed, sir James Hales, one of the judges of the Common Pleas, bore up against the menaces of the duke of Northumberland, and very bravely refused subscribing the late king's will for disinheriting his sisters. But this service was not well considered in the present reign. His acting against the queen's inclination in matters of religion wiped out his merit, and brought him under her displeasure. He was continued in his commission at first ; but being so hardy as to enjoin conformity to the reformation statutes of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. in charge upon the bench, he was committed to the King's Bench, from whence he was afterwards removed to the Counter, and thence to the Fleet. This was a great hardship, considering those statutes were then unrepealed. He was seized with a deep melancholy in prison, and endeavoured to destroy himself with a penknife. This accident was prevented by people coming into the room, and the judge had his discharge ; but afterwards, his discontent returning, he threw himself into a river, and was drowned.

Fox, vol. 2.
Nov. 13.
1553.

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.

*Archbishop
Cranmer,
the lady
Jane, &c.
tried for
treason.*

While the parliament sat, archbishop Cranmer, the lady Jane Grey, the lord Guilford her husband, and lord Ambrose Dudley, were arraigned at Guildhall, and brought in guilty of treason. They were tried for levying war against the queen, and conspiring to set up an usurper. Cranmer, before judgment was given, pleaded he had not consented to exclude the queen till the judges and other common lawyers led the way. And thus he submitted with the rest to the queen's mercy.

The archbishop lying under this sentence, his see is supposed to have been void in law: for how can he that has no right to his life have any to a spiritual jurisdiction? However, it is said, the court resolved "he should still be esteemed archbishop, till he was solemnly degraded, according to the canon law: so all that followed on this attainder was a sequestration of the fruits of the archbishopric."

Bp. Burnet,
pt. 2, p. 257.

*The arch-
bishopric
vacant upon
his attainder.*

But here our learned historian writes wide of matter of fact. For, immediately after Cranmer's attainder, his see was declared void, and the dean and chapter of Canterbury managed the spiritual jurisdiction, as in other cases of vacancy. He was attainted about the middle of November; and, on the 10th of December following, the dean and chapter of Canterbury gave out commissions to several persons to exercise archiepiscopal jurisdiction in their names, and by their authority. The chapter continued possessed of this jurisdiction till the publication of cardinal Pole's bulls of provision to the archbishopric, —that is, to the beginning of the year 1556. During this time, the chapter gave commissions to the respective officers and judges of the courts belonging to the archbishopric. They had likewise the spiritual jurisdiction of all vacant bishoprics, gave institution to benefices, and commissions for the consecration of bishops. All these acts of metropolitanical jurisdiction are entered upon a particular register, which runs thus in the title:—

"Vacatio sedis metropolitice Christi Cantuar. post depositionem Thomæ Cranmer nuper archiepiscopi Cantuar. primo de crimine læsæ majestatis autoritate parlamenti convicti, et deinde ob varias hæreses autoritate sedis apostolicæ depositi, degradati, seculari brachio traditi, et postremo in alma universitate Oxoniensi igne consumpti, sub annis Domini 1553, 1554, 1555, regnorum vero Philippi et Mariæ regum," &c.

During this period all acts and instruments begin thus: MARY.
 “Nicholaus Wotton utriusque juris doctor, decanus ecclesie cathedralis et metropolitice Christi Cantuar., et ejusdem ecclesie capitulum, ad quem, et quos omnis et omnimoda jurisdictio spiritualis et ecclesiastica, quæ ad archiepiscopum Cantuariensem sede plena pertinuit, ipsa sede jam per attincturam Thomæ Cranmer ultimi archiepiscopi ejusdem, de alta prodicione attincti et adjudicati vacante, notorie dignoscitur pertinere.”

The archbishop's attainder was confirmed in parliament this session. He petitioned the queen for his pardon, pleading his unskilfulness in the common law, and his being overruled by the authority of the judges. The queen at last pardoned him the treason, but resolved to take away his life another way, as will appear afterwards.

I shall now proceed to the history of the convocation, which had a royal summons to meet on the 6th of October. They met at St. Paul's, London. The sermon was preached by Harpsfield, Bonner's chaplain. His text was, “Take heed, therefore, unto yourselves, and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost has made you overseers.” From the words he took occasion to speak to three propositions: his first head was, how well St. Paul practised his own doctrine; secondly, how much the late clergy managed wide of the Apostle's exhortation; and, thirdly, he pointed out the methods for the discharge of what was commanded in the text. Under the second head he ran out into a violent invective against the management of the clergy in the late reign: that they misbehaved themselves to a remarkable degree, both with respect to government and private life. He charged them with insobriety and epicurism, with flattering great men and servile applications to the court, with omissions in hospitality and regard to the poor, with boasting their great knowledge in the Scriptures and presuming to compare themselves with the most eminent Fathers, whereas some of them mounted the pulpit from the shop, and were scarcely grammar high. Then, as to the care of their flocks, he said they had miserably mismanaged: they had made a breach in the unity of the Church, poisoned the kingdom with heterodoxy, and misled great numbers to endless perdition. In short, he omitted nothing which might discover

Harmer,
p. 127.
Mary,
sess. 2.
cap. 16.

The convocation meets,
October 6.

Acts xx.
28.
Journal
Convoc.

This sermon,
with four
orations,
printed by
Cawood in
the year
1554.

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.

a passionate and unfriendly temper, and carried his satire to the last degree of roughness and reproach.

Weaver's
Funeral
Monuments,
p. 635.
355.

Selden's
Titles of
Honour.

Journal
Convoc.
fol. 72.
Id. fol. 73.

October 18,
1553.

In the summons to this convocation the queen used the title of "supreme head on earth of the Church of England." This style is likewise inserted in the earl of Sussex's patent, in which he has a grant of the privilege of being covered in the queen's presence. The instrument is dated October the 2nd, this year. Selden affirms this title of "supreme head," &c., was left out in the parliament summons, and that this omission occasioned a dispute amongst some of the members concerning the legality of the sessions. But why the queen should use the style of supreme head in a writ to the convocation, and omit it in those for the parliament, is not easy to imagine. Besides, in the Statutes at Large, printed from the parliament-rolls by Cawood, the queen's printer, the distinction of supreme head of the Church of England, &c., is added to the rest of the royal titles, both in the first and second sessions of this parliament.

To go on with the convocation: Dr. Weston, dean of Westminster, being chosen prolocutor, acquainted the lower house, that it was the queen's pleasure they should enter upon the debate of some controversial points, and form their resolutions into canons, which should afterwards be ratified by the royal assent. From hence he proceeded to touch upon the catechism published in the late reign under the name of the convocation. He denied the authority in the title, and charged the book with false doctrine and heresy. How this imputation was taken off has been already related. The prolocutor gave the house to understand that after two days' adjournment it would be proper to discourse upon two points, and come to a Catholic decision. The questions to be discussed were the sacrament of the altar, and transubstantiation. The members, expecting a disputation, prepared themselves accordingly. But at their next meeting the prolocutor exhibited two bills or propositions for the house to subscribe: one of them asserted the natural presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar; the other denied the late catechisms being set forth by the assent of the convocation. Both these articles were subscribed by the whole house excepting five. Those who refused were Philips, dean of Rochester, Haddon, dean of Exeter, Philpot, archdeacon of

October 20. Winchester, Cheyney, archdeacon of Hereford, and Ailmer,

archdeacon of Stow; what the opinion of four of them was may be seen in the records. MARY.

Ibid.
Records,
num. 68.
repeated.

Archdeacon Philpot having offered something already mentioned in defence of the authority of the catechism, added, that to urge a subscription before the matter was debated and the point cleared, was contrary to custom and reason: and that since there was so learned and numerous an appearance on one side of the dispute, and so few on the other, he desired the upper house might be moved to bring the parties something nearer to a balance, and that bishop Ridley and some other divines who had a share in drawing up the catechism might be brought into the house and assist at the conference. This request being proposed to the bishops, they answered, it was not within their power to grant that liberty, in regard the persons mentioned were some of them prisoners. However, a disputation was ordered upon Monday following. When the day came, there was a great appearance of the nobility and other secular men of condition. The prolocutor asked Haddon and Ailmer, whether they were willing to enter upon the controversy. Both of them refused to engage, unless those persons they desired to be brought in were allowed to assist. After this the question being put to Cheyney, whether he was inclined to propose his doubts concerning the mystery of transubstantiation, he answered yes, and urged his objections against this article. His first argument was drawn from St. Paul's calling the holy eucharist bread after consecration. He cited a testimony out of Origen, and another from Hesychius to the same purpose. He likewise argued from a famous passage in Theodoret, where the consecrated elements are said to continue in their former nature and substance. I have had occasion to speak to this testimony in the former part of this work, to which I refer the reader.

October 23.
A dispute concerning transubstantiation.

Cheyney argues from a text of St. Paul.
1 Cor. xi.

Theod.
Dialog. 2.
p. 85.
Eccles. Hist.
pt. 1. p. 262.

To proceed: the prolocutor assigned Dr. Moreman to answer Cheyney's objections. To the citation from the epistle to the Corinthians, Moreman replied, that the apostle called one of the sacramental elements bread, because it was bread before consecration. This reasoning was foreign and faint. As to the testimony of Theodoret, his answer was still worse; he said this Father meant nothing by substance and nature, but shape and accidental substance, as this divine calls it. Ailmer defended Cheyney's citation, and argued from critical

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.

*Ailmer dis-
putes from
Theodoret.*

*Eranistes
represents an
Eutychian
heretic.*

*Philips urges
a testimony
of St. Austin.
August. in
Johan.
Tract. 50.
John xii. 8.*

*August. in
Johan.
Tract.
Septuages.*

learning and the force of language, that *οὐσία* could not be construed to mean an accident. Ailmer was supported by Philpot, who proved that unless the word substance was taken in the common sense, the heretic in Theodoret would have the better of the Catholic, and that Father's argument conclude directly against himself. For by this reasoning the heretic Eranistes might turn Theodoret's similitude against him. Had transubstantiation been the doctrine of that age, Eranistes might have replied, that as after consecration the substance of bread is transubstantiated into the natural body of Christ, and nothing but the accidental form of it remains, so after our Saviour's ascension, his humanity was absorbed in the divine nature, and turned into the substance of the Deity. In short, Moreman was silenced with this argument.

Philips, dean of Rochester, came on next, and urged a remarkable testimony from St. Austin. This Father, discoursing upon those words of our Saviour, "but me you have not always," observes, that "our Saviour spoke of his bodily presence, for by his grace, his providence, and divine attributes he is always present; and it was in this sense that he promised his disciples 'he would be with them to the end of the world.' But the flesh which the Word took upon him, which was born of the blessed Virgin, which was nailed to the cross, which was buried in the sepulchre, and shown after the resurrection; this, says our Saviour, 'you shall not have always with you.' Christ is always present in his Deity, but touching the presence of his flesh, it is truly said, 'you shall not always have me with you:' for the Church had his bodily presence a few days, but now he is out of the reach of sense, and only apprehended by faith." Dr. Watson endeavoured to take off this answer by alleging another testimony of St. Austin; where this Father affirms, "we have not Christ upon earth now in the same manner and mortal condition he appeared in before his passion." To this Philpot replied, that Watson had not answered the argument by this counter-testimony; because, both in the place above mentioned and a little after, this Father mentions only two ways or manners of our Saviour's presence; the one by his providence and divinity, the other in his flesh or natural body, and denies his being present to the Church in this latter sense; therefore to assert a third corporeal but invisible presence in the sacrament of the altar is to advance a doctrine which St.

Austin seems never to have thought on. After some squabbling and unintelligible distinctions thrown in by the prolocutor, the dean of Rochester proceeded to argue from the words of the institution, "Do this in remembrance of me:" and from that text of St. Paul, "We show the Lord's death till he comes." Philpot argues from these two places that remembrance implies the absence of what is remembered; and particularly these words, "till he comes," plainly import that Christ's body is not present. The prolocutor attempted to prove that these words, "till he come," did not infer the absence of Christ upon earth. This he endeavoured to make out by some places in Scripture, where "until" was taken in a sense consistent with this interpretation. After this dean Philips asked Moreman, whether our Saviour ate the sacrament with his disciples at the institution. Moreman answering yes; the other put the question, whether he eat his own natural body in the sense of transubstantiation or not? Moreman answering in the affirmative, the dean looked on the concession as too great an absurdity to be farther considered, and so sat down¹.

MARY.

Luke xxii.
19.
1 Cor. xi. 26.

Christ affirmed to eat his own body at the institution of the holy eucharist.

Philpot thought the advantage might be carried farther, and offered to prove from Scripture that Christ did not eat his natural body at the institution of the holy eucharist. He argued thus: The receiving of Christ's body has the promise of remission of sins annexed. But Christ's eating the sacrament had no promise of remission of sins: therefore Christ did not eat his own body in the sacrament. Moreman denying the major or first proposition, Philpot cited the words of the institution, "which is given for you, which is shed for you for the remission of sins." Moreman refusing to own that this expression amounted to a promise, Philpot quoted these words of our Saviour in the 6th of St. John, "The bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world." Moreman appearing embarrassed, Harpsfield endeavoured to disengage him. He affirmed the promise of remission of sins by receiving the sacrament was not applicable to Christ, but only to his disciples; and that this was clear from the institution, "this is my body which was given for you;" for you, but not for myself. Philpot laid hold of the argument, and turned it upon Harpsfield; and from hence inferred, that the promise

This disproved by Philpot.

¹ This *argumentum ad absurdum* has infinitely puzzled the defenders of transubstantiation.

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MER,
Abp. Cant.

annexed did not reach our Saviour, therefore our Saviour did not eat his own body. The prolocutor tried to put by the force of this reasoning, by objecting it concluded too much: "for," says he, "by this way of arguing it will follow that our Saviour was not baptized, because remission of sins annexed to baptism did not operate upon him." To this Philpot replied, that our Saviour let the sacrament of baptism pass upon him, not for any necessity of his own, but only to recommend the administration of it in the Church; and that it was for the same reason and no other that he participated with his disciples in the holy eucharist.

Fox, vol. 3.
p. 19. et
deinc.

October 25.

*Philpot
argues far-
ther against
transubstan-
tiation.*

Matt. xxviii.
Luke xxiii.

John xvi.
28.

Philpot was appointed to begin the conference at the next meeting of the house. He intended to have opened the disputation with a Latin speech, to have stated the question, delivered his opinion at large, and supported it with proofs. But Weston the prolocutor, suspecting some ill consequence from this method, broke through his own order, refused Philpot the liberty of making a speech, and enjoined him to dispute in English. This was somewhat a surprise upon Philpot, who had drawn up his arguments in Latin. However, he complied with Weston's appointment. Before he came close to the contest, he explained himself upon the question. And here he does not deny the presence of Christ in the holy eucharist; he only denies that gross carnal sense subscribed by the house: for instance, he denied that by virtue of the words of consecration pronounced by the priest the sacramental elements of bread and wine were transubstantiated into Christ's natural body; and that nothing but the appearances or accidents of bread and wine remained. He designed to dilate farther upon this head, but being interrupted and pressed to argue in form, he cited a text from St. Matthew and another from St. Luke, where the women at our Saviour's sepulchre are told by the angel, "He is not here, but is risen," and asked, "why they looked for the living amongst the dead?" To these he added another remarkable passage in St. John, where our Saviour speaks to his disciples in these words, "I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world: again I leave the world, and go to the Father." "This coming and going away," continues Philpot, "was meant of our Saviour's natural body; from whence it follows it is not now in the world." But foreseeing he should be encountered with their customary distinction of a visible and invisible human presence, he endeavoured

to disable it beforehand, by the answer the disciples made our Saviour to the words last mentioned: "Now," say they, ^{MARY. Id. 29.} "speakest thou plainly, and speakest no proverb." St. Cyril expounding upon this text, affirms that our Saviour delivered himself without any manner of ambiguity or darkness of expression. Now if our Saviour, when he told his disciples, "I leave the world and go to the Father," spoke plainly, without any obscure reserve or parabolical disguise, then that invisible imperceptible presence of Christ's natural body in the sacrament of the altar is a plain contradiction to our Saviour's affirmation, and by consequence ought not to be admitted.

To this Dr. Chadsey returned, that the texts cited by Philpot from St. Matthew and St. Luke were only spoken to inform the women our Saviour's body was not in the grave, but had no manner of reference to his body either absent or present in the holy eucharist. And that by the other text in St. John, where our Saviour affirms his leaving the world, we are to understand nothing more than his ascension. To fortify this exposition he produced a passage from St. Chrysostom. This Father drawing something of a parallel between Elijah and our Saviour, observes a disparity in one circumstance. "Elijah," ^{Chrysost. ad Pop. Antioch. The testimony of St. Chrysostom argued pro and con.} says he, "when taken up in the fiery chariot, left his mantle behind him to his disciple Elisha. But Jesus Christ carried his flesh with him, and likewise left it behind him:" from whence Chadsey inferred, that Christ's natural body, though visibly ascending into heaven, remains notwithstanding invisibly in the sacrament of the altar. Philpot rejoined, that supposing that St. Chrysostom's testimony came up to his purpose, yet his way of disputing was by no means satisfactory; because he failed in the force of his direct answer, shifted from the point, and opposed one objection to another. However, he undertook to prove, that St. Chrysostom's authority, though not without a colour, was foreign to the matter in hand. The prolocutor citing the testimony in Latin and English, replied it was full and unanswerable. Philpot, after some clashing between him and the prolocutor, undertook to make the testimony unserviceable. In the first place he observed, that St. Chrysostom's saying our Saviour left his flesh behind him at his ascension, may mean nothing more than that he left his disciples and other members of the Church on earth at his going to heaven. To this sense St. Paul speaks very plainly,

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MER,
Abp. Cant.
Ephes. v.

where he calls us "flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone." But being apprehensive this construction might seem somewhat strained, he offers a more natural solution of the difficulty from St. Chrysostom himself. This Father, a few lines before the testimony cited by Chadsey, has these words: "That our Saviour after his ascension left us his sacraments; that is, his flesh in a sacramental and mysterious representation. And that our Saviour has left his Church, his mystical flesh or body, both in the sacrament of baptism, and that of the Lord's supper. For as to the first, St. Paul assures us, that 'as many of us as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ.'"

Gal. iii. 27.

The disarming this testimony of St. Chrysostom was a considerable blow. The prolocutor, therefore, to prevent Philpot's breaking them farther, ordered him to give over. Philpot, thinking himself not well used, told him he had not yet gone through one argument, and that he had eleven more to urge. The prolocutor commanded him to be silent at present, and threatened to send him to prison; upon which the other acquiesced. From hence it appears, the convocation pretended to a power of imprisoning their members, no less than the parliament.

After this, Ailmer stood up and reinforced the argument he had formerly undertaken: and offered to prove that *οὐσία*, in the passage of Theodoret above mentioned, must of necessity be interpreted to substance, in contradistinction to accidents. Moreman, who appeared against Ailmer, was, it seems, so much entangled with his reasons, that he desired a day's time to consider them, and return his answer. Haddon, being called on to dispute next, went on with Ailmer's argument, and reasoned so closely, that Dr. Watson, his adversary, being hard pressed, questioned the Latin translation, which Haddon justified, by reading the original in Greek.

Perne argued next against transubstantiation, and offered several things to corroborate what had been urged by Ailmer and Haddon. For this he was checked by the prolocutor, because he had subscribed the contrary opinion with the rest of the house. Upon this, Ailmer taxed the prolocutor with breach of promise; for Weston, it seems, had engaged that every member should have the liberty of declaring his mind, and not be silenced upon the score of their subscriptions: besides, as Ailmer alleged, it was reasonable every man should

have the freedom to recollect himself, to speak his conscience, and alter his opinion upon farther discovery. And thus night coming on, the house rose. At parting, Weston commended them for their learning and abilities, but let them know, withal, the decisions of Holy Church must be received, and overrule all disputes of this nature. MABY.

The fifth day of the conference, Haddon having leave to go on with his argument, endeavoured to disprove transubstantiation, from the passage in Theodoret already related. Watson and he, having disputed some time about the meaning of the word *οὐσία*, or substance, Haddon asked him when the bread and wine became symbols, before consecration or after?—October 27. Watson answered after; upon which Haddon formed his syllogism thus: Theodoret affirms that the sacramental elements remain in the same nature and substance after they were symbols, which they were before they were symbols, but they were bread and wine before, therefore they are so after. Watson being overset with the argument, excepted against the authority, and called Theodoret a Nestorian.

Cheyney having subscribed the real presence, was expected to be a more inoffensive manager, and appointed to argue next. *Cheyney argues against the corporal presence, from Irenæus and Hesychius.* But it seems the prolocutor was mistaken in him; for he urged a text from Irenæus something hard to deal with: the passage stands thus: "The cup and the bread broken, are made the eucharist of the body and blood of Christ, by which our bodies are nourished and supported. His inference was, that if the eucharist nourishes our bodies, then there is some substance remaining, besides our Saviour's body." To this Watson and *Irenæus, lib. 5.* Morgan answered, that *ex quibus*, or by which, in this father, is to be referred to the immediate antecedent, the body and blood of Christ, and not to the remoter one of the cup and bread. To this Cheyney replied, that those who hold transubstantiation will not grant that the body and blood of Christ, in the sacrament of the altar, nourishes our bodies in a physical way, like other diet, or for instance, like unconsecrated bread and wine. After this, Cheyney urged a testimony from Hesychius, concerning the custom of burning the symbols: Watson answered, he thought it a question not fit to be examined: however, Cheyney would push the inquiry, and asked him from whence the ashes of the consecrated symbols were produced? No man would be so hardy as to say, they were the remains of the body of Christ. They must, therefore, an-

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.

swer from the accidents of the symbols, or the consecrated bread: but then the difficulty returns; for to speak in the terms of their own philosophy, which way can the substance of ashes emerge out of accidents?

The omnipotency of God no sufficient argument in this case.

This difficulty seeming too big for Watson and Morgan, Harpsfield endeavoured to bring them off: he argued from God's omnipotency, and the shortness of human understandings, especially with respect to religious mysteries: that in such cases it was our duty to resign, and not trust our senses. To make this reasoning bear, he reported a passage in St. Cyprian, of a woman that saw the host burning in her cabinet. "Now that which burnt there," says he, "burns in your instance, and turns to ashes." But Cheyney pressed him with this dilemma, that what was burnt, must be either the substance of bread, or the substance of our Saviour's body: to grant the first was to give up the cause; and they were not so hardy as to affirm the latter. And therefore they answered no farther than that it was a miracle: at which Cheyney smiled and said, then he would go no farther¹.

358.

After this, the prolocutor Weston appealed to the company, whether Philpot and his party had received a sufficient answer? Some few cried "yes," but the far greater majority shouted "no." Weston was disconcerted to find the noise against him, and replied, it was not his intention to ask the judgment of the illiterate multitude, but only of the house. Then turning to Haddon and the other five, he asked them whether they were contented to respond three days in their turn. Haddon, Cheyney, and Ailmer refused. But Philpot accepted the conditions, and resolved to venture the contest, though he should stand single against them all. The prolocutor outraged him for his resolution, and told him he was fit to be sent to Bedlam. Archdeacon Philpot returned the language, and complained of partiality and coarse usage. The prolocutor told the company that Haddon, and the rest, had been allowed to make their opposition three days, upon a promise to give the same liberty to the other party, and that now they declined to make good their word. To this Ailmer replied, they had never engaged to go through the forms of a disputation, but only to give in their reasons why they could not subscribe with the other members. That this had been

¹ If Christians had contended a little more for Christ's spirit, and a little less for his body, it might have been better.

partly done already, and that they were prepared to go on farther. But until their own arguments were disproved, it was not fair to oblige them to stand an opposition. Besides, it was plain the house had come to a decision against them, and therefore disputing would be to no purpose.

MARY.

However, since Philpot had undertaken to go on with the controversy, there was another day assigned. And now Philpot complained of interruption the last time he spoke, and desired to go on with his former argument. This being granted, he argued against transubstantiation from the property of human bodies. He affirmed it was inconsistent with the nature of a body to be, as it were, uncircumscribed and omnipresent, to be on earth and in heaven, to be absent and present, at the same time. In proof of this, which one would think was plain enough of itself, Philpot produced a passage of Vigilius. Morgan replied, this was no Scripture: upon which Philpot alleged the text, where our Saviour is said to be "like to us in all things except sin." This testimony not giving satisfaction, he alleged another from St. Peter's sermon, where the apostle, speaking of our Saviour, affirms, "the heavens must receive him, until the times of restitution of all things." These words being spoken of Christ's humanity, it will follow, continues Philpot, that if the heavens are to receive him till the general restitution, he cannot be corporally present on earth in the sacrament. To defend himself from this inference, Harpsfield retired again to God's omnipotency. Philpot rejoined, this attribute would not relieve us, unless we had an authority from Scripture to apply it to the present case: but the Scripture has nowhere told us that Christ's natural body is present both in heaven, and the holy eucharist. Upon this, the prolocutor asked him, if he intended to confine the divine attributes, and imprison our Saviour in heaven. After some squabbling upon the meaning of the word *oportet*, or 'must,' in the text last-mentioned, and that this term did not always imply a necessity; after this, Morgan asked Philpot, whether he would be concluded by the universal Church or not? Philpot answered "yes," provided it was the true Catholic Church. And here he desired Morgan to explain his notion of the true Church. Morgan told him it was dispersed through the whole world. Philpot answered, his definition was too loose and imperfect; and that, for his part, he owned no

October 30.

Philpot argues against transubstantiation from the property of human bodies.

Acts iii. 21.

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.

Ephes. ii.
20.
*Whether the
Church was
before the
Scriptures?*

Church, excepting that which stands upon a basis of Holy Scripture, and is built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets.

Moreman put the question, whether the Scripture was before the Church? Philpot answering in the affirmative, Moreman proved the Christian Church prior to the Scriptures of the New Testament. The Christian Church, he said, commenced with our Saviour, or at least at his resurrection: but St. Matthew, the first Evangelist, did not write his Gospel until about twelve years after our Saviour's ascension; from whence it must follow, the Church was before the Scripture. Philpot denied the inference, and pretended a fallacy in the argument: he said Moreman took the Scripture in too narrow a sense, and that it ought not to be confined to paper and ink, or words formed in letters. For whatever was dictated by the Spirit of God, was to be accounted Scripture, though it was only recorded in the minds, or delivered by the mouths of holy men. Thus, he said, the salutation of the angel was Scripture before it was written. Here Philpot seems short and embarrassed in his answer, and therefore Moreman had reason not to be satisfied with it.

At the rising of the house, the prolocutor, to give a colour of fair dealing, told Philpot, that provided he would appear in the habit of the house, and not speak but upon his order, he might have the liberty of coming thither. Philpot said he had rather be absent than come upon those terms.

The convocation continued to sit, until the thirteenth of December, which was a week after the dissolution of the parliament, at which time the queen directed a writ to Bonner, to dissolve the assembly.

The convocation dissolved.
Fox, vol. 3.
p. 29.
Journal of Convoc.
fol. 73.

The beginning of the next month the emperor's ambassadors, count Egmont, count Horn, and some others, arrived at London for concluding the match. This treaty was settled upon the articles following. Philip was to assume the titles of the English dominions, and be admitted into partnership of the government, but with this proviso, that none of the privileges or customs of the country should be disturbed, and that the disposal of all offices of trust, profit, or honour, in Church and State, should be lodged wholly in the queen. That the queen should carry the title of all the countries where Philip was sovereign, and those which should afterwards make part of

The articles of the marriage between the queen and king Philip.

MARY.

his dominions. And in case her majesty survived king Philip, a jointure of 60,000*l.* sterling per annum was settled, as had formerly been assigned the lady Margaret, sister to king Edward IV. and wife to Charles, duke of Burgundy. Farther, it was agreed that the issue of this marriage should succeed to all the queen's dominions, and likewise to the seventeen provinces in the Low Countries, and to all the emperor's dominions in Burgundy. And that Charles, Philip's son by his first marriage, should succeed to all the other kingdoms and principalities in Italy and Spain. That provided the queen should have none but issue female by Philip, that then the eldest daughter should succeed to all the Netherlands, upon condition that, by the consent of her brother Charles, (Philip's son by Mary of Portugal, his first wife,) she made choice of a husband out of England, or the Low Countries. But in case she married without her brother's consent, her right should be barred to the Netherlands, which in that case should descend to Charles and his heirs; however, both this princess and her sisters, if she had any, should have a dower assigned them proportionable to their quality, and the custom of the respective countries. And if it should happen that Charles should die without heirs, or his line fail afterwards, that then all the dominions of the Netherlands, Spain, and Italy, should descend upon the heir of this marriage, though female only; with this limitation, that no laws, privilege, or usage, of any of those countries, should be set aside or altered. And lastly, that there should be a perpetual and inviolable league and friendship between the emperor Philip and their heirs, the queen and her heirs, and each of their countries and dominions: and that the late alliance, concluded at Westminster in the year 1542, and that four years afterwards at Utrecht, should be confirmed.

359.

This treaty, as the reader may perceive, was made with considerable advantage to the English crown. The articles were drawn by Gardiner, who was a great statesman, and had been long practised in business of this nature. However, notwithstanding the matter was dexterously managed, and every thing guarded beyond exception, yet, when the alliance was published, a great many malcontents took occasion to censure the proceedings, and arraign the government. They gave out, that now foreigners were to be their masters; that the Spa-

Godwin,
Annals.
*Pretences to
draw the
people into
rebellion.*

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.
Id.

niards were to dispose of the administration; that the old constitution would be broken, the nation made a province, and treated like a conquered country.

Jan. 14,
1553-4.

To check this dangerous calamity, it was thought fit the lord chancellor should make a report of the articles in the presence-chamber, before the lords and other persons of condition belonging to the court; and that the lord mayor and aldermen should be sent for on this occasion; all which was done accordingly.

Stow's
Annals.

Notwithstanding this precaution, the fears and jealousies kept on. The disaffected party was believed, and the people continued uneasy. To surprise the unwary, and heat them to a rebellion, it was suggested religion was overturned, and that the queen had not kept her word with the Suffolk gentlemen; that the Spanish match would bring slavery along with it, crush their civil liberties, and lay them under the usurpations of the court of Rome. Some took the freedom to compassionate the lady Jane's misfortune, to lament her being dethroned, and condemned to suffer as a traitor. Thus, religion and property, the usual cant to cheat the people, were made the pretences by the chief incendiaries. They had variety of motives to practise on. Sir Thomas Wyatt, a Kentish gentleman, was, as far as it appears, one of the first and most forward in concerting the insurrection. The duke of Suffolk was engaged upon a prospect of recovering the crown for his daughter. The Carews and other Devonshire gentlemen were drawn in by an expectation of the lady Elizabeth's marrying the lord Courtney; and that this princess, who was well affected to the Reformation, should be proclaimed queen. In short, the infection spread; and the government had been in great danger, had not some of them discovered themselves too early, and disconcerted their measures: for, it was agreed by the heads of the revolt, that they should not appear in the field till king Philip's arrival; that their waiting this opportunity would give a good complexion to the enterprise; that their taking arms would be interpreted only a defence of their country against foreigners, and not look like such a direct defiance of the government. In the mean time, they were only to work, as it were, under ground; to provide for the field, and strengthen their party: but sir Peter Carew, thinking delays might be dangerous, overran these orders, and began to levy

*The revolt
headed by
the duke of
Suffolk and
Wyat.*

men privately in Cornwall. This being discovered, and having no stand to repair to, he embarked and made his escape into France. He was afterwards taken at Brussels, and brought over into England, but did not suffer. Sir John Cheek was taken with him, put on board, and imprisoned in the Tower, where, it seems, his fears prevailed over his conscience, and reconciled him to the Church of Rome. This failure in resolution sat heavy upon his spirits, affected his health, and brought him to his end not long after.

MARY.

*Sir John
Cheek's
death.
Godwin's
Annals.*

To return: Wyat, finding the design had taken air, and that courage and resistance were the best security, prevailed with the Kentish men to rise. To bring them to his purpose, he made use of the arguments commonly insisted upon by rebels; that the queen was managed by evil counsellors; that she had done, and was still doing, a great many things destructive to the commonwealth; that it was the business of true Englishmen to remove this dangerous ministry, and put men of integrity and public spirit in their room; but, above all, they were to exert themselves to break the marriage, for the reasons above-mentioned; that, by this means, the interest of the nation would be secured, and the queen rescued from misfortune against her will. This was the colour; but the bottom of the design was dethroning the queen, and setting up the lady Jane, as might be easily discovered, by the duke of Suffolk's raising men in Warwickshire.

*Godwin's
Annals.*

The queen, being now informed of their rising in Kent, ordered the duke of Norfolk to march against them with a small body, consisting mostly of the guards. The next day, five hundred men were levied in London, put on board, and sent down to Gravesend, where they were to join the other forces. The duke, thus reinforced, advanced to Rochester, where Wyat was encamped. When his troops came near the bridge, they found it defended with several pieces of cannon. The duke, notwithstanding, moved, and ordered the herald to read the queen's proclamation; it was to command the rebels to lay down their arms, with promise of pardon. Wyat's men answered, they were not conscious of doing anything against the queen which would make them stand in need of a pardon. But sir George Harper, pretending himself touched with the sense of a criminal engagement, rode towards the duke of Norfolk, as if he intended to quit the party; but his design

*Jan. 25,
1553-4.*

*Wyat en-
camps at
Rochester.*

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.
360.

*Captain
Brett and
the Lon-
doners desert
to him.*

was to tamper with Brett, who commanded the Londoners. He succeeded in his business ; and managed so dexterously, that, before they came up with the enemy, Brett drew his sword, and, turning to his men, told them they would do well to consider what they went about. " Are we not going," says he, " to attack our countrymen and relations, men that have taken the field to preserve the kingdom, and protect our liberties, against the pride and barbarity of the Spaniards? You, that have a mind to be slaves, may keep with your general Norfolk ; as for myself, I had rather die than help to conquer for foreigners. I am therefore resolved to venture my life for my country, and follow sir Thomas Wyat's fortune, not questioning many of you are of the same mind." His regiment wanted no farther encouragement to make them desert. They immediately cried " A Wyat !" and began to turn their cannon upon the queen's troops in the rear. The duke of Norfolk, the earl of Arundel, and sir Henry Jerningham, captain of the guards, were mightily surprised at this turn, and retired with precipitation ; but Wyat, as it had been concerted, coming up immediately with his horse, stopped the rest from retreating with their general, and seized the train of artillery, with all the ammunition and baggage. After this he made a speech to the queen's forces, to take service under him, with liberty, however, to return to the court. By those who were thus disposed, he desired the queen might be acquainted, that himself and his adherents had not taken arms to distress their sovereign, but only to protect the constitution against the invasion of foreigners. These specious pretences were not without their effect : and thus Wyat, being reinforced by the desertion of the greatest part of the queen's troops, made directly for London.

*The duke of
Suffolk at-
tempts to
raise War-
wickshire,
but miscar-
ries.*

When Wyat's insurrection broke out in Kent, the duke of Suffolk, with his two brothers, lord John and lord Leonard Grey, rode down into Warwickshire, and tried to raise the country against the Spaniard ; but these pretences being too weak to bring on a revolt, and the earl of Huntingdon coming against him with a body of horse, the duke thought it best to provide for his escape. Upon this he distributed his money amongst his men, ordered them to disperse and shift for themselves, and, going off alone, absconded at one of his keepers, who promised to conceal him ; but this man, either for fear, or money, as it is most probable, discovered him to the earl of

Huntingdon. Being thus seized, he was guarded to London with three hundred horse, and committed to the Tower. MARY.
Feb. 11.

After the desertion of Brett and his men, the insurrection had a formidable appearance.

The queen, therefore, being solicitous to keep the city firm, went to Guildhall, and made a speech to the lord mayor, the aldermen, and common council. And here she endeavoured to make them sensible, "that Wyat's taking arms upon pretence of hindering the match with the prince of Spain was only a colour for his treason, and gilding the pill to make the poison go down the better; that now, by the deserting of some of her troops, he was grown so extravagantly insolent, as not only to insist upon breaking her marriage, but to demand the appointing her guards, displacing her ministry, and punishing her privy council at pleasure. As to her marriage, she had made no step in that affair without the advice of the nobility. She had lived single the best part of her life, and was very willing to continue in that state, provided it was thought serviceable to the public. She hoped, therefore, that since they had all acknowledged her title, they would show themselves loyal subjects, and assist her against treason and rebellion."

*The queen's
speech at
Guildhall.*

The city giving signs of duty, the queen raised five hundred men, and posted them at the bridge. Two days after, Wyat marched into Southwark with three—or, as some say, with four—thousand men. He had a strong expectation of being joined by a great party there, and carrying his point without farther contest; but, when he came to the bridge, he found it drawn up, and a body of men in arms to oppose his passage. He stayed, notwithstanding, two days in Southwark, hoping his friends in the city might exert themselves and overcome the difficulty; but, finding himself disappointed, he marched to Kingston, ten miles from London, up the river. Here the bridge was likewise broken, but so negligently, that in a few hours he repaired it, and passed over his men; and now, concluding the success of the attempt would depend upon the speed of his march, he resolved to come for London, without making the least halt to refresh his men. By this expedition he expected to reach the town before day, and surprise the queen: which had happened accordingly; for, it seems, the

*Wyat
marches to
London.*

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.

court had sent out no scouts to give warning of the approach of the enemy.

Loves time.

But Providence, which commonly, though not always, disappoints rebellious practices, threw an obstacle in the way. It happened that the carriage of one of the cannon brake, about six miles from town. Wyat was so far infatuated as to spend several hours in mending it. Thus the main opportunity was lost, and the time concerted with his friends in the city not kept. Captain Vaughan and other officers advised him to be punctual to his appointment, to march on, and leave the field-piece behind him. Harper, above-mentioned, finding him obstinate, quitted him, came to court, and discovered his measures. Stow reports, that Poinet, bishop of Winchester, was in Wyat's army, and encouraged the enterprise; but that, when he perceived Wyat was likely to miscarry by trifling about mending the carriage, that the conspiracy began to break and the men slip from their colours,—finding their affairs go backward, he advised Brett and some others to look to themselves: and thus, taking leave of his friends, with promise to pray for their success, he embarked for Germany.

Stow's
Annals,
p. 620.

The news of Wyat's being so near alarmed the court extremely. The queen ordered the raising what forces could be gotten together on a sudden, and gave the command of them to the earl of Pembroke. Wyat, having notice of this preparation, and that they were likely to come to blows, came on by slow marches, to keep his men in the better condition for action; and thus it was almost noon before he entered the suburbs. The earl of Pembroke skirmished with him near St. James's; and sir John Gage, lord chamberlain, with a body of the guards, at Charing-cross. But, being apprehensive the earl of Pembroke had gone in to the enemy, Gage's men were seized with a panic, and retired to the court in great confusion. Notwithstanding this suspicion, the earl of Pembroke acquitted himself honourably, hung upon the rebels' rear, and cut off a great many. However, Wyat, continuing his march through the Strand and Fleet-street, came up to Ludgate. As they moved, they cried "God save the queen!" and told the people she had granted them all their demands. Ludgate being shut against them, Wyat called out he was there, and desired entrance. But those within returning hard

language, and being in no condition to force the gate, he retreated with his men towards Temple-bar, where, perceiving himself almost enclosed by the earl of Pembroke, he surrendered to sir Maurice Berkley, who carried him to the council, from whence he was sent to the Tower. Wyat's men, when they saw their general surrender, threw down their arms, and were many of them taken and imprisoned.

MARY.

And surrenders himself.
Feb. 6.

Godwin's
Annals.

The duke of Suffolk's concerting this rebellion with Wyat, proved fatal to his daughter, the lady Jane. She acquainted him, in a letter, she was not insensible he had shortened her life. Before this last revolt, the queen seemed disposed to deal gently with this lady: for, after she was found guilty of high treason, she had the liberty of the Parade in the Tower, and of walking in the queen's garden: but now it was thought necessary to proceed to extremities, and that the queen could not be safe as long as the other was living. This being resolved, Dr. Fecknam was sent to her, to give her notice she must die, and offered to reconcile her to the Roman Catholic religion. She received the first part of this message with great temper and unconcernedness: but, as to the other, she said she had no leisure to enter upon controversy, but should spend the little time she had in preparing for eternity. Fecknam, believing she was willing to get more time, went to the queen and procured a reprieve for three days. When he acquainted her with it, he desired she would hear him upon the subject of religion. She told him he mistook her meaning; that she was by no means fond of living longer, and never intended his moving the queen to respite her execution. After this they engaged in a dispute concerning justification by faith, the number of the sacraments, transubstantiation, communion in one kind, and the authority of the Church: upon all which points she argued much beyond what could be expected from her age, and a lady's education. Her husband, the lord Guilford, desired to take leave of her, before he suffered: this was granted; but the lady Jane refused to see him. She was afraid such an interview might excite an unseasonable tenderness, and make them leave the world with more regret. Her miscarriage being much more owing to others than herself, was apt to make an impression upon the people. How far this might work upon the company, could not be known: it was therefore thought advisable to execute her within the Tower.

Stow.

Fox.

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.

*The lady
Jane and
the lord
Guilford
executed.
Her speech
upon the
scaffold.*

Godwin,
Annal.

*Her cha-
racter.*

She mounted the scaffold without the least appearance of fear, or being disturbed. In her speech she owned herself guilty, not that she had grasped the crown, but because that she had not refused the offer: and thus her misfortune might be a warning to posterity, that innocent meaning is not a sufficient excuse for disturbing the public: and that those who resign to other people's ambition, help to fill up their schemes, and are drawn into unlawful practices, though against their will, have a great deal to answer for.

The descent of this lady has been mentioned already, with some other particulars: as to the rest of her character, she was a handsome person, obliging in her temper, and no ordinary genius. Her inclination lay unusually for learning. She was scarcely seventeen years old when she suffered: and yet, in king Edward's time, she had made such a proficiency in Greek, that Plato untranslated was a diversion: she had likewise something of a talent for poetry, in English and Latin. There is a letter of her's to one Harding, who had been chaplain in her father's family. This divine had professed the reformed religion, but was now gone off to the Church of Rome. The lady Jane writes in a very pathetic strain to recover him. She endeavours to move him by the terrors of the other world, tells him he ought to prefer his conscience to his life: cites several passages from Scripture and Church history to work him to repentance and resolution. The discourse is remarkably pious, and discovers no ordinary share of elocution. But, after all, the language is extremely harsh: she expostulates in the highest terms of reproach. If he had revolted to the Koran, or worshipped the Pagan deities, she could not have expressed herself in stronger aversion.

Fox, vol. 3.
p. 33.

By this letter the reader may perceive to what distance this lady had been bred from any thing which looked like popery; now, where the idea seems too hideously drawn, and the imputation overcharged, vehemence and passion is apt to succeed. Several of those who suffer in Fox's Martyrology, seem to have gone too far in declamations of this kind. Indeed, both Papists and Protestants, when they first parted especially, treated each other with too much severity of language. Now such sallies tend only to exasperate, and do no manner of service. People may stand clear of error without insult and hostile behaviour. There is a middle way between railing and

ceremony, between caresses and outrage ; and, without question, smooth advances, and friendly applications, are the best expedients to undeceive the misled, and dispose them to part with their errors¹. MARY.

About fifty of the most forward in this insurrection were executed in several places. Captain Brett, who carried in the Londoners to Wyat, was put into the hands of the sheriff of Kent, and hanged in chains at Rochester. He owned he had deserved his punishment, having thrice refused the queen's pardon. The duke of Suffolk was beheaded on Tower-hill. He confessed he suffered justly for his disloyalty to the queen, and desired the people to take warning by his misfortune, and behave themselves dutifully to the government : he professed his belief of the Christian religion, without any distinction as to communions, excepting his saying that he rested his salvation upon no other means than the mercy of God, through the passion of our blessed Saviour. By this he may seem to exclude all dependence upon the saints' intercession. And, without doubt, Fox took him in this sense, for he gives him the commendation of making a godly end. On the other hand, Dr. Weston, it seems, did not look on him as an heretic : for, after this speech, he assisted him in his devotions, and they repeated the two Psalms, "Miserere mei, Deus," and "In te, Domine, speravi," alternately, the duke one verse, and the doctor another. Feb. 23.
The duke of
Suffolk
beheaded.

Stow's
Annal.
p. 623.

This duke, notwithstanding he had concerted the disinheriting the queen with Northumberland, and appeared at the head of his daughter's usurpation, was graciously pardoned, as hath been already observed. And therefore his engaging with Wyat, and breaking out in a second rebellion, was horrible ingratitude. He is said to have been a weak man, which is the only circumstance that can be pleaded in abatement of his guilt. 362.

William Thomas, clerk of the council, in the late reign, was one of Wyat's adherents, and committed to the Tower for high treason. During his imprisonment he stabbed himself with a knife, and the wound was near being mortal. At his execution he justified his treason, and said he died for his country. He advised assassinating the queen, for which Wyat abhorred him, as he confessed to the attorney-general at his execution. Ibid. et
p. 624.

Holinshed,
p. 1104.

This Thomas was not without learning and parts. He

¹ Would that this advice of Collier, confirmed by his practice, were more followed by polemical disputants.

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.
Wyat executed.

*Wyat clears
the princess
Elizabeth
and the earl
of Devon-
shire at his
death.*

Stow's
Annal.

*Rebelling
upon the
score of
religion as
unaccountable
expedient.*

wrote a book, entitled "Pelerin Inglese," in defence of the proceedings of king Henry VIII. Sir Thomas Wyat was beheaded upon Tower-hill. He had begged his life, and pretended he could have made the queen satisfaction. It is probable he meant in some discoveries. He owned his treason upon the scaffold, and appeared very penitent. He asked the queen forgiveness, cautioned the people against defiance of the government, and making insurrections upon any pretence. And whereas it had been reported he had charged the lady Elizabeth, and Courtney, earl of Devonshire, with holding correspondence with him, and having a share in the revolt, he solemnly declared this was a downright calumny upon them both, and that neither of them knew any thing of his rising. It seems he had given in some depositions to the council to their disadvantage; but his dying words, without question, are most to be regarded. I have seen a letter in the paper-office, under the lady Elizabeth's own hand, in which she purges herself from this imputation with the strongest imprecations imaginable. Whether it was Wyat's inconsistency in his evidence, or Courtney's refusal of the queen's favour, and making his court to her sister, which raised a jealousy, is hard to determine. However, it is certain the queen was apprehensive of disturbance from this quarter; and therefore the earl of Devonshire, who had been committed to the Tower in this commotion, was now conveyed to Fotheringay-castle, in Northamptonshire. The lady Elizabeth was sent from the Tower to Woodstock, and had a gentler confinement.

As to the insurrection under Wyat, it is plain it was the colour of religion which misled the people, and strengthened the revolt. Now, for Christians to endeavour a relief by rising upon the government, is a desperate expedient. What can be more unaccountable than to rebel for that belief which damns rebellion? To honour God with the breach of his laws, and serve him with the highest violation of faith and duty, is a blasphemous pretence. It is to prescribe poison for preservative, and kill in the remedy. Besides, religion is never in danger of being lost; a man's faith by God's grace is impregnable against all assaults. Unless we throw it up, and betray it, all the force of men and devils cannot wrest it from us. The primitive Christians kept it upon the rack. "Neither nakedness, nor peril, nor sword, could separate them from the love of Christ." What can be more contrary to religion, than to

break through the Divine establishment, fly in the face of authority and law, and lay kingdoms in blood and ashes? Those who suggest such flagitious courses have generally some selfish design at the bottom. They would make the people tools for their ambition; their business is interest and power; and all this false zeal is either to gratify their pride or their pocket. It is granted, a state of persecution is not to be wished. However, when Providence pleases to bring it upon us, we ought not to avoid it by applying to unlawful means. To take such rash steps would be falling under the imputation with which Job was unjustly taxed; it would be "choosing iniquity rather than affliction." To which it may be added, that religion loses no ground by persecution. Integrity has never so fair a trial as under hard usage. Which way can the faith of a Christian be said to suffer, when disinterestedness and resignation are most clearly discovered; when all the moral and evangelical virtues have the best opportunities, and are set in the fairest light? Farther: when people live under a prince of a different religion, they ought to be particularly careful in their behaviour; they ought not to show the least sign of disaffection; they ought to serve him with all the zeal and cheerfulness imaginable. This is the way to make their honesty shine out, to recommend their belief, and gain proselytes to their Church. To abet a prince's right of a different communion, and acquiesce under the disadvantages which may happen, is a noble instance of steady unmercenary loyalty. Here passive obedience appears with all the lustre imaginable. Nothing but regard to justice and the other world can keep people right under such circumstances. Suffering either present or in prospect is a creditable test of integrity and honour. It is a glorious opportunity to show we are Christians, and ought never to be lost. It is likewise the most probable method to soften a prince to good humour, and abate the rigour of his government¹.

It is to be wished Fox had declared his abhorrence of this rebellion, and spent some of his vehemence upon the occasion. His satire could never have been better employed than against Wyat and his party. It is true he calls it a rebellion; but afterwards slides gently over it without farther censure. I am sorry to see his passions so calm, and his pen so smooth under

For mistaken in his remarks.

¹ This is perhaps the most eloquent passage in our author's history.

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.

Fox, vol. 3.
p. 30.

363.

Id. p. 37.

such provocation. But instead of declaiming against the wickedness of these gossellers, and lashing the insurrection, he falls foul on the duke of Suffolk's servant. He calls him a false traitor, for discovering his master and putting him in the hands of justice. It is true this man had promised the duke to conceal him; but then this engagement was something like that of Herod's, he could not keep it without failing against a prior obligation. For every subject is bound by his natural allegiance to discover the enemies of the government, especially such as break out in rebellion, and point directly at dethroning the prince. It is true the duke's servant had something of a hard case upon him. His master had, no doubt of it, been kind, and cast himself upon his secrecy; but since the duke was so highly criminal, since the keeper promised more than was in his power, it is plain he could not be true to his master without breach of duty and being false to the queen and government.

Fox is somewhat unhappy in another remark upon judge Morgan. He states that his passing sentence upon the lady Jane, at Guildhall, was judicially punished with madness: but this looks like a censorious and ill-founded inference. For what crime could it be to discharge his office, to maintain the constitution, and give judgment on a person notoriously guilty of high treason? The indictment was confessed, and the judge was to govern himself by the directions of law. As to the lady Jane's being overruled into the usurpation by her parents, or misled by the long robe, these considerations were to be wholly referred to the queen's mercy, and the judge had nothing to do with them upon the bench.

Bp. Burnet,
pt. 2. p. 270.

It has been already observed that Stow reports Poinet, bishop of Winchester, in Wyatt's army, and abetting the insurrection. This, one of our learned Church historians affirms, is certainly false. It is generously done to attempt the throwing off so black an imputation, but his proof falls something short of his affirmation. He says, had this story been true upon Poinet, it would have been discovered by the prisoners. And how does it appear it was not so discovered? Stow, who lived at the same time, is positive for the matter of fact: and this historian, it is well known, is neither reckoned an over-credulous nor romantic writer.

That some of the reformed were well-wishers to Wyatt's revolt is past all doubt. For instance, there was a book

MARY.

published at Geneva about this time by Christopher Goodman. The design of this tract is to show how far superior magistrates are to be obeyed. It is stuffed with a great deal of scandalous invective against the queen, and her subjects are incited to rebellion. He makes no scruple to embalm Wyat's memory, and flourishes upon the insurrection in these words:—"Wyat," says he, "did but his duty, and it was but the duty of all others that professed the Gospel to have risen with him for the maintenance of the same. His cause was just, and they were all traitors that took not part with him. O noble Wyat! thou art now with God and those worthy men that died in that happy enterprise."

*Goodman's
justification
of Wyat's
rebellion.*

*Heylin's
Hist. Ref.
Q. Mary,
p. 34.*

To give another instance. There was a book printed towards the latter end of this reign, but neither the precise year nor place are mentioned. It is entitled, "A Short Treatise of Politic Power, &c. with an Exhortation to all true natural Englishmen." There are some initial letters upon the title-page designed to point out the author. This book was put into my hands for Poinet's, but I hope the gentleman was misinformed. However, it was certainly written by some reformed Englishman, and by a person that had lost a considerable post for non-compliance; as plainly appears by several passages. As to the performance, it is a most pestilent discourse: it makes all government precarious, and lays it wholly in a manner at the mercy of the people. The author declaims against absolute authority as the invention of the devil. He cites the ephori in Sparta and the Roman tribunes as a precedent for calling the prince to an account for mal-administration: and that, as he words it, "in all Christian realms and dominions God has ordained means that the heads, the princes, and governors, should not oppress the people after their lusts." And, therefore, he charges the states and inferior magistracy with negligence and breach of trust, for not rising upon crowned heads, and rescuing the people from tyranny. And to apply his reasoning, and make it bear upon England, he runs a great length of satire against the government; makes popery as bad as heathenism, and glances not unintelligibly upon the queen. He presses the expedient of deposing princes: and, which is more, he wrests the Scripture to justify his doctrine, recommends assassination from several places in the Old Testament, and misapplies the instances in a horrible

*The letters
are these,
D. I. P. B.
R. W.*

*Some of the
tenets of a
book intitled
"A Short
Treatise of
Politic
Power."*

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.

manner. Besides the scandal of the matter, he is frequently gross in his railing, and sometimes indecent in his levities. In the close he addresses particularly to the English, and tells them, that all the plagues of the present reign, of which he had already given a tragical account, that all these plagues had fallen upon them "for cleaving to the pope and his traditions, and maintaining such a sort of hypocrites and enemies of God and the realm;" meaning papists. And that "the rest of the judgments threatened in Deuteronomy would overtake them, unless they behaved themselves better," that is, unless they took arms against the government, and threw out popery by force.

After a recital of these wretched principles, the book ought not to be charged upon Poinet without plain evidence: and, therefore, I am willing to acquiesce in our historian's next reason for his vindication. He concludes, that if Poinet had been concerned in Wyatt's rebellion, Gardiner would have gotten him attainted in the next parliament. And that this being not done, is a sufficient justification of that prelate.

Bp. Burnet,
pt. 2. p. 271.

To take leave of this rebellion. After the principal conspirators were executed, about five hundred of the peasants that followed Wyatt were brought before the queen with halters about their necks, begged their lives, and were pardoned.

*A proclamation for
foreigners to
quit the
kingdom.*

About this time the queen set forth a proclamation, commanding foreigners to depart the kingdom. To prevent the imputation of rigour, it is said in the proclamation, that a great many foreigners, guilty of murder, treason, robbery, and other horrible crimes, had fled from justice, and taken shelter in her majesty's realm. That they had infected her subjects with heresy, abetted the late rebellion, and still continued the same practice, endeavouring to dispose her subjects to another insurrection. For this disaffection and misbehaviour they are ordered to depart the kingdom within twenty-four days, under the penalty of imprisonment, forfeiting their effects, and being put into the hands of their respective princes.

Fox, vol. 3.
p. 39, 40.

It was upon this proclamation, as Fox reports, that not only Peter Martyr, and John Alasco, but likewise the English exiles already mentioned, transported themselves into Germany, Geneva, and Switzerland.

The government being now secured by crushing the rebel-

lion, the court thought fit to make use of the opportunity, with reference to the Church; for now they were in no apprehension of mutiny and opposition. At this favourable juncture, articles were drawn up, and sent into every diocese, with letters to the bishops to see them carefully executed. The purport of the articles is to the sense following:—"That all bishops, and others having ecclesiastical jurisdiction, shall, with all possible expedition, put the canons and ecclesiastical laws in execution, which were formerly used in the reign of king Henry VIII., provided they are not directly contrary to the laws and statutes of the realm. That no bishop, or ecclesiastical officer, shall in any instrument or process, insert the clause, 'Regiâ autoritate fulcitus.' That the oath of primacy or succession, that is, the oath of supremacy, should not be imposed on the clergy at ordination, or admissions to benefices. That bishops and their officers should be particularly careful not to admit any person to any ecclesiastical function or benefice, who lay under the imputation of heresy, or any other great crime: and that the bishops should put a stop, as far as in them lay, to the passing or confirming unreasonable leases. That all bishops and ecclesiastical officers should do their utmost towards the suppressing of heresy, and other scandalous crimes, especially with respect to the clergy. They were likewise to discountenance and censure scandalous books and ballads, and to inspect the conduct of schoolmasters and preachers: that they might not misbehave themselves, and mislead their charge. That all bishops and others, having ecclesiastical jurisdiction, should proceed summarily, and with all possible dispatch, deprive, and remove all such persons from their spiritual promotion, who have married and cohabited with their wives, or given themselves the liberty of any other remarkable disorder: and that hanging the process, the profits of their preferments should be sequestered. And here those clergymen, whose wives were dead, were to be more gently used. Those priests, likewise, who, with the consent of their wives, declared against cohabitation for the future, before the bishop, might, after penance, if the bishop thought fit, be restored to their function upon another cure, and have a pension assigned them out of their first preferment, at the ordinary's discretion. That those who had formerly been professed in any monastic order, and afterwards married, should be formally divorced, and

MARY.

364.

*Articles sent
down by the
queen to all
the bishops.*

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.

punished over and above. That where priests were wanting, the parishioners should be ordered to repair to another parish, till farther provision : and that in the mean time one curate should officiate alternately in several places. That all processions should be solemnized pursuant to custom, in the Latin tongue. That all festivals and fasts should be observed, as they were in the latter end of the reign of king Henry VIII. That the old ceremonies should be restored, and the children christened by the priest, and confirmed by the bishop, according to ancient usage."

The next article, being of a nice importance, I shall set it down in the words it was drawn up. It stands thus :

March 3,
1553-4.

" Touching such persons, as were heretofore promoted to any orders, after the new sort and fashion of orders ; considering they were not ordered in very deed, the bishop of the diocese finding otherwise sufficiency and ability in those men, may supply that thing which wanted in them before, and then according to discretion admit to minister."

To proceed, the bishop of the diocese is enjoined to set forth a book of homilies, " to instruct the people, and regulate their belief. The parishioners are likewise to be compelled to come to church, and hear Divine service. The bishops are to give orders to all schoolmasters, to instruct their children in the Liturgy, that they may be able to repeat the responses, and assist the priest at mass, as formerly."

Id. p. 38.
March 16,
1553-4.
*Two commissions
issued out
for depriving seven
bishops.*

About ten days after publishing these articles, the queen issued a commission to Gardiner, bishop of Winchester ; Tostal, bishop of Durham ; Bonner, of London ; Parfew, of St. Asaph ; Day, of Chichester ; and Kitchen, of Landaff. The instrument sets forth, that the queen, to her great grief, had been fully informed, that Robert, archbishop of York ; Robert, bishop of St. David's ; John, bishop of Chester ; and Paul, bishop of Bristol, had, after a solemn profession of chastity, (or single life) engaged in marriage, and cohabited with their wives : that this was a very criminal liberty, and dangerous in the example. To punish this misbehaviour, the commissioners, or any three of them, are empowered to convent the archbishop of York, the bishop of St. David's, and the rest, before them, and, in case the charge is made good, to deprive them of their sees, and enjoin such penance as they should think proper. And here they are authorised to proceed summarily ; " Sum-

*Episcopos aut certis
pro turibus se
gerentes.
Rot. Pnt.
prim. Mar.
pars septim.*

marie et de plano, sine ullo strepitu et figurâ judicii.” To MARY.
 explain these terms a little: the ecclesiastical judge is said to proceed summarily, when the forms of the court are not exactly observed. For instance, when evidence is admitted against those who are not upon the spot to defend themselves; but here nothing ought to be done to the prejudice of the parties, nor to bar them from bringing the cause to a farther trial. The process is said to be managed, “de plano et sine strepitu judicii,” when the judge neither sits on the bench in the customary place, nor observes the stated days for hearing, but receives the libel, or appeal, or any other thing, (not disserviceable to the defendant) out of the customary method. And, lastly, the process is said to go on, “sine formâ et figurâ judicii,” when the supplemental methods of the civil or municipal laws are omitted, and nothing made use of, but what results from the law of nature.

Reformat.
 Leg. Eccles.
 p. 90.

To return, there was another commission, dated March the fifteenth, issued to the persons above-mentioned, to call John Taylor, doctor of divinity, naming himself bishop of Lincoln; John Hooper, naming himself bishop of Worcester and Gloucester; John Harley, bishop of Hereford; “who held their pretended bishoprics,” as the instrument goes on, “by the letters-patent of king Edward VI., with the express clause of “quam diu se bene gesserint:” and that these prelates, both by teaching erroneous doctrine, and exceptionable behaviour, had made themselves unworthy of that dignity and station in the Church. These commissions being both executed, seven of the reformed bishops were removed from their sees. These proceedings, as our learned historian observes, were much censured. For though the laws which allowed the marriage of priests were repealed, yet the repeal looked only forward, and was not to be driven to a retrospection. And therefore, though these bishops might have been legally punished, if they had continued to cohabit with their wives, they ought not, however, to have been proceeded against for what was past. But, to charge the queen with no more rigour than the case will bear; if the business is further examined, it will be found there is a material difference in these two commissions.

Bp. Burnet,
 pt. 2. p. 275.
 365.

Id. pt. 2.
 Records,
 book 2,
 num. 12.

By the first, the archbishop of York, &c., are not deprived purely for marrying, but for breaking their monastic vow of single life; and upon this the stress of the charge is particularly

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.
*These com-
missions
differently
drawn, and
why.*

2 & 3 Edw. 6.
cap. 21.
5 & 6 Edw. 6.
cap. 12.

Bp. Burnet,
pt. 2. p. 275.

laid. The words in the commission are these: "Quia comperimus Robertum archiepiscopum Ebor., Robertum Menev., Robertum Cestriens., et Paulum Bristol., post expressam professionem castitatis expresse, rite, et legitime emissam, cum quibusdam mulieribus nuptias de facto, cum de jure non deberent, contraxisse." Whereas, in the second commission, for depriving Taylor, Hooper, and Harley, there is no mention of breach of vow, but only a charge of misbehaviour in general; and that they had taken their sees upon a clause of "quam diu se bene gesserint" in their patent. Now, there could be no particular aggravation in submitting to this clause, for in this they had done no more than the rest of the bishops. On the other side, Hooper and Harley were both married; and yet are not expressly loaded with prevarication upon this score. The reason of this different censure was, because the first four were regulars, and the other three seculars. That the latter, Taylor, Hooper, and Harley, were seculars, is well known; and, as for the others, they were men of distinction in the monastic class. For instance, Holgate, archbishop of York, had been provincial of the order of the Gilbertines of Sempringham; Ferrar, of St. David's, was a canon-regular of the order of St. Augustine; Bush, of Bristol, had been provincial of the Bons-hommes; and Bird, of Chester, was formerly provincial of the Carmelites. Of the three secular bishops, Hooper and Harley, as hath been observed, were married. However, the queen, in her commission for their deprivation, makes no express mention of this circumstance. It is true, the ecclesiastical judges alleged their marriage as one reason for setting them aside; but then this was not done upon any clause in the queen's commission, but in virtue of the canon law,—of the canon law, I say, which, upon the repeal of the two statutes in the late reign, recovered its force upon the married clergy.

Our learned historian takes notice, that, on or before the 18th of March this year, the sees of St. David's, Lincoln, Hereford, Chester, Gloucester, and Bristol, were declared vacant. But the register of Canterbury, upon which all these deprivations are entered, sets them two days forward,—that is, on March the 20th, which is no wonder, since the commissions for removing them were dated but four or five days before. This register informs us, that the bishops of Winchester,

London, Chichester, and Durham, by virtue of the queen's commission, pronounced the sentence of deprivation upon John Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, "ob nullitatem consecrationis ejus, et defectum tituli sui quem habuit a rege Edvardo Sexto, per literas patentes, cum hac clausula, dum bene se gesserit." Hooper, bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, was deprived for defect of title, marrying, and other instances of misbehaviour; Harley, bishop of Hereford, for marriage and heresy, and for the other reasons alleged against Taylor; Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, "propter causas supra dictas;" and Bird, bishop of Chester, for his marriage. Bush, bishop of Bristol, had no sentence of deprivation passed upon him. Whether he avoided the blow by renouncing his marriage, or by any other submission, is more than appears. However, it seems his seat was uneasy to him: and in June following, he resigned his bishopric: for this month, as may be seen in the register last-mentioned, the dean and chapter of Canterbury entered upon the spiritual jurisdiction of the see of Bristol, then void by the voluntary resignation of Paul Bush.

Thus the reader may observe, these bishops, excepting Bush, were all turned out upon the strength of the regale: for, though the sentence of deprivation was pronounced by bishops, and none but those of that order are named in the commission, yet they acted purely upon the queen's authority, as appears both by the instrument and the Canterbury register. These vacant sees of St. David's, Lincoln, Hereford, Chester, Gloucester, and Bristol, were filled with Morgan, White, Parfew, Coates, Brooks, and Holyman; and Gooderick, bishop of Ely, dying in May this spring, Thirleby of Norwich was translated to that see, and Hopton made bishop of Norwich. Scory, late bishop of Chichester, though removed upon Day's being restored, went a full length in his compliance. He made his appearance before Bonner, renounced his matrimony, submitted to penance, and had a formal absolution on the 14th of July this year. Upon his giving this full satisfaction, Bonner was contented to restore him to the exercise of his pastoral function, though with some abatement; but whether he was allowed to act as a suffragan within the diocese of London, or confined to the business of a priest, is not said. But, after all, it seems there was more of fear than inclination in Scory's submission: he made no use of Bonner's absolution, but retired beyond sea,

MARY.

June 21,
1554.

The re-formed bishops turned out by the queen's commission, and not by any synodical authority.

Regist.
Bonner,
fol. 347.

Sullen cum quodam temperamento.

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.

Harmer,
p. 135.

Godwin de
Præsul.
Angl.
Bp. Burnet,
pt. 2. p. 276.

Harmer,
p. 136.

Bp. Burnet,
p. 276.
Harmer, ib.

366.

Bp. Burnet,
p. 276.

*The inferior
clergy ejected
upon the
score of
marriage.
Ibid.*

where he lived till the reign of queen Elizabeth. And, to mention another vacancy, Barlow, bishop of Bath and Wells, resigned: upon which, Bourn, archdeacon of London, was promoted to that see. The archbishopric of York was likewise void, and Holgate imprisoned in the Tower; and, in September following, Sampson, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, departed this life, and was succeeded by Bayn. Barlow, bishop of Bath and Wells, is said never to have been married. But here the learned historian was misinformed: for Barlow had five daughters, married to five bishops, as appears by a monumental inscription made for his daughter Frances, buried in York minster. He had likewise a son, prebendary of Wyvelescombe, in the church of Wells. About this time there was a book published in Barlow's name, in which he retracts his former persuasion, speaks dishonourably of his acquaintance Luther, Œcolampadius, and several others of the reformed in Germany, charges the English Gospellers with pride and intemperance, with hypocrisy and ill nature. It is thought, if Barlow had played his satire so strong upon the Reformation, he "would not have been quite thrown out," especially since he was never married. But this is a mistake, as hath been observed; and, which is more, his wife was living sometime within the reign of queen Elizabeth. As to the bishop, he continued beyond sea till after the death of queen Mary. Upon his return into England, "there was some offence, it seems, taken at his former behaviour; for he was not restored to Bath and Wells, but put into Chichester, which was a much meaner bishopric."

The bishops of the queen's communion, being much the greater majority, began to exert themselves, and make the reformed clergy sensible of their discipline. For instance, the clergy being computed at about sixteen thousand in England, twelve thousand of them were turned out, as it is said, upon the score of being married,—for this archbishop Parker is vouched;—but, upon inquiry, this prelate's testimony does not appear. Neither does the book written by an anonymous layman, in defence of priests' marriages, and published by Parker, come up to this account: for this writer only cites the authority of another nameless author. The learned Wharton, having examined the number of clergymen deprived in the diocese and peculiars of Canterbury upon the score of marriage,

MARY.

finds the proportion far short of the computation above-mentioned. He observes, there are within the jurisdiction of the church of Canterbury about three hundred benefices and other ecclesiastical preferments; but, within this precinct, only seventy-three clergymen were deprived, either for marriage or upon any other account. Now, this number is far from holding the proportion of twelve to sixteen; and yet, as he observes, Thornden and Harpsfield, two dignified men in this diocese, were as forward in prosecuting the married clergy as any other Roman Catholic zealots elsewhere. It is affirmed, the married clergy were all "summarily deprived;" but this looks like mounting the rigour beyond matter of fact; for the author above-mentioned, published by archbishop Parker, affirms a year's time was allowed the clergy "to abjure their heresy and put away their wives." Besides, in the Canterbury register, made for the vacancy of that see, there are many processes and deprivations of married clergymen entered: from whence it follows the customary forms were observed, and that they were not all "summarily" deprived. It is further remarked, that the reformed clergy, besides the loss of their benefices, were forced to quit their wives. This severity is supposed to have reached all those that were married. That the reformed clergy were roughly used is beyond question. However, the hardships put upon them seem swelled a little beyond the reality of the case: for none of the married clergy were obliged to part with their wives after deprivation, unless they had been regulars. And here their vow of chastity, as they called it, obliged them to separation; but the secular clergy, who were under no such monastic engagement, were gentlier used. That the secular clergy had made no vow of single life at their ordination, for some time before the Reformation, is highly probable; but, in a council at Winchester, held under Lanfrank, as hath been observed already, it was decreed that none should be ordained priest or deacon without making a declaration against matrimony.

Harmer,
p. 138.
Bp. Burnet,
pt. 2. p. 277.

*The secular
clergy not
obliged to
part with
their wives,
and why.*
Ibid. and
Harmer,
p. 139.

Spelman.
Concil.
vol. 2. p. 11.

That many of the reformed clergy in queen Mary's reign had taken monastic vows, is sufficiently evident: for those regular priests, who had been ejected their houses at the dissolution of the monasteries, were qualified to hold benefices. Neither did their politic capacity lie idle upon their hands: for the king and other lay-patrons were willing to place them in cures at

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.

the first opportunity; for, by this means, they saved their pensions, which must otherwise have been paid. That these regulars, who were very numerous, were forced to part with their wives, is not to be contested; but that the seculars were thus used, is more than appears. That the English Church had, for some time at least, ordained them without vows of celibacy, is pretty plain from the articles of inquiry drawn up this year, in which these interrogatories, amongst others, were put to every married clergyman: "Whether he had been a religious?—of what order?—and in what monastery?"

See Records,
num. 69.
*A new par-
liament.*

Bp. Burnet,
pt. 2. p. 277.

To proceed: on the 2nd of April a new parliament met at Westminster. The commons are said to have been bribed to the court measures, and largely pensioned by Gardiner, the lord chancellor. This is a hard reflection upon that honourable house. But the historian is not pleased to tell us how this secret came to his knowledge. If Beale is the reporter, —and he seems to have no other,—the account looks very suspicious. The first act I shall mention confirms the articles of marriage between the queen, and Philip, prince of Spain. The statute mentions two treaties. The articles of the first have been already related. By the second, Philip was obliged to entertain a certain number of English gentlemen and others in his court. He was not to convey the queen out of England, unless at her own instance. The issue of the marriage were to be bred in England, and not carried into foreign countries without the consent of the English nobility. In case the queen should die without issue, Philip was barred claiming any right to the kingdom, and the crown was to descend according to course of law. King Philip was likewise obliged not to transport any jewels or rich furniture, or alienate any part of the royal revenues. No part of the fleet, of the artillery, of the ammunition or stores, were to be conveyed out of England, or any ways embezzled. That, upon the score of this marriage, England should not be drawn into the war between the emperor and the French king, but that the late alliance with France should be inviolably maintained: with a liberty, however, to Philip, to assist the emperor his father from any other country of his dominions. Lastly, the sovereignty of the English realms was to rest solely in the queen; though in all grants, public acts, and instruments of government, both their majesties' names were to be inserted.

*A farther
account of
the articles
of the queen's
marriage.*

1st Mary,
parl. 2d.
cap. 2.

MARY.

To proceed: this parliament repealed two statutes of the late reign for the dissolution of the bishopric of Durham. The preamble sets forth, "that certain ambitious persons, taking advantage of the late king's minority, made an interest, by sinister practice, to procure the dissolution of the bishopric; that it was done out of mercenary views, to enrich themselves and their friends by seizing the lands of that see, rather than upon just occasion, or godly zeal; that Tunstal, bishop of Durham, was deprived upon untrue surmises and false accusations, and that the process against him was foul and illegal; that, upon a full examination of the matter by the queen's commissioners, the sentence of deprivation was declared void, as may be seen at large by an authentic instrument; that the queen had new founded the bishopric by her letters-patent, and restored all the lands in her possession; but that neither the reversal of the sentence of deprivation, nor the queen's letters-patent, were of sufficient force to recover the honours, lands, &c., to the see of Durham. To restore the bishopric, therefore, to its former interest, privilege, and revenues, the two dissolution-statutes of the late reign were repealed."

367.

1st Mary,
parl. 2d.
cap. 3.
Statutes at
Large.

As far as it appears by this act, the bishop of Durham recovered all the estate formerly belonging to his see, excepting a capital messuage, or mansion-house, called Colderborough, in Thames-street, London, in the parish of All-Hallows the Less, with some other messuages and tenements in the parishes of Barking and Gracechurch. These having been granted by the late king to the earl of Shrewsbury, were to remain to him and his heirs. However, in the close of the act, the bishop petitions the queen for an equivalent.

By another act of this parliament, the queen is empowered to appoint statutes for the government of the deaneries, prebends, schools, and their revenues lately erected, and settled by king Henry VIII. The queen is likewise enabled to alter the statutes from time to time at pleasure. These statutes were drawn by king Henry's commissioners, and delivered to the respective churches, but not being indented, they fell short of the condition required in the king's grant, which defect gave occasion to the making this act.

1st Mary,
parl. 2d.
cap. 9.
April 10.
A. D. 1554.
Cranmer,
Ridley, and
Latimer
conveyed to
Oxford to
dispute.

This parliament was dissolved on the fifth of May. During the session, archbishop Cranmer, bishop Ridley, and bishop Latimer, were removed from the Tower to Windsor, and from

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.

thence to Oxford, to dispute with some persons selected from both universities. This disputation was brought on because a rumour was spread that the Roman Catholics had been lately worsted in the convocation-house. For this purpose the convocation and the two universities were authorised, by the queen's letters, to constitute a committee for the managing this controversy. Those pitched upon in the university of Oxford were Dr. Weston, prolocutor, Dr. Tresham, Dr. Cole, Dr. Oglethorpe, Dr. Chedsey, Mr. Pye, Mr. John Harpsfield, and Mr. Fecknam. Those of Cambridge were Dr. Young, the vice-chancellor, Dr. Glyn, Dr. Seaton, Dr. Watson, Dr. Sedgwick, and Dr. Atkinson. The committee who were to engage in the disputation had an authority from the convocation and both the universities.

*The convo-
cation meets,
April 3.
Journal of
Convoca-
tion, fol. 74.*

The queen sent her precept to the mayor and bailiffs of Oxford to bring the prisoners Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer into the public schools at the times appointed for disputation. At their appearance, there were these three articles given Cranmer and the other two bishops to subscribe ;—

*The three
questions for
the disputa-
tion.*

First. In the sacrament of the altar, by virtue of the words of consecration pronounced by the priest, the natural body of Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, is present under the species of bread and wine. Part of the Latin runs thus : “Præsens est realiter sub speciebus panis et vini naturale corpus Christi conceptum de Virgine Mariâ, item naturalis ejusdem sanguis.”

Secondly. After consecration, neither the substance of bread and wine, nor any other substance remains, excepting that of Christ, God and man. In Latin : “Post consecrationem non remanet substantia panis et vini, neque ulla alia substantia nisi substantia Christi, Dei et hominis.”

Thirdly. The mass is a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the living and dead. It stands thus in Latin : “In missa est vivificum ecclesiæ sacrificium pro peccatis tam vivorum quam mortuorum propitiabile.”

MS. penes
me, Fox,
vol. 3.

These articles had been sent down to Cambridge by the convocation some little time before, where they were publicly examined and approved.

Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, at the first sight of these articles, declared frankly they were not true. However, they promised to return an answer in writing ; and in case of their

Id. MS.

dissent from the delegates, they were to argue upon the questions in the schools. The disputation was to be managed in Latin, in the forms of logic. The three bishops returning a negative answer to all the articles, they proceeded to dispute, and notaries were appointed to take the argument in writing; ^{MARY.} of these John Jewel and Gilbert Munson, masters of arts, were two, both of whom were allowed by Cranmer and Ridley. Weston and the rest of the committee, in their procuratorial letters from the convocation, own the episcopal character of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, though they mention them with some abatement, and call them the late bishops of Canterbury, Rochester, and Worcester.

And the same respect is given them in the procuratorial letter from Cambridge. It is true, in the queen's precept to the mayor of Oxford, Ridley and Latimer are only styled doctor and clerk; but this instrument is singular in the distinction, and no counterbalance to the rest.

The three bishops were forced to enter the lists at great disadvantages. They had but two days allowed them for preparation; they were kept in different and ill-accommodated prisons; not suffered to converse with each other; neither had they the convenience of their own books and papers. They were likewise obliged to appear single in the contest, each of them having a distinct day assigned, so that they had no opportunity of supporting each other, if occasion had required.

The two first questions having been dilated on in the first part of this work, and lately argued at length in the convocation by Weston, Philpot, and others, I shall pass over the greatest part of the disputation. And to prevent tiring the reader with the repetition of this controversy, I shall only refer him to the bishops' answers delivered in Latin to the committee.

Upon the last question concerning the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass, Cranmer was fully of opinion, that the holding it in the affirmative was derogatory to the sacrifice upon the cross; that if the passion of our Saviour was sufficient for all purposes of redemption, what occasion could there be for any other? and that the necessity of any succeeding supplemental oblations supposed that at Jerusalem defective. To support this reasoning, he cited the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah and the ninth to the Hebrews. And lastly, he seems to allow of no

Vol. I.
under Lan-
frank.

See Records,
num. 71.
Regist.
Bonner,
folio 339. et
deince.
April 16,
Cranmer's
opinion con-
cerning the
sacrifice in
the mass.

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.

sacrifice under the Christian dispensation, excepting that of praise and thanksgiving, of repentance, and works of charity. Ridley and Latimer, in their answers, delivered themselves to the same sense.

368.

Chadsey, Tresham, Weston, and Young, argued against Cranmer. Amongst other things, they charge him with misrepresenting and mistranslating Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and others of the ancients in his book concerning the sacraments; to which he makes his defence. His setting forth the Catechism in the name of the synod of London is likewise objected to him by Weston; he told him there were fifty of that convocation who declared they never heard a word of that Catechism. To this Cranmer answers, the title was settled without his knowledge, and that he complained of it to the council, who told him the book was so intituled because it was set forth sitting the convocation.

It has been observed already, that the prolocutor Weston, at the convocation of last October, complained in very strong language against this Catechism, calls it a "very pestiferous book, and full of heresies." What Philpot returned to Weston on this head hath been already related. Now, that the Forty-two Articles of religion, published in the late reign, were principally meant in this charge, and not the Catechism, is endeavoured to be proved by a late author. His reasons, in short, are these: First, because the prolocutor Weston calls them the "Articles of the Catechism," and proposes the twenty-ninth of Edward VI.'s articles to dispute on. Besides, he observes these Forty-two Articles were first printed at the end of this Catechism, which might make them pass under that title. Farther, the Catechism, taken by itself, has not the name of the synod put upon it; the title of it being only this, "Catechismus brevis Christianæ disciplinæ summam continens, omnibus ludimagistris autoritate regiæ commendatus." Neither does Philpot's defence already mentioned agree to the Catechism, but only to the Articles; for the Catechism is not said to be drawn up by a committee upon whom the convocation had transferred their authority; for in the king's preface it is said to have been written by a certain pious and learned person; and that, being offered to his majesty, he had referred it to the perusal of some bishops and other men of learning: and that, being approved by them, he had ordered it to be

Fox, vol. 3.
p. 19.

Church Go-
vernment,
pt. 5, printed
at Oxford,
A. D. 1687.
p. 191, et
deinceps.

printed for schoolmasters to instruct their children. To which this author adds, that the Catechism abstracted from the Articles scarcely borders upon any controversy, and therefore Weston could have no reason to call it a "pestiferous book, and full of heresies;" neither would he have been so active in procuring the subscriptions of the house against it.

MARY.

April 17.

To proceed: the next day Ridley was brought into the schools, and opposed by Dr. Smith, formerly mentioned, by the prolocutor Weston, by Tresham, Oglethorpe, Glyn, Seaton, Cole, Ward, Harpsfield, Watson, Pye, Harding, Curton, and Fecknam. He made a very learned defence, and maintained his ground to great commendation against all his antagonists.

Fox, vol. 3.
p. 8.

The third day being the 18th of April, Latimer was brought before the committee. He desired to be excused disputing, upon the score of his age and long disuse of the Latin tongue. However, he gave in his answer, which is penned partly in Latin and partly in English; and after they had perused his opinion upon the three questions, he told them they might use him as they thought fit. Upon the first article, though he denies a corporeal, he owns a real or spiritual presence; that such a presence was sufficient for our union with Christ, comprehended all the advantages, and answered all the ends of receiving the sacrament. He was afterwards dragged into a disputation, which I shall pass over.

*Latimer's
belief con-
cerning the
real pre-
sence.*

The next day John Harpsfield kept an act for his doctor's degree; and giving the two first questions for his exercise, Cranmer was permitted to oppose him, and appear once more in his own defence. Amongst other arguments, he asked Harpsfield how, or in what manner, Christ's body is present in the sacraments? And whether this presence has quantity, qualities, form, figure, and such like properties of a human body? Harpsfield returning no answer, but endeavouring to disengage himself by another question, several of the doctors struck in, to reinforce him. Tresham confessed our Saviour in the sacrament of the altar had not all the modes of quantity and qualities proper to a body. Smith owned the stating the manner of this presence was impossible. Weston, finding his friends embarrassed in their answers, endeavoured to untie the knot, by saying, it is "Corpus quantum, sed non per modum quanti." That is, our Saviour's body in the eucharist has quantity, but not according to the manner of quantity; that is,

*Cranmer
opposes
Harpsfield.*

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.

it has quantity, but not those properties which are essential to the idea of quantity. But to solve a difficulty by such a distinction is no better than jargon, and downright contradiction. Cranmer pressed the question, and argued, that since it was agreed our Saviour's body in heaven had the quantity and figure of a human body, and that in the holy eucharist it had none of these properties, therefore our Saviour must have two bodies perfectly distinct from each other: one in heaven and the other upon earth. Here Harpsfield being somewhat at a loss, Weston came on to his relief, but with little success. After Cranmer had made use of some other mediums, he was dismissed by Weston with commendation. Afterwards, Weston, being in the chair, opposed Harpsfield himself. Amongst other authorities, he urged that of Theodoret, formerly mentioned. He likewise cited that remarkable testimony of St. Chrysostom, in his epistle to Cæsarius, where this Father, as I have already observed, plainly affirms, that the bread after the consecration remains in its former nature and condition. Harpsfield asked him how he proved this passage belonged to St. Chrysostom? Weston vouched a book of Peter Martyr's to make good the citation. Harpsfield refusing to be concluded by Peter Martyr's authority, made no farther answer. But since this epistle to Cæsarius has been lately published by Bigotius, the authority of the testimony is put beyond dispute. This plain passage of St. Chrysostom may be used as a key to interpret him in other places upon this argument. For instance: when Ridley denied the corporeal presence in the schools, he was urged by Smith and Harpsfield with some strong expressions out of St. Chrysostom. It must be confessed the words sound high, at least towards consubstantiation; but these expressions being either in his homilies, or his book of the priesthood, are not to be strained up to the letter. The design of the Father in these discourses being only to give a solemn idea of the dignity of the sacrament, to awaken the reverence, and heighten the devotion of the receivers. To this purpose he has made use of strong affecting metaphors. That his phrase is sometimes figurative, must be owned, even by those who maintain transubstantiation. For instance, in one place he speaks thus: "The mouths of those who receive, are tinged and impurpled with the blood of our Saviour." Thus he makes the corporeal presence an object of sense, which is

Vol. I. under
Abp. Lan-
frank.
*St. Chrysos-
tom's pas-
sages con-
cerning the
holy eucha-
rist to be
construed by
his epistle to
Cæsarius,
and why.*

neither true nor maintained by those of the Roman communion. MARY.
 It is evident therefore these strong passages of St. Chrysostom are to be construed with allowance, and pass for no more than figures of rhetoric. To make a right judgment of this Father's opinion, we must consult him in those discourses where strict logic is his business, and where he pretends more to argue than flourish. And of this kind we may reckon his epistle to Cæsarius.

In this tract he attempts close reasoning, and discovers his opinion without heightenings, and swelled expression : and therefore, by all reasonable construction, the passages in his rhetorical discourses ought to be interpreted by what he delivers here.

To proceed : Weston offered a remarkable testimony from pope Gelasius I. and another from Origen ; to which the respondent seems to have returned but a slender answer. However, Weston declared himself fully satisfied, and commended Harpsfield for his performance.

Thus the disputation ended, the committee boasted their success, and went off with a show of triumph. It must be granted the Roman Catholics, as Fox represents it, were no heavy managers ; they made a lively opposition upon Cranmer and Ridley, and urged the testimony of the Fathers with advantage enough. It is no wonder to find them make the most of their cause : they were picked men out of both universities, were sufficiently furnished with leisure and other conveniences, and it is likely had preconcerted what arguments each of them should use : however, temper and decency were not always kept, for Weston misbehaved himself to a remarkable degree, treated Cranmer with gross language, made a rude and wretched jingle upon Ridley, and ran out into personal reflections. Ridley complains the whole disputation was carried on in a very noisy and disorderly manner ; that their language and gestures were very indecent ; that the bishops were browbeaten, disparaged, and coarsely handled in English, on purpose to lessen their esteem with the audience, and draw the mob on the other side : that the manner of the disputation was altogether irregular : for instance, he had not the liberty of making a full defence, nor urging his reasons at length : he was frequently attacked by several opponents at the same time : and thus the dispute was so overrun with squabble and clamour, that his

*The bishops
 ill used at
 the disputation.*

Fox, vol. 3.
 p. 53.
 Id. p. 73. 79.
 Id. 91.

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.

answers to what was objected could not be heard. He was likewise stopped in reading his paper by the doctors crying out blasphemy. What the contents of this paper were, the reader may see in the record last mentioned.

*They are
condemned
for heretics.*

Two days after, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were brought before the delegates into St. Mary's Church, and called on to subscribe the Three Articles. And here Weston charged Cranmer particularly with failing in his late performance, and sinking under the controversy. The archbishop replied he was overlaid with numbers and clamour, and was not suffered to proceed either in his defence or opposition. In short, upon their refusing to comply, they were all three pronounced heretics. Cranmer appealed from their sentence to the court above, and hoped to be present with our Saviour in heaven, notwithstanding his being condemned for disbelieving the corporeal presence at the altar.

Ridley told them, though he was thrown out of their society, he doubted not but his name was entered in a better place, whither this sentence would give them a speedier conveyance than nature could have afforded. Latimer appeared transported with the sentence, and thanked God for so honourable a passage into the other world. And now the three bishops were parted, and returned to their separate prisons.

*A remark
upon the
censure.*

Now, to say nothing farther upon the merits of the cause, and the reasons of the censure, there appears to have been an apparent defect in the authority of the judges; for none of the delegates were more than priests. It is true, Gardiner the lord chancellor was named in the commission, but he never appeared at the disputation, nor made part of the court at pronouncing the sentence. And if he had, for a single bishop to censure three of his own order, and condemn his metropolitan, was altogether unprecedented. To allege these doctors of Oxford and Cambridge were empowered by the convocation to dispute and proceed to sentence, is short of satisfaction. For when was it known that all the bishops of a province made their proxies of none but priests, for trying causes of the highest nature, for examining the faith of bishops, convicting them of heresy, and throwing them out of Church communion? By the famous council of Carthage, held in the year 419, if a bishop fell under any hard imputation, he was to be tried by twelve of his own order. This council, as the learned Beveridge observes, con-

Canon 12.
Pandect.
Canon.
tom. 2.
Anno 1.
p. 202.

firmed the canons of all the preceding councils in that city, which from this time were authentically marked, made binding to a large extent, and called "Codex canonum ecclesiæ Africanæ." The same learned person likewise takes notice, that the canons of this synod were afterwards confirmed by the general council in Trullo. However, I do not find either Cranmer or the other two bishops insisting upon the privilege of their character, and moving for judges of their own degree: whether this reserve was overlooked, or whether, out of an excessive regard to the regale, they thought themselves obliged to acquiesce in the authority of the queen's commissioners, is somewhat uncertain: but how much soever they might be satisfied touching the authority of the committee, it is plain they thought themselves ill used in the proceedings. This, besides what has been already related, may be seen in Ridley's letter to the prolocutor, in which he puts him in mind he promised him the perusal of his defence, taken in writing by the public notaries; and that he should have the liberty of making additions or alterations, as he thought fit, and that a copy of his answer to the three questions should be given him. He lets him know his promise was not made good, and expostulates further for their precipitating the sentence, and unreasonably straitening him in time. Cranmer, in his letter to the privy council, complains much in the same manner of the unfairness of the management: that the disputation was scandalously tumultuary and hurried: that the crowding the hearing into one day maimed his defence, and that he had no opportunity of offering the twentieth part of what he had to say. That the way for discussing the questions fairly, and discovering the truth, had been to have permitted both parties to strike out at length, to spend their whole force, and show how well they were furnished. And therefore their cutting off the dispute before it could be brought to an issue, he thought had no clear meaning, and looked as if they were afraid to venture their cause any farther. In the beginning and close of this address, the archbishop intreats the lords of the council to intercede for his pardon with the queen. The crime with which he charges himself is his subscribing the late king's will in prejudice of her majesty's title. This letter was put into Weston's hands, who went to London to acquaint the

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The archbishop's letter to the privy council.

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.
Fox, p. 92.

A declaration touching matters of belief, set forth by several of the reformed clergy in prison.

queen with the proceedings at Oxford. He opened the archbishop's letter upon the road, and not liking the contents, sent it back.

The beginning of this summer some of the Protestant clergy imprisoned in the Fleet, the King's Bench, the Marshalsea, and Newgate, published a declaration of their belief. The reason of their setting forth this paper was, because of a report that the government intended to send them to Oxford or Cambridge, to dispute as Cranmer and the rest had lately done. They assign several reasons for declining this way of trial: and here they lay very heavy imputations upon the universities. They charge them with partiality and foul dealing, that they had already declared themselves of a contrary sentiment: that they had remarkably discovered their disaffection, and aimed more at victory than truth: that by what had passed already it was evident they were governed by secular views and motives of ambition: and therefore, both by the precept and practice of our Saviour, they had learned not to cast pearl before them. They complain farther that the laws of disputation were broken at Oxford; and as for themselves, they had been kept eight or nine months in prison, without being allowed books, paper, pen, and ink, or convenient apartments for study. They likewise excepted against the indifferency of the notaries, and that copies of what passed in the dispute were not granted.

For these reasons these preachers, as Fox calls them, decline entering upon a conference with their adversaries, unless they may be allowed to defend their cause before the queen and council, or both houses of parliament. Unless these conditions are granted, they refuse to argue the points in difference in the customary methods of disputation. But if the other party think fit to write, they are ready to answer their objections, and confirm their own doctrines by the authority of the Church and Fathers of the best character and antiquity. They declare their resolution to maintain their faith to the last extremities; and after a strong protestation of their loyalty, exhorting the people to passive obedience, pressing that duty to the last degree of submission, and praying for the queen, they proceed to the articles of their belief.

They profess to receive all the books of the Old and New Testament as written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost:

but they do not mention the number of these books, or the extent of the canon. They believe the Catholic Church, and that those who refuse to hear the Church, when she commands from the inspired writings, ought to be esteemed no better than heathens. They own the Apostles' Creed, the four general councils of Ephesus, Nice, Constantinople, and Chalcedon ; the Athanasian Creed, the summaries of faith in the writings of Irenæus and Tertullian, and that professed by pope Damasus. They resolve justification wholly into the mercy of God through Christ, and that it is only to be discovered by faith. This faith, as they affirm, goes higher than opinion, and imports a certain persuasion wrought in the mind by the Holy Ghost, together with a submission of the will to the commands of God. And under this head they censure the popish doctrines of free will, works of supererogation, merit, necessity of auricular confession, and making satisfaction to God in discipline and penance.

They declare divine service ought to be performed in a language understood by the people, and not in Latin. They condemn invocation of saints, and that we ought to address none but God Almighty in our devotions. That every man's condition is unalterably fixed at his death ; and from that moment he is either happy or miserable for ever ; and thus he either needs no assistance or the remedy cannot reach him. Upon these grounds they condemn the belief of purgatory, trentals, and the customary suffrages for the dead made necessary by the papists, as the doctrine of Antichrist : they declare the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper ought to be administered pursuant to the institution of our Saviour, as far as the substance of the command reaches : and that they are no longer sacraments than they are used, and used for that end for which they were appointed : and here they condemn the maiming the Lord's supper, and communicating the laity only under one kind, as antichristian. They pass the same censure upon transubstantiation, the adoration of the sacrament, reserving and carrying it in processions, and maintaining the mass to be a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead ; and under the same class of Antichristian doctrine they put the prohibiting marriage, as unlawful to any persons, under whatever distinctions or employment.

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.

This declaration is signed by

Robert Menaven,	<i>alias</i> John Hooper.
<i>alias</i> Robert Farrar.	Edward Crome.
Rowland Taylor.	John Rogers.
John Philpot.	Laurence Saunders.
John Bradford.	Edmund Laurence.
John Wigorne, and	J. P.
Glouc. Episcopus,	T. M.

May 8, 1554.

Fox, vol. 3.
p. 100.
*Some irregu-
larities of
the reformed.*

Miles Coverdale, late bishop of Exeter, though not in prison, subscribed this confession.

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Stow's
Annals.

About this time some of the reformed were remarkably un-
governed in their zeal. For instance: there was a cat hung
upon a gallows in Cheapside, and something of the habit of a
priest put upon her. This figure was carried to the bishop of
London, and shown in the pulpit at Paul's-cross by Dr. Pendil-
ton. Not long after a pistol was discharged at this Pendil-
ton in the same place. The bullet drove into the church wall,
and missed him very narrowly. To these disorders I shall
subjoin another which looked like a deeper contrivance. For
instance: one Elizabeth Crofts had been practised with to set
up an imposture; she delivered very offensive discourse through
a wall near Aldersgate in London. The matter was so arti-
ficially managed, that the voice was heard, but no person dis-
covered. This "spirit in the wall," as it was called, was cried
up for a most miraculous intelligence from the other world.
Some said it was an angel, and others made it no less than the
immediate warning of the Holy Ghost. The sound was con-
veyed by a whistle given her for that purpose by one Drake,
servant to sir Anthony Nevil. She had several assistants to
carry on the cheat. These confederates mixing with the
crowd undertook to expound the spirit, and delivered the oracle
in seditious language against the queen and the prince of Spain,
and declaimed strongly against the mass, against confession,
and such other doctrines of the anti-reformed. All this was
confessed by the maid herself upon a scaffold at Paul's-cross.

Id

There were likewise some malicious reports spread that the
queen was with child. The government had reason to be con-
cerned at so infamous a story: the queen therefore wrote to
the justices of peace in Norfolk to trace the calumny, and find

out those who set it on foot. The earl of Sussex examined a great many, but could not fix it. MARY.

These, it must be owned, were very unjustifiable sallies. What could be more provoking to the court, than to see the queen's honour aspersed, their religion insulted, their preachers shot at in the pulpit, and a lewd imposture played against the government? Had the reformed been more smooth and inoffensive in their behaviour, had the eminent clergy of that party published an abhorrence of such unwarrantable methods, it is possible, some may say, they might have met with gentler usage, and prevented the persecution from flaming out. But fair meaning does not always manage to the best advantage. Besides, many of these men being shut up in prison, it is probable they might not be certainly informed of matter of fact. To which I may add, that something of this kind had been done already.

The articles of the queen's marriage being settled, as has been related, Philip, prince of Spain, arrived at Southampton, on the nineteenth of July; from whence, after some days repose, he set forward for Winchester, where he was received by the queen, with a splendid train of quality, of both sexes. They were married in the cathedral on St. James's day, by the bishop of Winchester. As soon as the solemnity was over, Figuera, the emperor's ambassador, presented Philip with his father's resignation of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. Upon which they were both proclaimed, by sound of trumpet, with the following titles: "Philip and Mary, by the grace of God, king and queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, Ireland, defenders of the faith; princes of Spain and Sicily, archdukes of Austria, dukes of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant, counts of Hapsbourg, Flanders, and Tirol." At the proclaiming this style, the king and queen appeared hand in hand, with two swords carried before them; this was done from a circumstance of pomp, and to mark their distinct capacity in the government. *The arrival of king Philip.*
The marriage solemnized.

From Winchester they removed to Basing, and thence to Windsor, where Philip was installed knight of the Garter. From hence the court removed to Richmond, from Richmond to Suffolk-place, in Southwark; from whence they made a magnificent cavalcade through the principal streets in London. August 12.

King Philip being entertained in so pompous a manner,

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MER,
Abp. Cant.

endeavoured to recommend himself to the English, and make them sensible they were like to be no losers by the marriage. To this purpose, he imported a vast mass of treasure. It was carried to the Tower in twenty carts, each of them laden with seven-and-twenty¹ chests of silver bullion, each chest being a yard and four inches long. This was done in the beginning of October, and some few months after, another great remittance of gold and silver arrived from Spain. There were ninety-nine horses and two carriages employed in bringing it to the Tower. Those who were disaffected to the government, construed this appearance of friendship to a harsh meaning. It was designed, they said, to purchase the constitution, and bribe the parliament into the court measures. King Philip, to ingratiate himself farther, prevailed with the queen for discharging the prisoners in the Tower. This favour comprehended those who had concerted the rebellion with Wyatt, engaged with the duke of Northumberland, or were confined upon the score of religion. And thus Holgate, archbishop of York, ten knights, and several others of distinction, were set at liberty. But nothing looked more particularly honourable in king Philip, than his procuring the enlargement of the princess Elizabeth, and Courtney, earl of Devonshire.

Stow's
Annals.

Bonner's
visitation.

To return to the Church. September, this year, Bonner, bishop of London, made a visitation. To bring every thing back to the usages of the Roman communion, he set forth thirty-seven articles of inquiry, upon which six men in every parish were sworn to present such as they found faulty. The greatest part of them relate to the management of the archdeacons, officials, and parish priests. Not long after, Bonner dispatched an order to all his clergy, in which he complains some disorderly people had taken the images out of churches, and painted several texts of Scripture upon the wall: that they had mistranslated these texts for the countenancing licentiousness and error: for bringing the sacrament of the altar, the fasts and feasts, into disesteem, and to abolish the laudable customs of the Church. In consideration of this misbehaviour, (as he calls it) he enjoins the clergy to see these texts defaced by the churchwardens.

See Records,
num. 72.

Oct. 25,
1554.

Regist.
Bonner,
fol. 357.

About this time the queen drew up a scheme, under her own hand, for discharging the Reformation from point to point, and

¹ Collier here misquotes Stow, who says, "there were twenty carts laden with ninety-seven chests, &c."

restoring religion to its former condition. It stands in the form of directions to her council; the reader shall have it in the queen's words. MARY.

"First, that such as have commission to talk with my lord cardinal at his first coming, touching the goods of the church, should have recourse to him, at the least once in a week, not only for putting those matters in execution, as much as may be, before the parliament, but also to understand of him, which way might be best to bring to good effect these matters, that have been begun concerning religion. Both touching good preaching, I wish that may supply and overcome the evil preaching in time past; and also to make a sure provision, that no evil books shall either be printed, bought, or sold, without just punishment therefore. *The queen's direction to the privy council touching religion.*
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"I think it should be well done, that the universities and churches of this realm should be visited by such persons as my lord cardinal, with the rest of you, may be well assured to be worthy and sufficient persons, to make a true and just account thereof, remitting the choice of them to him and you.

"Touching punishment of heretics, we think it ought to be done without rashness, not leaving in the mean while to do justice to such, as by learning would seem to deceive the simple: and the rest so to be used, that the people might well perceive them not to be condemned without just occasion, whereby they shall both understand the truth, and beware to do the like: and, especially within London, I would wish none to be burnt, without some of the council's presence, and both there and every where, good sermons at the same.

"I verily believe that many benefices should not be in one man's hands, but after such sort as every priest might look to his own charge, and remain resident there, whereby they should have but one bond to discharge towards God, whereas now they have many; which I take to be the cause, that, in most parts of this realm, there is overmuch want of good preachers, and such as should with their doctrine overcome the evil diligence of the abused preachers in the time of the schism, not only by their preaching, but by their good example, without which, in my opinion, their sermons shall not so much profit as I wish. And like as their good example on their behalf shall undoubtedly do much good, so I account myself bound on my behalf also, to show such example, in encouraging and main-

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MSS. ex
Biblioth.
R. Harley
Armig.

taining those persons well, doing their duty, not forgetting, in the meanwhile, to correct and punish them which do contrary; that it may be evident to all this realm, how I discharge my conscience therein, and minister true justice in so doing."

By these directions, the reader may see the queen was resolved to proceed to sanguinary rigors, in case gentler applications came short of her purpose. By what is mentioned in the beginning of her discourse, it appears cardinal Pole was shortly expected: that there were some difficulties to be got over, in order to the restoring the papal supremacy in the next parliament. The main obstacle was the apprehensions the temporality lay under, of parting with their abbey and chantry lands. These jealousies hindered the point from being carried in the last session; and therefore, without relaxing upon this head, there was no prospect of admitting the pope's claim, and coming to an accommodation. The parliament met on the twelfth of November, and, to bring them to a disposition towards compliance, the king and queen had promised the restitution of the church lands should be dropped; the cardinal likewise is said to have given some private assurance of satisfaction in this matter.

*Cardinal
Pole's ar-
rival.*

The arrival of this prelate being now expected, it was thought fit to repeal his attainder before his coming. This was looked on as a necessary regard to his character. He came to London on the twenty-fourth of November, and four days after came into the parliament-house, which was then the great chamber at Whitehall, by reason of the queen's indisposition. The king and queen, sitting under a state, and the lords and commons being present, the lord chancellor Gardiner acquainted both houses with the cardinal's character and business, and hoped they would follow their majesty's example, and receive him with a suitable regard.

After this recommendation, the cardinal stood up, and, addressing himself to the lords and commons, made a speech to this effect.

*Cardinal
Pole's speech
to both houses
of parlia-
ment.*

"In the first place, he returned the queen and the two houses thanks, for repealing the attainder, and restoring him to the privilege of appearing amongst them with safety and honour. After this he enters upon the subject of his commission, and acquaints them that, as they had been pleased to return him the advantages of his birthright, so his principal

business was to restore the nation to its ancient nobility: to this purpose, he had an authority from his holiness, to make them part of the Catholic Church. That the apostolic see had a particular regard for this island; and that to this the pope seemed to be led by the directions of Providence, which has given a preference to this country, by making it one of the first provinces that received the Christian faith: that the Britons, who were brought into the Church by the instructions of the apostolic see, were not made Christians by degrees and distance of time, but were all converted, as it were, at once: that after the misbehaviour of this people had made them unworthy of this blessing, and brought a Pagan nation in upon them, yet the country was so far the care of Providence, that heathenism was quickly discharged, and the Saxons brought over to the Christian belief. Thus, their being made part of the Catholic Church, and raised to a nobility of the best kind, though it was principally owing to the Divine favour, yet God was pleased to make the apostolic see the instrument of this happiness. That from this time forward the English, with the rest of Christendom, had all along continued in the faith of the Roman Church, and treated the apostolic see with the highest regard: and, as an instance of their observance, several of their kings did not think it enough to pay a submission to the pope's authority, without making a voyage to Rome in person. For these princes thought they could not go too far in acknowledging the benefits of their country's conversion. Neither were the English slender proficient in religion and letters: for when Charles the Great founded the university of Paris, he sent for our countryman, Alcuinus, to make regulations for that society, and form them to piety and learning."

MARY.

The cardinal took notice that "Adrian IV., an Englishman, converted Norway, and, out of affection to his native country, gave Henry II. the sovereignty of Ireland. To recount with what distinction and peculiarity of respect, the English had been treated by the see of Rome, would be too tedious an undertaking; neither should he mention the misfortunes which have pursued them since their defection; and that the same measures have been attended with great calamities in other countries. Thus, by breaking off their correspondence, and withdrawing their regard from the Roman see, the Christians of Asia, and the Greek Church, lost their

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empire and their freedom, and sunk under the conquest of the Turks. And, to give a fresher example of this unhappy conduct, into how many sects and factions has Germany been divided, and how miserably harassed with civil wars, since their going off from the centre of unity, and the head of the Christian communion?

“ If we inquire into the English revolt, we shall find,” says his eminence, “ avarice and sensuality the principal motives ; and that it was first started and carried on by the unbridled appetite and licentiousness of a single person. And, though it was given out there would be a vast accession of wealth to the public, yet this expectation dwindled to nothing ; the crown was left in debt, and the subject, generally speaking, more impoverished than ever. And as to religion, people were tied up to forms, and hampered with penalties ; and, to speak plainly, there was more liberty of conscience in Turkey than in England.

“ That the Church of Rome might have recovered her jurisdiction by force, and had the offer of the greatest princes in Europe to assist her in her pretensions. However, she was willing to waive this advantage, and apply to none but friendly expedients. That, though the defection was general and strongly settled, yet the goodness of God interposed to our relief, and that at a time when it was least solicited and deserved. For, when the true religion seemed wholly extinguished,—when the churches were defaced, the altars thrown down, the holy ceremonies discharged, and things brought to the point of despair,—there were some remainders of the true faith : the queen’s highness continued firm, to whom the saying of the prophet may be applied without flattery, ‘ Ecce quasi derelicta.’

“ It is well worth our recollection to consider how wonderfully God has preserved her majesty. What contrivances were set on foot to defeat her succession ! What numbers conspired against her ! What preparations were furnished to destroy her ! Yet, notwithstanding the disadvantage of her sex, the surprise of the juncture, the inequality of her forces, she succeeded against her enemies, and made her way to the throne. Now, what can all this unexpected success be attributed to, but the great goodness and protection of Almighty God ? For, humanly speaking, there was nothing appeared in

her majesty's affairs, but only despair. That the same Providence had established the queen in her right for recovering the true religion and exterminating error ; and, to enable her grace the better for the bringing about this blessed purpose, she was now engaged in marriage with a prince of the same belief ; that the emperor, this king's father, had remarkably concerned himself for retrieving the unity of the Church ; that, though the war's breaking out on all sides had disappointed his purpose, yet, it was to be hoped, that what his imperial majesty had begun would be carried on to a happier issue by his son. To procure this blessing, God had ordained two distinct independent powers, the civil and ecclesiastical ; that princes were God's representatives in the first instance, and the pope in the latter ; that the management of the temporal sword was put into the hands of the king and queen, by immediate commission from God Almighty ; and that they had no superior with respect to secular authority.

"As to the power of 'the keys,' and the government of the Church, it was delegated by our Saviour to the bishops of Rome, and annexed to the apostolic see by special prerogative. And, for proof of this peculiarity of jurisdiction, we have," continues the cardinal, "the authority of the Holy Scriptures, the precedent of the Apostles, and the unanimous consent of the Fathers from the beginning of Christianity to our own times. From this see I am sent hither with the character of legate, and have full powers in my commission ; but, notwithstanding my being entrusted with the keys, I am not in a condition to use them till some obstructions are removed on your part. But, before I proceed farther, I must solemnly declare I have no prejudicial instructions to any person. My commission is not to pull down, but to build, to reconcile ; not to censure ; but to invite, without compulsion. My business is not to proceed by way of retrospection, or to question things already settled. As for what is passed, it shall be all overlooked and forgotten.

"However, to qualify yourselves for this advantage, it will be necessary to repeal those laws which have broken the Catholic unity, and divided you from the society of the Church."

Fox, p. 108.

This speech, delivered with the advantage of the cardinal's quality and character, was not without its effect, though some of the house of Commons took the freedom to declare their

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Ahp. Cant.

dislike of reviving the pope's authority ; but the majority being satisfied, for the reasons above-mentioned, an address was presented by both houses to the king and queen. The substance of it was to entreat their majesties to lay it before the cardinal, adding with what regret they recollected their withdrawing their obedience from the apostolic see, and giving their consent to any statutes derogatory to his holiness's jurisdiction ; promising that, with their majesties' concurrence, they would do their utmost to repeal all such laws. They conclude with an humble request to the king and queen, to intercede for their absolution, and that they may be received as penitent children into the communion of the Church.

Nov. 28.
1d.

Things being thus adjusted, both houses attended the court on St. Andrew's day, where, in the presence of the king and queen, the lord chancellor asked them, whether they were pleased to address the cardinal for their pardon, to acknowledge the pope's supremacy, and return to the unity of the Church ! Some of them answered, " Yea," and the silence of the rest being taken for consent, a petition was presented to their majesties in the name of the parliament. When this was read, the members stood up, with a design to move the cardinal ; but his eminence, being willing to spare them that mortification, prevented their request, and acquainted them he was ready to give the satisfaction desired ; and, after his legatine commission was read, he declared how acceptable the return of a sinner was to God Almighty, and that the holy angels rejoiced at the recovery of this kingdom. Upon this they all kneeled, and received absolution for themselves and the whole nation, in the following form :—

374.

See Records,
num. 73.

*The absolu-
tion pro-
nounced by
the cardinal.*

" Our Lord Jesus Christ, which with his most precious blood hath redeemed and washed us from all our sins and iniquities, that he might purchase unto himself a glorious spouse without spot or wrinkle, and whom the Father hath appointed Head over all his Church, He by his mercy absolve you. And we, by apostolic authority given unto us by the most holy lord pope Julius III., his vicegerent here on earth, do absolve and deliver you, and every of you, with the whole realm and the dominions thereof, from all heresy and schism, and from all and every judgment, censures, and pains, for that cause incurred ; and, also, we do restore you again unto the unity of our mother the holy Church, as in our letters more

plainly it shall appear : in the name of the Father, the Son, MARY.
and the Holy Ghost."

After this form was pronounced, they went in solemn procession to the chapel-royal, where "Te Deum" was sung. And because this return to the communion of the Catholic Church, as they called it, fell on St. Andrew's day, the cardinal procured the passing an order in the convocation for keeping that festival with an additional office, and bringing it up to the solemnity of the greater holydays. On Sunday following, the submission of the two houses to the papal authority, and the absolution given by the cardinal, was repeated by the lord chancellor in a sermon at St. Paul's-cross. His text was Rom. xiii., "Knowing the time, that it is now high time to awake out of sleep," &c. From these words, amongst other things, he observes, "that, when king Henry VIII. was pressed with a rebellion in the north, he resolved to return the pope his supremacy. But this resolution came to nothing ; 'the hour was not yet come :' for, had the matter gone forward under such circumstances of difficulty, some would have said the king had been overawed into justice. After this, Gardiner and Knevet were sent ambassadors to the emperor, to request his mediation for bringing the pope and the king to a good understanding, and to smooth the way for renewing the former correspondence between them. 'But the time was not yet come :' for the juncture might have made the king's measures misunderstood, and interpreted his compliance to reasons of state. In the beginning of king Edward's reign, the business of reconciliation was moved ; but neither was that a proper time ; for the king being then a child, he could not have had a share in the submission." In short, he told them, this was the time which Providence seemed to have reserved for so great a blessing.

Ver. 11.
Bishop Gardiner's sermon upon this occasion.
Dec. 2.

Fox, vol. 3.
p. 112.
An embassy ordered to Rome.

The next day, an embassy was resolved to pope Julius III., to make him a tender of the kingdom's obedience. The persons employed were, Anthony Brown, viscount Montacute ; Thirleby, bishop of Ely ; and sir Edward Karne. When the news of this negotiation came to Rome, there were solemn processions ordered for all Italy. The pope confirmed the proceedings of his legate, and published a jubilee, with a clause in the bull to account for anticipating the period. Like the father of the prodigal, it was highly reasonable, he said, to express an unusual satisfaction for the recovery

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Abp. Cant.

F. Paul.
Hist. Conc.
Trent.
*The pope
dies.*

of his son that was lost. But, before the embassy arrived, Julius died, and was succeeded by Marcellus II. This pope was a person of great gravity and virtue; and, to show his accession to the chair had not altered his temper, nor made any unserviceable impression, he intended a reformation of his court. His design was to retrench the figure of the prelates, to suppress unnecessary offices, and put a stop to excess in expense. But he dying of an apoplexy within a month after his election, the project miscarried.

*The queen
endeavours
to promote
Pole to the
popeedom.*

Upon the death of this pope, the queen endeavoured to promote cardinal Pole to the see of Rome. To this purpose, she wrote to the bishop of Winchester, the earl of Arundel, and the lord Paget, then at Calais, to solicit the French court in her name to dispose the conclave to make choice of cardinal Pole: that they were to acquaint the French king she was governed by no private regards; that the cardinal was unacquainted with her concerning herself in this matter; and that it was purely his probity and merit which put her upon the undertaking. But this business miscarried; and Marcellus was succeeded by cardinal Caraffa, called Paul IV., a prelate of different inclinations. This pope was strongly in the French interest, and disaffected both to the emperor and cardinal Pole.

Cotton. lib.
Titus,
book 11.

To return to England: in the latter end of November, the queen's being with child was generally believed at court. The council sent a letter to bishop Bonner, to draw up a form of thanksgiving upon the occasion, and order "Te Deum" to be sung in all churches of his diocese. This hope of issue proved a mole¹, and had an ill effect upon the queen's health. However, both herself and the ladies of her attendance believed otherwise at first. The appearance, it seems, was so promising that the parliament did not question the truth of it. This is plain by their making an act to provide for the education of the queen's issue, together with a preamble of thanks to God Almighty for her being with child.

*The queen
believed to be
with child.
Fox.*

1 & 2 Philip
and Mary,
cap. 10.
Statutes at
Large.
*Public
prayers
upon this
occasion.*

Upon this expectation, there were prayers printed and dispersed about the kingdom. The purport of them was, that God would send the queen a good hour, support her government, and protect her from rebellion. The address is made immediately to God, without any application to saints

¹ A mole, according to Dr. Johnson's definition, is "a formless concretion of extravasated blood, which grows into a kind of flesh in the uterus, and is called a false conception."

or angels. This prayer Fox takes the freedom to ridicule, which is somewhat extraordinary. Did this martyrologist believe dominion founded in grace? Did he conceive the queen's title depended on her orthodoxy? And that she had forfeited her crown by declaring for popery? If this was not his opinion, he must grant her subjects were bound to pray for the repose of her government. There had been two rebellions in her reign already; and, therefore, one would think it was highly seasonable to pray against a third. However, Fox thought fit to rally their devotion with this sentence in the margin: "Cry up louder, you priests; peradventure your God is asleep:"—as if their devotions had been directed to Baal or Ashtaroth,—as if the Papists had worshipped one God, and the Protestants another. I cannot perceive the martyrologist had any right to Elijah's sarcasm. His zeal, without doubt, was too much embittered: he was plainly ridden by his passion, and pushed by disaffection towards profaneness¹.

MARY.
Fox, vol. 3.
p. 116.
*Fox exceeds
in his re-
mark.*

375.

It must be confessed, eagerness of temper and injudicious aversion carried some of the reformed to practices by no means defensible. For instance: one Rose, a clergyman, and about thirty honest citizens more, as Fox calls them, meeting in a house in Bow Church-yard to receive the communion, were apprehended and committed. But these men were much to blame in one sentence of their devotions; they prayed "that God would turn queen Mary's heart from idolatry, or else shorten her days." Thus much is confessed by Fox, though he forgets to censure the disloyalty. Bishop Hooper, then in the Fleet, wrote a consolatory letter to Rose and the rest, in which he does not give them any direct reprimand for their misbehaviour, but puts them in mind in general, that God commands us to pray for those that persecute us; not to revile any magistrate, or apply to violent remedies. In the close, he prays to God to send them patience and charity, and that they may stand firm in maintaining the truth. By recommending this resignation and passiveness, it is possible he might be informed of their uncharitable petition.

Jan. 1.

*An unchristian prayer
with relation
to the queen.*

However, the report of this intemperate zeal occasioned an act of parliament, by which it was made high treason "for any person to pray that God would shorten the queen's days, or

*An act to
prevent such
misbehaviour.*

¹ Thus Collier martyrizs the martyrologist.

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MER,
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take her out of the way, or make any such malicious prayer importing the same sense." The preamble cites the petition abovementioned as unquestionable matter of fact, and then subjoins, that "such prayer was never heard or read, to have been used by any good Christians against any prince, though he were a pagan and infidel, and much less against any Christian prince."

The statute concludes with a proviso, "That if any person indicted for any thing of this kind done in the present session, shall show themselves penitent, and submit to the queen's mercy, that then no judgment or attainder of treason shall pass upon them, but they shall receive such corporeal punishment on this side death as the court shall appoint."

1 & 2 Philip
and Mary,
cap. 9.
Statutes at
Large.

The most remarkable bill passed this parliament was a repeal of all statutes made against the see of Rome in the two late reigns. To dispose of the temporalty to a concurrence in so nice an affair, and remove all jealousies of the clergy's insisting on the restitution of Church lands, the convocation was prevailed with to address the king and queen to intercede with the cardinal to drop this article. The address is penned to this effect:—

The convocation's address that the cardinal would not insist on the restitution of churchlands.

"We, the bishops and clergy of the province of Canterbury, assembled in convocation according to custom, during the sessions of parliament, with all due humility and regard, acquaint your majesties, that notwithstanding by our respective stations and offices the care and protection of the rights and privileges of the Church are intrusted with us; for which reason we ought to have recourse to the remedies of law, and endeavour the recovering whatever has been taken away in this kingdom during the late schism. However, we must freely confess that the restoring these estates is a very difficult, and, in a manner, an impracticable undertaking. And considering titles have been so often transferred since the first alienation, property would be strangely entangled by pursuing an attempt of this nature; and over and above, the union with the Catholic Church, so happily begun by your majesties, might probably be checked in its progress. We, therefore, who value the public tranquillity more than our private advantage, and the saving so many souls above all secular interest whatever, ('not seeking our own, but those things which are Jesus Christ's,') humbly beseech your majesties to intimate our request to the lord cardinal Pole, legate to our lord pope Julius III., and to inter-

cede with his eminence, that, pursuant to the powers granted MARY.
by his holiness, he would please to prefer the benefit of the
community to all private regards, and give up the claim of
those estates which might otherwise be insisted on by the
spiritualty or religious; and that the lord cardinal legate would
relax upon these points either wholly or in part, at his discre-
tion. Only we desire his eminence would show himself easy
and gentle upon this occasion; declaring withal, that whatever
shall be done by him in the premises shall be taken as con-
firmed by our consent. And farther: we humbly intreat your
majesties that those branches of ecclesiastical jurisdiction,
without which we are in no condition to execute our functions
and assist our charge, and which have been wrested from us by
the injustice of the late times, may be restored. And that all
those laws which disable us in our business, and check our
spiritual commission, may be repealed, to the honour of God
and your majesties, and the common benefit, both temporal
and eternal, of the whole realm."

1 & 2 Philip
and Mary,
cap. 8.

This address was put in the cardinal's hands by the lord
chancellor, the prolocutor, and six other members of the lower
house. This set the cardinal at ease in some measure, and
discharged him from pressing so unacceptable a condition as
restoring the Church lands. The temporality would certainly
have broken with him upon this article; for, as Fox writes,
the parliament had lately dispatched an express to the pope, to
desire his holiness to confirm the alienations of the abbey and
chantry lands; and that without satisfaction in this particular,
there would be no concessions on their part.

Fox, p. 113.

After complying upon this head, the parliament in their bill
move, by way of address to their majesties, that the cardinal
by virtue of his legatine commission may dispense in the follow-
cases:—

First. "That all bishoprics, cathedral churches, hospitals, *A repeal of
the statutes
against the
see of Rome.*
colleges, schools, and other such foundations, made by autho-
rity of parliament, or otherwise legally established since the
schism, may be confirmed and continued.

"That marriages made within the prohibited degrees of con-
sanguinity, affinity, spiritual relation, or which might be made
void 'propter impedimentum publicæ honestatis justitiæ,' or
upon the score of any other canonical restraint, may be con-
firmed, and the issue declared legitimate.

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"That institutions of benefices, and other promotions ecclesiastical, and dispensations made according to the form of the act of parliament, may be likewise confirmed.

"That all judicial processes made before any ordinaries of this realm, or before any delegates upon any appeals, according to the order of the laws of the realm, may be likewise ratified and confirmed."

And finally, "That all lands, goods, or chattels, belonging to archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbeys, priories, chantries, and colleges, settled on the crown by act of parliament, and from thence conveyed to the subject, by gift, purchase, exchange, &c., should remain uncontested in their present condition; and that no proprietor should be disturbed by the revival of any claim on the Church's behalf; and that no suits might be commenced, or censures inflicted, upon this score, either by authority from the pope, a general council, or on pretence of any canon, or ecclesiastical constitution whatsoever."

1 & 2 Philip
and Mary,
cap. 8.

The cardinal's dispensation, inserted in the body of the act, gratified the parliament in all these particulars. But though the Church lands are wholly given up without the least inuendo of any farther reckoning, yet in the close of the instrument the cardinal puts them in mind of the danger of sacrilege, and how much they are concerned to restore the goods of the Church, meaning the plate and ornaments. He exhorts them likewise to see a competent provision made for those cures which have been lately stripped of their maintenance.

This dispensation is confirmed by the act. There is likewise a confirmation of all abbey, chantry, and bishops' lands conveyed to king Henry VIII. and king Edward VI., by act of parliament or any other legal assurance; and it is made pre-munire to form any process in any ecclesiastical court within the realm, or without, contrary to the laws of England, or to molest any person for any lands, manors, &c., above-mentioned. It is farther enacted, "That archbishops, bishops, and other spiritual persons having jurisdiction, and no lay person, shall execute spiritual authority in places exempt." After which follows a clause for saving the customary privileges of both the universities, of the churches of Westminster, Windsor, and the Tower; and that those lords of manors who formerly enjoyed probate of testimony should lose nothing by this statute; and lastly, to make the Church some recompense for

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what had been taken away in the two late reigns, the statute of Mortmain is suspended or dispensed with for twenty years. This act declares the title of supreme head never rightfully belonged to the crown¹. However, all instruments in which that style had been used should be of force, and that all writings since the queen's accession to the crown, where that addition had been omitted, should likewise pass for legal forms. And as to the jurisdiction of the pope, bishops, and ordinaries, it was to be enlarged to the same extent in which it might lawfully have been exercised in the twentieth year of king Henry VIII. Before I take leave of this act, it may not be improper to acquaint the reader with an address which the lower house of convocation made to the upper. The design of it was to move for something towards an equivalent for giving up the Church lands. In short, this address, though not fully answered, seems to have been considered in several statutes made this reign. *An address of the lower house of convocation for recovering the privileges of the Church.* The substance of the address digested into twenty-eight articles is as follows:—They intreat the bishops to take care that, in giving their concurrence to the settlement of the Church lands upon the laity, nothing might pass to the prejudice of any bishop, or any other ecclesiastical person, with respect to any legal right, title, or interest. And whereas by a statute made in the first year of king Edward VI., for suppressing chantries, colleges, &c., there was a proviso for the erecting schools and hospitals in several parts of the kingdom, which had hitherto not been performed, they request their lordships to move the king, the queen, and cardinal, that this clause may be made good, to the full meaning of the statute. Further, the address solicits that tithes and oblations lately alienated may be returned to the Church, and all impropriations, excepting such as are settled for the maintenance of the clergy, of universities, and schools, may be dissolved by act of parliament, and the revenues restored to the parochial churches. They suggest farther, that the lands and endowments of prebends have been lately alienated from cathedrals, and impropriated benefices settled in lieu of them, to the decay of hospitality and great damage of the Church; they desire their lordships therefore to exert themselves for redressing this grievance. They likewise move that the statute of Mortmain made in the

¹ Thus Mary wilfully threw away that birthright of supremacy which her father so gallantly rescued from the grasp of a foreign despotism.

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seventh year of king Edward I., and another to the same purpose passed in the fifteenth year of king Richard II., may be repealed.

After these preliminary requests, the address proceeds to the mention of twenty-eight articles for the reformation of the Church in doctrine, discipline, and worship. I shall just touch some of the most remarkable.

First, they declare their intention of coming to a resolution, whether those who have preached heretical and seditious doctrine shall be called before their ordinaries, and obliged to a public recantation ; and whether any process shall be formed against them pursuant to the canons of the Church.

They move the lords spiritual, "That the late archbishop Cranmer's book written against the sacrament of the altar, the schismatical Common Prayer-book and ordinal, the translations of the Bible recited in a statute made in the reign of king Henry VIII., and all other books containing any heretical doctrine, may be burnt ; and all persons who have such books required to bring them in to the ordinary, or otherwise to be reputed abettors of such tenets ; that no such books may be printed or sold within the realm, or imported from foreign parts, under heavy penalties ; that the statutes against heretics, Lollards, and preachers of false doctrine, may be revived ; and that all bishops and other ordinaries may be restored to the same jurisdiction they enjoined in the first year of king Henry VIII. That the statutes allowing pluralities and non-residence may be repealed ; that simoniacal contracts may be strictly inquired into and punished, and that patrons may lose the presentation during their lives for such indirect management. That the Church, with respect to liberty, authority, and jurisdiction, may be restored to the benefit of Magna Charta, or, at least, that these privileges may be recovered to the condition they were in the first year of king Henry VIII. ; and that the intolerable burthen of first-fruits, tenths, and subsidies, may be discharged. That no attachment of præmunire may be awarded against any ecclesiastical ordinary before the bringing a prohibition ; and that the king and queen would please to command the temporal judges to explain the statutes of præmunire, to state the subject, and give a full recital of the cases in which any person is liable to that penalty. That the statutes of provisors may not be wrested to illegal constructions, nor stretched

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beyond the proper sense and meaning of the words. That the statute of the submission of the clergy made in the twenty-fifth of Henry VIII., and all others made since the first year of that prince in derogation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, may be repealed. That all places exempt may be put under the jurisdiction of their spiritual ordinaries. That the pleas concerning tithes within the city and liberties of London may not be tried before the lord mayor; but that the cognizance of this matter may be returned to the bishops' court, pursuant to ancient usage. That tithes may be paid according to the canon law; and that abbey-lands exempted from payment of tithes may be assigned to proper parishes, and chargeable with the payment of personal tithes in cities and elsewhere, as was usually done in the twenty-first year of king Henry VIII.; that such priests as were lately married, and refused to disengage themselves for their functions, may have some uncreditable distinction put upon them, and that women who married after monastic vows may be divorced. That all ecclesiastical persons who of their own voluntary motion had rifled or defaced any churches might be obliged to refund and make reparation."

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To proceed; the statutes for suppressing and punishing of heresy in the reigns of Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V., are revived.

The commons passed a bill for voiding all leases made by married priests; but the lords, being aware several alterations of church-lands might suffer by such a provision, threw out the bill.

The other acts, relating wholly to the state, I shall pass over: this parliament was dissolved, as it is said, on the sixteenth of January; and, on the twenty-fifth following, there was a solemn procession in London, to give God thanks for the kingdom's return to the Catholic Church. The solemnity was ornamented with ninety crosses: there were eight bishops, and a hundred and sixty priests and clerks, richly habited. The lord mayor, the aldermen, and the common council made part of the appearance. When the procession was over, they returned to mass, at St. Paul's, where the king and cardinal were present.

The printed statutes assign the dissolution of the parliament to the sixteenth of January, but it is possible the first figure might be mistaken; for the learned Heylin writes they were dissolved on the twenty-sixth. Fox seems to have been of the

Ex MSS.
Coll. Cor.
C. Cantab.
*The statutes
against
heresy
revived.*
5 Richard 2,
cap. 5.
2 Henry 4,
cap. 15.
2 Henry 5,
cap. 7.
1 & 2 Philip
and Mary,
cap. 6.

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The cardinal's commission for absolving the province of Canterbury.
Harmer,
Appendix,
p. 182.

same opinion, by saying that on the twenty-third of January all the bishops, with the rest of the convocation, attended the cardinal at Lambeth: now, if the convocation was not dissolved on the twenty-third, we may reasonably conclude the parliament was still sitting. However, Fox does not express himself clearly, whether the convocation was then actually sitting or not: he only takes notice that the cardinal ordered them to repair to their cures; that he advised them to manage with lenity and moderation; and that they should endeavour to recover their people by persuasion and kind usage, rather than apply to any rugged expedient.

To reinforce the dispensation in the act of repeal, and give it a due compass and effect, the cardinal granted a dispensation to the dean and chapter of Canterbury, for reconciling the clergy and laity of that province. Neither is there any reason to question the same favour being granted to the archbishopric of York, and the sees within their jurisdiction. The instrument extends to the absolving all persons who repent their miscarriages, and desire to be restored from all heresies, schisms, apostacies, from all excommunications, suspensions, and other ecclesiastical censures. And more particularly the clergy who have received orders from any schismatical or heretical bishops, officiated in virtue of that character, and complied with any unallowed ceremonies, and forms of prayer, are absolved, provided the form and intention of the Church was not omitted in their ordination. They are likewise absolved from all censures to which they have made themselves liable by swearing against the pope's supremacy. The breach of vows, and quitting a religious life, is likewise remitted to all those concerned. The dean and chapter of Canterbury, with whom, during the vacancy of the see, all spiritual jurisdiction is lodged, are farther empowered to authorise the parochial clergy to absolve the laity, and restore them to the communion of the Church. The form to be pronounced by the curates runs thus:—

“ Our Lord Jesu Christ absolve you, and by the apostolic authority to me granted and committed, I absolve you from the sentence of excommunication, and from all other censures and pains into the which you be fallen by reason of heresy and schism, or any otherwise, and I restore you to the unity of our

holy mother the Church, and to the communion of all sacraments, dispensing with you for all manner of irregularity, and by the same authority I absolve you from all your sins, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Amen."

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Regist.
Bonner,
fol. 372.
He recommends gentle methods with the reformed.

The cardinal, as hath been observed, recommended gentle methods: he declared a strong aversion to extremity and rigour: that the clergy ought to compassionate the misfortunes of those misled. That bishops were fathers, and ought to answer the tenderness of that relation: that nothing could be more foreign to their character than destroying their children. That, from his own experience, he had observed rough applications rather heightened such a distemper than cured it. That there was a great difference to be made between a country just seized and infected but in a few, and another where the malignity had time to spread, and reached all ranks and orders. That it was not to be expected people would be dragged out of their errors all at once; such sudden violence would rather push them upon obstinacy, and fix their mistakes: and therefore the better way was to give them time for recollection, to argue them out of their heterodoxy, and lead them back by gentle degrees. That the three statutes revived against heresy should sleep in the execution, and only be made use of *in terrorem*. That a strict reformation in the manners of the clergy, would be a good step towards recovering the laity: and to this purpose, he suggested the restoring the primitive discipline. To this he added, the emperor had advised the queen not to make any person uneasy upon the score of conscience: and that himself had been unfortunate in the trials of extremity.

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The lord chancellor Gardiner was of a different sentiment: he thought no arguments would operate so strongly as penalties, and that the terrors of fire and faggot, in some cases, were the best methods of conviction: that where people were incorrigible, they ought to be capitally punished. But then he would have them begin with heretics of distinction, and who were most instrumental in misleading the rest. This advice was pointed against the reformed bishops. He was likewise of opinion, that those preachers who appeared most hardy and enterprising should be made examples: as for the gross of the people, he believed, when their leaders were taken off, they

Gardiner moves for extremities in some cases.

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would recover of themselves, and might safely be overlooked. As to the reformation of the clergy, he approved the thing, but thought it an unseasonable expedient. That the practice of such regulations would justify the clamours of the heretics, and bring the hierarchy under more disadvantage.

Printed in
Rome.
A. D. 1553.

Gardiner, besides his old quarrel for being imprisoned and deprived, thought himself lately affronted by the translation of his book "*De verâ Obedientiâ*." This book, as the reader may remember, was a strong contradiction to his present practice: for here he had renounced the pope's supremacy, "argued for the regale," and approved the divorce between the king and Catherine of Spain. Some of those who suffered took the freedom to charge him with this inconsistency. His answer was, that the swearing against the pope's jurisdiction was an unlawful oath, like Herod's, and ought to be broken. The seeing himself exposed in English print, ruffled his humour farther, and provoked him against the reformed. Bonner's Preface was likewise translated, which might probably stir his pride. He concurred with Gardiner's sanguinary suggestions. Bonner was somewhat harshly used in the late reign; and, being of a warm vindictive temper, he might not be displeased with an opportunity of revenge. The queen and council gave in to these measures, as appears by several orders of the board. And thus the cardinal's good nature was over-ruled, and the persecution broke out upon the reformed.

Council
Book.
A. D. 1555.

The preachers in prison address the king, queen, and parliament.

While the parliament was sitting, the preachers imprisoned made an address to the king, the queen, and the two houses, in defence of the Reformation. "In the first place, they entreat them to recollect their severities against the religion established in the two late reigns. They put them in mind that the points had been settled with great deliberation: that the two universities, and the most considerable persons for learning in other parts of the kingdom, had been consulted. That to undo what was thus unanimously agreed, was unserviceable to the memories of the two princes, king Henry and king Edward, and a blemish upon the honour of the whole nation: that great uneasiness of conscience, and judgments from heaven, must follow such measures of course. That since the discharging the true religion, throwing out the reformed offices, and bringing superstition and idolatry into their place, all the orthodox preachers have been removed, have been harassed and robbed,

with such cruelty and injustice, as exceeds the barbarity of MARY.
Turks and Infidels.

“ They conjure their majesties and the parliament, by every thing sacred and valuable, to consider the lamentable state of religion, and how much the nation is likely to suffer in their eternal interest. They earnestly desire, therefore, the Church may be retrieved from this deplorable condition. As for themselves, they request they may be brought before the council, or parliament, and, if they fail either in maintaining the homilies and service set forth in the late reign, or in proving the unlawfulness of the liturgic forms used at present; if they fail in making good either of these points, and that by Catholic principles and authorities, they are willing to be burnt at the stake, or submit to any other death of ignominy and torture, which their majesties shall please to appoint them.”

Not long after they made another address to their majesties and parliament, of resembling contents: they complain “ they have been thrown out of their estates, their goods seized, and their books taken from them: that they have been misrepresented to their majesties, reproached for heretics, closely confined for fifteen or sixteen months, and not allowed the liberty to justify themselves against the calumnies thrown upon them. They desire they may be brought publicly to their answer either before the parliament, or such indifferent judges as their majesties shall appoint.

“ Under such an allowance they do not question their being able to throw off the imputation of heresy: to defend the Reformation from point to point, and show the excommunications published against them of no force: and that all the names of disadvantage and infamy belong rather to their adversaries: to their adversaries, who, with respect to their majesties, may rather be said to stand in the place of the Egyptian magicians to Pharaoh, of Zedekiah and his party of prophets to Ahab king of Israel, and of Barjesus to the proconsul Sergius Paulus. And, lastly, they offer to justify the doctrine and worship established in the late reign, by scripture and antiquity, under the highest penalties.”

Whether the freedom of these addresses gave disgust, or that the government resolved to proceed another way, is more than can be known; however, it is certain, the preachers were refused in their application.

Fox's MSS.
Strype's
Appendix to
Cranmer's
Life, p. 196.

Fox, vol. 3.
p. 118.
*Some Pro-
vocations
given the
government.*

GRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.

379.

The misbehaviour of some people, about this time, seems to have soured the humour of the court, and brought the reformed under disfavour. For instance, one Edward Featherstone, *alias* Constable, counterfeited himself king Edward VI. He was seized and carried before the council, where he begged the queen's pardon, and confessed he had been importuned by a great many people to undertake the imposture. This youth had, for some time, been a footman to sir Peter Mewtass.

Council
Book.
Stow's
Annals,
p. 626.

The next month, the lord North, secretary Bourn, the master of the Rolls, sir Francis Inglesfield, and some others, received order from the council to proceed to a farther examination of Bingar, Cary, Dye, and Field. These men, as appears by their confessions, had been tampering with astrology or magic. They were prosecuted, in all likelihood, for calculating the queen's nativity and foretelling her death.

Council
Book.

To this may be added, a letter sent to the lord treasurer, with another enclosed to the queen, from father Elstan, warden of the convent at Greenwich. He complains, that himself and father Peyto were stoned by several persons, in their passage from London to Greenwich. His lordship is desired by the council to get the offenders apprehended, and to require the lord mayor to make a proclamation, with a reward for those that shall discover them.

Ibid.

To give another instance of a lower kind: one Robert Mendrain, of the parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, shaved a dog, in contempt of the priests' tonsure. For this misbehaviour, he was ordered by the council to go to his parish-church next Sunday, and there publicly confess his folly in a form prescribed.

Ibid.

These instances of misbehaviour might very probably ruffle the court, and make the government more rugged with the reformed: for, though stretching the punishment beyond the crime has nothing of justice, yet princes sometimes let loose their resentments upon such occasions. Their jealousy is apt to take the alarm: they conclude that those who profess the same religion have the same aversions and desires, and stand ready to take the same liberty of practice. This is wrong judging; but power and passion do not always distinguish; and thus a whole party sometimes suffer for the faults of a few.

As for a martyrology, the reader may please not to expect

it. It is wide of the design, and out of the compass, of this work. I shall only mention some few of the more distinguished persons and circumstances. Those who would be farther informed in names and particulars may consult Fox, who is full enough in the detail; and, though he is sometimes mistaken in private stories, his records and state papers may be safely relied on. MARY.

To proceed: the prosecution of the reformed being now determined, the bishop of Winchester, and some others of that order, had a commission from the cardinal to convent and examine those delated for heresy. Pursuant to this authority, Rogers and Bradford, bishop Hooper and Dr. Taylor, were brought before Gardiner, excommunicated, and remanded to prison. Rogers was burnt in Smithfield, and suffered with great fortitude and Christian resolution. He was an acquaintance of Tindal's, and lived with him in Flanders. When Tindal was executed for religion, Rogers, being apprehensive of hard usage in England under king Henry VIII., retired to Wittenburg in Germany, where, learning the language of the country, he had the cure of a parish. He continued in this business till king Edward's reign; when he was called home, and preferred to a prebend in St. Paul's church by bishop Ridley. At the present queen's coming to the crown, the Papists, knowing him to be a person of warmth and enterprise, and strongly disaffected to their persuasion, endeavoured to fright him beyond sea. For this purpose, they gave him almost a year to transport himself, charging him, at the same time, not to stir out of his own house; but when they found he despised the opportunity, and refused to withdraw, they committed him, and then brought him to the stake. He left a wife and ten children wholly unsupported, and cast upon Providence. Jan. 29.
A. D. 1554.
*Several
burnt for
heresy.*

Soon after, Sanders, parson of All-Hallows, Bread-street, in London, was brought before Bonner. He was extracted from a gentleman's family. At his examination he called the pope antichrist, and declared himself of Wickliff's, Thorp's, and Oldcastle's church. But, notwithstanding some mistakes, he showed a zeal for martyrdom, and desired no application might be made to save his life. He was carried down to Coventry, and burnt there. Feb. 4.

Godwin,
Annal.
Fox.

Fox, p. 136.

Bradford, another prebendary of St. Paul's, refusing to get

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.

off, was brought before the council. He was condemned to the fire, for denying the corporal presence and transubstantiation, which were the "burning articles" through this whole reign.

At a conference between him and Harpsfield, he denied the necessity of a succession of bishops. "The Church," said he, "is not tied to succession, but to doctrine." He affirmed, the Scriptures made no difference between the order of bishops and priests. He proved the authority of the Scriptures, not from the force of tradition and the testimony of the Church, but from inward light and private conviction, supposed to come from the Holy Ghost. He seemed to assert the Church sometimes invisible. As to auricular confession, he thought it a thing indifferent, and recommended at first only by way of advice; that pressing it as a necessary duty, and resting so much upon it as is done in the Church of Rome, not to mention other circumstances, is enough to make it unlawful. He called the pope antichrist, wrote flamingly against the mass, but condemned rebellion, and pressed passive obedience to the utmost extent. They declared him a heretic in January, but his execution was respite till July following.

Fox, p. 293,
294. 296.
302. 309.
347.

To proceed: bishop Hooper was pronounced guilty of heresy for denying the corporal presence. His episcopal character being not allowed, he was degraded to priest's orders. His being active for Bonner's deprivation, in the late reign, seems to have marked him for destruction in this: for he was sent for up, and imprisoned in the Tower, at the queen's first coming to the crown. This prelate had formerly lived a considerable time in Germany, and made an intimate acquaintance with Bullinger. After he was put into the hands of the civil magistrate, it was thought fit to convey him to Gloucester. His suffering where he preached his heterodoxy—as it was called—was done *in terrorem*, to fright the people from hearkening to such pretended novelties.

Bishop
Hooper
burnt at
Gloucester.
Feb. 9.

The warrant for burning him calls him a vain-glorious person, and one that delighted in talking; and therefore, having the liberty of speech, it was feared he might persuade the people to persist in their errors. To prevent this, the queen's pleasure was, that he should not be suffered to deliver himself to any length as he went to execution.

Biblioth.
Cotton.
Cleop. F. V.
fol. 380.

On the other hand, Hooper was glad of the opportunity of

losing his life in his diocese, and giving his people the last proof of his integrity. He resigned himself to the stake, and went through the torture with all the firmness imaginable. MARY. Id. 147.

During his imprisonment, bishop Ridley wrote him a letter, to congratulate his sufferings, to encourage his constancy, and to acquaint him, that, notwithstanding some former differences between them in lesser matters, he had now a very affectionate regard for him. The same day, Dr. Rowland Taylor, parson of Hadley, in Suffolk, was burnt in his parish. The bishop of Winchester pronounced his doom, and put him in the sheriff's hands. He was a learned man, as appears by his defence; and, if Fox is exact in his narrative, was used with particular barbarity at his execution. Farrar, bishop of St. David's, was sent out of the world the same way: he was carried from London to Carmarthen to stand the process; he was brought before his successor Morgan, who pronounced him an heretic, for marrying after his being professed a religious, for maintaining justification by faith only, for denying transubstantiation, and the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass. In the sentence he is styled a priest, and degraded no farther. Bishop Farrar appealed from Morgan to cardinal Pole, but that application was rejected. He suffered with extraordinary courage, and put the truth of his doctrine upon a very bold test: for he told a gentleman of his acquaintance, that, if he saw him uneasy under the pain, or so much as once stir in the fire, he should not believe any of his tenets. He acted with the same greatness he talked; and, though his hands were both burnt off, he never so much as moved, till one that stood by knocked him down. Bishop Godwin describes this Farrar as a person somewhat stiff and unpolished; that the ruggedness of his manner made him enemies, and occasioned the exhibiting articles against him in the late reign. He sunk under this impeachment, and was committed; and thus, continuing a prisoner at king Edward's death, he was brought before bishop Gardiner. And here, it is thought, if he had managed with dexterity and been smooth in his answers, he might have disengaged himself, and secured both his conscience and his life: thus many of the reformed, who had neither outraged the Papists nor appeared for the lady Jane, had either the liberty to go beyond sea, or, if they happened to be seized, were dismissed without much difficulty at their friends' intercession. And bishop Farrar at Carmarthen. March 30, 1555. Fox, p. 216.

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.

Godwin's
Annals.
Bishop
Coverdale
sent to Den-
mark.

"But Farrar," continues Godwin, "being uncourtly in his behaviour, provoked Winchester to go through with his process, and leave him to the law."

Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, had probably shared the same fate, had it not been for the mediation of the king of Denmark. This bishop had lived in that country in the reign of king Henry VIII. His piety and learning had recommended him so far to that court, that his Danish majesty, being informed of his danger, wrote to the queen to send him thither. The queen seemed not willing to part with him. She alleged he had not satisfied some debts owing to the crown. However, being farther solicited, she gratified the request, and sent Coverdale over.

Fox.

*The queen
resolved to
restore the
abbey-lands
in her pos-
session.*

To shut up this melancholy scene a little, and pass on to some other relation. The beginning of this year, the queen discovered her intention of restoring the abbey-lands, then remaining in the crown. To this purpose, she sent for William, marquess of Winchester, lord treasurer; sir Robert Rochester, comptroller; sir William Petre, secretary; and sir Francis Inglefield, master of the wards. She told them, she was fully satisfied those lands had been unjustly alienated during the schism; that her conscience would not allow her to keep them; and therefore she made a solemn and free surrender, without any reserve or condition; leaving these estates to be applied to such religious uses, as either the pope, or the lord cardinal his legate, should think fit. And if it was objected, the revenues of the crown and the dignity of the government would suffer by such a resignation, to this she replied, that she preferred the saving her soul to all the kingdoms of the world. This declaration was intimated to the cardinal by the lord chancellor, put in form, and sent to the pope.

The three English ambassadors came to Rome the first day of Paul IV.'s accession to the chair. Upon their being brought into the consistory, they threw themselves at his holiness's feet, and, in the name of the kingdom, made a recital of the late misbehaviour, owned their ingratitude, and entreated for pardon. In this confession they were very particular; for the pope would not pass an acknowledgment in general. After satisfaction in this point, he took them up, and embraced them; and, as a mark of esteem to their majesties of

England, he pretended to elect Ireland into a kingdom. This island, as hath been observed, was made a kingdom by king Henry VIII., after his rupture with the see of Rome. The same title was continued in the late reign, and now assumed by the present king and queen; but this pope had resolved, immediately upon his election, that the king and queen should not claim the dominion of Ireland under so sovereign a style. But, on the other side, it was thought a hardship to oblige the crown of England to quit a title which had been carried by three princes successively. The pope therefore found a method to make his pretended prerogative pass the better: he seemed not to know Henry VIII. had raised Ireland to a kingdom without his leave, that so the world might believe the queen had used the title as a gift from his holiness, and not as a right descended on her.

MARY.
Pope Paul A. pretends to give Ireland the title of a kingdom.

The queen gratified the pope to the length of his fancy; for at the return of the ambassadors, the bishop of Ely exhibited the bull for making Ireland a kingdom in the council chamber.

His bull allowed by the queen.

This instrument was delivered by the council to the archbishop of Dublin, to be published in that island. The ambassadors had several private audiences of the pope, at which he blamed the kingdom for not making full restitution of what had been taken from the Church. He told them the detaining any thing of this kind was not to be endured; that consecrated revenues can never be applied to secular uses; and that those who refuse to return them the last farthing are in a state of damnation. That if he had power to indulge upon this head, and confirm the alienations, he would do it with all the inclination imaginable;—but his authority did not reach so far, as to give him the liberty to profane holy things, and transfer property from God Almighty; that the English nation might be assured, the keeping back these estates would prove a cursed thing: that the Divine vengeance would pursue such injustice, and make the kingdom perpetually unhappy; and therefore he charged the ambassadors to write immediately for redress. He insisted likewise upon the payment of the Peter-pence; and that he intended to send a collector for that customary duty; that himself had formerly executed that office in England for three years, and was extremely pleased with the forwardness of the people in their contributions. And lastly, he told them they had no reason to hope St. Peter would open heaven gates to them as long

Council Book. The pope demands a full restitution of what has been alienated from the Church.

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.

Father Paul,
Hist. Coun-
cil of Trent.

*Flower
wounds a
priest at the
altar.*

Fox, vol. 3.
p. 241. 243.

Id. p. 242.

as they disseized him of his patrimony. This demand being not only made to the ambassadors, but repeated in several negotiations at the English court, the queen made her utmost effort to give his holiness satisfaction; and how far she succeeded in the affair will be seen afterwards.

To proceed to a farther account of the prosecution upon the score of religion. One William Flower, *alias* Branch, first a monk, afterwards a secular priest, and at last brought over to the Reformation: this man, being of an over-warm enthusiastic temper, coming into St. Margaret's church, Westminster, wounded a priest upon the head and arm, as he was administering the sacrament. For this outrage he was committed to the gate-house, and afterwards convented before bishop Bonner. Fox, in reporting this fact, confesses Flower did not do well, or evangelically, as he phrases it: as if such distraction was defensible by any other standard of justice. This martyrologist adds, Flower owns this assaulting the priest a fault, and that he was willing to suffer for his misbehaviour: but whether this is not misrepresenting the case, and palliating in some measure, will appear by his own narrative: for when Flower was asked by Bonner, whether he intended to kill the priest or not, or whether he did well or ill in assaulting him, he refused to make any answer to either of those questions. The reason of this silence may be easily conjectured. Besides, he explains himself clearly in his discourse with one Robert Smith, another prisoner on the account of religion. This Smith asked him whether he had any quarrel or particular disaffection to that priest? He told him no: but that if any other of the same order, and doing the same business, had come in his way, he should have treated him in the same manner. Smith desired to know, whether he thought the fact warrantable by the precepts or permissions of the Gospel? To this Flower makes no direct answer at first, but endeavours to justify the outrage by the examples of Moses, Aaron, Phineas, Joshua, Zimri, Jehu, Judith, and Mattathias, with several other precedents in the Old Testament. Upon this, Smith puts a farther question, whether Flower would advise him, or any other person, to take the same liberty? Flower tells him no; because such things are not to be ventured on without particular encouragement from the Spirit. But as for himself, he found his conscience much at ease, and

did not repent that sally. And if Smith had the same encouragement from the Spirit, he ought not to be condemned for his imitation. Thus Flower goes upon the principle of the Jewish zealots. He makes inward impulse, and supernatural direction, his warrant for wounding the priest. These are desperate grounds: thus private persons invade the magistrate's office, and punish without commission or forms of law. Thus a man may be hurried by the heat of his temper, by the force of his revenge, by the suggestions of the devil, into the most savage barbarities. And then, to cover his frenzy, and lay his conscience asleep, he recurs to inspiration, and vouches a divine authority. It is true, at last he owns his dislike of his striking the priest, and, to use his own words, he believes his "act was evil and naught." But then, for the matter and cause wherefore he so struck the said priest, he neither did nor does mislike himself therein. This looks like a mysterious recantation: for if he believed he had a justifiable cause or reason for striking the priest, it is hard to imagine why he should condemn the action. In short, the expressing himself in this manner, looks somewhat like a reserve for the zealot's principle. It is to be hoped he explained himself better upon farther recollection. He was declared an heretic for denying transubstantiation, and suffered at the stake in Smithfield with great fortitude. Id. p. 244.

Smith, above-mentioned, was brought before Bonner, and had articles put to him. He treats the bishop very unceremoniously, and draws hard language upon himself, which he returns in the extremity it was given. He calls the oil, salt, &c. used in baptism, blasphemies, and denies the necessity of water baptism to children. Fox overlooks these failings and mistakes, and gives him commendation without abatement: which undistinguishing regard is by no means serviceable to every reader. The corporal presence was pressed closely upon him, according to the usual manner in this reign. "Do you believe," says Bonner, "that it is the very body of Christ, that was born of the Virgin Mary, naturally, substantially, and really, after the words of consecration?" His disbelief of this article was enough to bring him to Smithfield, where he suffered this summer, in August. Id. p. 401, 402.

Thornton, suffragan of Dover, and Nicholas Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, were remarkably cruel in their Several burnt for religion.

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.
Id. p. 373.

May 30.

*A remark
upon the
persecution.*

prosecutions: Bland, a clergyman, to mention no others, suffered under them for denying the corporal presence. And Cardmaker, prebendary of Wells, who should have been mentioned before, was burnt in Smithfield for disowning transubstantiation.

382.

To say something in general concerning this matter: it is granted those that suffered were not all of them without the common infirmities. Sallies of passion and vehemence of language broke out sometimes. To be stripped of their fortune, and see their families undone: to be ruggedly used in prison, and then dragged to the stake: to be thus handled, was a great trial of patience. It is no wonder if people are thrown off their temper a little under such provocation: especially when there was no private injustice, no crime against the state, no charge of immorality, to bring on the rigour. To speak clearly, their judges seldom showed much inclination to preserve them. They were nice and particular in their inquiries: they put the test home, and pressed the corporal presence and transubstantiation in the most ensnaring terms: neither would they be satisfied with less than distinct and categorical answers. And which way men could safely avoid burning under such interrogatories, is farther than I can discover. Now he that submits to torture, and parts with his life rather than deny his disbelief of these very shocking and incredible things, may, I humbly conceive, deserve the title of a martyr.

As to their general behaviour, nothing could be more to their advantage. They disengaged from flesh and blood without regret: they encouraged their friends to constancy: they appeared glad of the opportunity of going so honourably into the other world. And though some of them might be mistaken in matters of lesser moment, they were right in the main. To stand death under the most formidable appearance, is a noble proof of integrity. Men who are contented to resign their interest, to shorten their lives, and make themselves literally a burnt-offering, are most certainly in earnest. Their conscience and their piety, in such cases, are out of all question.

Gardiner, who thought a few examples of severity would have struck terror into the rest, was disappointed in his expectation. He perceived the courage of the reformed increased with their sufferings, and that one execution made way for

another. And thus finding his project of crushing the heresy, as he called it, impracticable, he declined being farther concerned. Thus he left the matter wholly to Bonner, who, at present, seemed not displeased with the employment, but went on without mercy or remorse.

MARY.

Gardiner refuses to proceed in sanguinary methods.

These severities, purely upon the score of conscience, were generally censured. For many of those who suffered, had acted nothing contrary to law: they were first seized upon slender pretences, and then kept in prison until the statutes against heresy were revived. Thus the prosecutions of this reign far exceeded those of the last. In king Edward's time, the papists only lost their preferments, or at the hardest their liberty: but now nothing would satisfy for the crime of a different belief, but capital punishment, and sending people into the other world, in the most tormenting manner. And since the queen had at first declared against forcing her religion upon her subjects, it was thought unreasonable to charge the persecution upon her. It was believed she was overruled since her marriage, and that these fires were kindled by king

King Philip suspected for these rigors.

Philip. The inquisition in his country, his bigotry, and the unacceptableness of his temper, made this presumption not improbable. However, the king it seems had no mind to lie under this imputation, as may be collected by a sermon preached before him by his confessor Alphonsus: for this preacher, who was a Franciscan, declaimed strongly against taking away people's lives for religion. He spent some satirical expressions upon the bishops for these severities: he said the Scriptures prescribed them quite different methods, taught them "to instruct those in meekness that opposed them," and not hale them to execution, and burn them, because they could believe no better. The bishops were surprised to find their proceedings condemned by the Spaniards; and to do them justice, they did not seem to like it themselves: and that they might not be misreported, they openly declared against these sanguinary methods. As for the friar's sermon, (said to be preached on the tenth of February,) it made no lasting impression on the court: for on the twenty-sixth day of March following, the king and queen sent an order to the justices of peace in Norfolk, to inquire after those who refused to conform and come to church: to bind them to their good behaviour, or commit them according as the quality of the person,

King Philip's confessor preaches against the persecution.

Heylin, Hist. Ref.

Bp. Burnet, pt. 2. p. 365.

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.

Cotton.
Lib. Titus.
B. 2.
*The court
complains of
Bonner's
remissness.*

or the circumstances of their carriage should require. And here they have particular instructions to look strictly after the preachers of heresy, and the procurers of private meetings. About two months after, the king and queen wrote to Bonner to carry on the prosecution with more vigour. This letter acquaints the bishop, that their majesties had sent directions to the justices of peace in all the counties of England, to press conformity in religion; and that those who continued unreclaimed, should be put into the hands of the ordinary for farther instruction: and in case they proved incorrigible, the law was to pass upon them. From hence the letter proceeds to complain of the remissness of the ordinaries: that they sometimes refused to take persons who delated for heresy into their custody; or, if they did receive such misbelievers, they either declined taking pains for their recovery, or forbore proceeding to conviction, and putting them in the hands of justice. This lenity and connivance is reprimanded, and Bonner is required to proceed to extremities, where milder methods proved unsuccessful.

May 24,
1555.

Fox, p. 251.

*A procla-
mation against
heretical
books.*

Some little time after, a proclamation was published against importing, printing, reading, selling, or keeping heretical books. Amongst the prohibited list, Luther's, Calvin's, Zuin-
glius's, Alasco's, Bucer's, Bullinger's, Melancthon's, Eras-
mus's, Latimer's, Hooper's, Bale's, Cranmer's works, Hall's
Chronicle, and several others, are reckoned. The proclamation
goes upon the statute of 2 Henry IV. cap. 15, revived the last
parliament.

Printed by
Cawood,
1555.

Though the severities of the Government for matters of pure belief are wholly indefensible, their care for discouraging licentiousness deserves commendation. Of this we have a remarkable instance in one Mr. Barrengdein, who was brought before the council, and obliged to enter into a recognizance of five hundred marks, to forbear the conversation of another man's wife; it runs thus:—

*Barreng-
dein's re-
cognizance.*

“Franciscus Barrengdein, armiger, recognovit se debere dominis regi et reginæ quingentas marchas solvend., etc. et nisi, etc. concedit pro se et hæredibus suis, quod dicta summa, etc.”

“The condition of this recognizance is such, that if the above-bound Francis Barrengdein do, from henceforth, refrain the company of the wife of Henry Tallowfield, of London, and be of good abearing towards the said Henry, and forthcoming

when he shall be called for, betwixt this and the feast of St. ^{MARY.} Andrew the apostle next coming, that then," &c.

This summer, bishop Bonner set forth several homilies for the use of his diocese: they were drawn up partly by John Harpsfield, archdeacon of London, one of Bonner's chaplains, and partly by Henry Pendleton, already mentioned. The titles of them are as follow:—First. Of the creation and fall of man. Second. Of the misery of all mankind, and his condemnation to death. Third. Of the redemption of man. Fourth. How the redemption in Christ is applicable to man. Fifth. Of Christian love and charity. Sixth. How dangerous a thing the break of charity is. Seventh. Of the Church, what it is, and of the commodity thereof. Eighth. Of the authority of the Church. Ninth. Of the supremacy. Tenth. Of the supremacy. Eleventh. Of the true presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar. Twelfth. Of transubstantiation. Thirteenth. Of certain answers against some common objections made against the sacrament of the altar.

Council
Book.
Aug. 18,
1555.

383.

Some little time before the printing these homilies, a book called "A profitable and necessary Doctrine," &c. was published by Bonner for the diocese of London. It begins with an exposition of faith, and goes upon the heads of the "Institution and necessary Erudition," set forth in the reign of king Henry VIII. The manner of handling these points is somewhat different from the tracts above mentioned. For instance: this book is more particular in some cases, and more polemical in others. Under the sacrament of orders, the ordinal made in the late reign is deeply censured, and the conveyance of any character seems denied. The reason assigned is, because in the reformed ordinal, at the ordination of priests, there is no authority given them to "offer the body and blood of our Saviour in the mass." But the insignificancy of this objection has been already considered.

Profitable
and Necess-
ary Doc-
trine, &c.
*A petition
against pro-
secuting the
reformed.*

This year a petition was drawn up by some of the exiles, printed beyond sea, and sent to the queen to stop the persecution. The arguments are good, but the manner in some parts of it not very courtly and recommending. They put her in mind of the danger of being governed by a blind zeal; and resemble her proceedings against the reformed, to St. Paul's persecuting the Christians before his conversion. They acquaint her how Cranmer had preserved her in her father's time: that

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.

therefore she had no reason to question his affection or sincerity: and that truth was rather to be expected from him, than from any of the popish clergy, who are compared to Jezabel's prophets. They collected several passages out of Gardiner's, Bonner's, and Tonsal's writings, against the pope's supremacy and her mother's marriage. From hence they inferred these prelates were men without conscience: that they were governed by secular views, and changed their opinions as fear or interest suggested. They urged that Christianity was tolerated in Turkey, and that in most places the Christians allowed the Jews the same indulgence. That the persecution in England had the hardest complexion imaginable, and looked like that of the Scribes and Pharisees against the apostles: for these men of the Sanhedrim pretended the apostles were formerly of their religion, and had since gone off to heresy. They set forth that the first burning statute was made by Henry IV. That this prince passed the bill to gratify the bishops who assisted him to seize the crown and depose his sovereign Richard II. And that as the motive to the law was unjust, so the matter of it was inhuman: and that it was a flat contradiction to the clemency required by the Gospel.

They suggested that in the late reign none of the Roman Catholics had been treated with this rigour: they took the freedom to say, the sword was put into her hand by God Almighty, for the benefit and protection of her subjects: that they were not to be punished without breach of duty: and that her majesty must answer in the other world for their blood, if "she delivered them to the mercy of such wolves."

The remainder of the address is directed to the nobility and commons. They endeavour to alarm the nobility, by presenting a prospect of losing their abbey-lands. And to make the danger more formidable, they presage the loss of their liberties and their being brought under arbitrary sway and Spanish government—Spanish government, which had ruined many of the best countries in the world. They suggest farther, they must expect the burden of heavy taxes, and that a general excise levied in the Netherlands would be put upon them. And lastly, they did not spare to tell them, that all this hardship would be no better than they deserved: that they had concurred with the Reformation for interest and unworthy ends: and that now since they believed the Church lands suffi-

ciently secured to them, they declared for the other religion, for which they would be deeply accountable to God Almighty. As to the common people, they exhort them to recollection and repentance. The petition concludes with begging the queen to show her subjects the same favour, at least, she had done to strangers: and that they may be allowed the liberty of transporting themselves.

MARY.

Bp. Burnet,
pt. 2. p. 305.

This petition, as hath been observed, not only fails in the terms of respect and the decencies of application, but that part of it which endeavours to work upon the nobility by prognosticating loss and hard usage looks extremely unaccountable: for supposing these fears had been real and well grounded, which way could the nobility have avoided the danger, unless by rising upon the government and running into rebellion?

To hinder this discourse from having an ill effect upon the people, a little book was published, to make the prosecutions look plausible, and justify capital punishments in cases of heresy.

To mention something upon this argument: the tract observes, the Mosaic law punished blasphemy with death. That the English heretics were guilty of this crime: and that by calling the body of Christ a piece of bread, they blasphemed the sacrament of the altar: that natural light and common regard for the Deity had put the heathens upon prosecuting the Christians, though they mistook in the application of the principle. The expression in our Saviour's parable, "compel them to enter in," is urged in this discourse, and likewise the text of St. Paul, "I would they were cut off that trouble you." It is argued farther, that St. Peter was miraculously enabled to strike Ananias and Sapphira dead: and that this instance seemed a sufficient authority for the magistrate to proceed capitally against such persons. And, which was much stronger, it is alleged that heretics themselves did not scruple burning dissenters, when the government was on their side: and that some Arians and Anabaptists condemned to the fire by the Protestants were no less remarkable for the regularity of their lives and their courage at the stake than those who were thus executed in the present reign. And, to cite nothing farther, St. Austin's opinion was produced for prosecuting the Donatists. It is true he had been formerly of a different sentiment; but afterwards finding they recollected themselves and quitted their

*A defence
of the pro-
ceedings
against
heretics.*

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.

Regist.
Bonner,
fol. 398.

errors under discipline, he changed his mind and recommended sharp expedients as far as fines and banishment.

About this time pope Paul IV. published a plenary indulgence. I shall give it the reader as it stands translated in Bonner's Register.

"Paul the bishop, servant of the servants of God, &c. To all faithful persons of Christ to whom these letters shall come, greeting, and apostolical benediction. Whereas in the beginning of our pontifical office we weighed in our mind how great a burthen this was unto which our most blessed God had chosen and appointed us, especially in these sharp and miserable times, in the which Christian people exercise inward, miserable and woeful war: we did remember Solomon, who so soon as he was made a king, converting himself to God in his prayers, asked nothing else but that God would give him so much of force and strength that in the ruling his people he should not fall under the burthen. And we, persuaded by that example, and considering the infinite clemency of God Almighty, have not ceased to make intercession by prayers and tears that God of his benignity would so confirm and strengthen us, that we might with the health of you all sustain this burthen received at his most holy hands, and that we might be able to pacify and appease these dissensions and hatreds, by the which almost all the Christian congregations being miserable do perish and take ruin. And though we ourselves most humble and prostrate, calling upon his mercy, do not cease to pray for this thing, yet forasmuch as we trust that many of you being in so great favour and grace with our Lord God, that by multiplied prayers we may get the rather that which we do ask, seeing that the great benignity of God is wont to suffer earnestness or violence to be done unto it:—Therefore by authority apostolical given unto us from above, we, on the behalf of Almighty God, and in the bowels of his mercy, do exhort and in our Lord do require and monish all and singular, men and women, the faithful of Christ both secular and regular, reclused, and living also abroad, as well in our city as also in the cities, lands and places throughout the whole world, that within three days after the publication of these presents, in any of the said places to them made, or after these presents shall come to their notice or knowledge, they do study with diligent examination to discuss and search their conscience, and to make a pure

confession of all their sins : and that upon the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday immediately following the same, all being of lawful age do fast (except they be let with lawful impediment) and make supplication and prayer to Jesus Christ our Lord God, and with prayer and mourning being prostrate before his feet, do ask and desire that he will not disdain to be with us, to lift us up, and to rule and govern us. And finally that he will grant to Christian princes, and to all the faithful, both the end of miseries and calamities, and also concord and peace. And that upon the Sunday following they do godly and devoutly receive the most holy communion and sacrament of the altar ; and pitying the poor people of Christ, they will every one to his power relieve their need, and do other things also which appertain to godliness, charity, and chastity, with all their heart and mind, that they may the more rather promote and set forth the mercy of God our most merciful Lord. And to the intent they may the more purely and commodiously do it, we, opening the treasures of the Church, do grant unto the aforesaid faithful persons of Christ, that for this time only, they may choose unto them a priest secular, or of any other order regular, which having heard their confession, may them absolve from any manner of sins (how grievous and enormous soever) although reserved to the aforesaid see, and contained in the bull of *Cæna Domini* ; enjoining them for the measure or quantity of their faults wholesome penance : and by the said authority we do give and grant that they may also change or alter all vows whatsoever (the vows of Jerusalem, of chastity, of religion only excepted) into other works of godliness. Nevertheless enjoining specially to all the above-said faithful, for the satisfaction of particular penance, that they, as well upon the Sunday of their communion as in the three days of their said fast, do say devoutly five times the *Pater-noster*, and the *Ave Maria*. And we to all and singular the faithful persons of Christ, who shall accomplish and fulfil the things before rehearsed, do (trusting in the mercy of Almighty God, and the authority of his blessed apostles Peter and Paul) grant most fully remission of their sins, and that remission or privilege which in the year of the jubilee is granted to the faithful, visiting the churches either of our said city, or elsewhere assigned them for that purpose. And to the intent that all these things may come to the knowledge of all people, and our gracious Lord may be by many graciously entreated,

MARY.

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.

we do straitly, in the virtue of holy obedience, command all our brethren the patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of the Church, that they freely and without any deceit or gain every where throughout their provinces, cities, and dioceses, do effectually publish and cause to be published these presents or their transumpt, being subscribed with the hands of some prelate or some person being in ecclesiastical dignity : To which transumpt we will all credence to be given. Any constitutions and ordinances apostolic, or any thing else whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding. These presents not to be vailable or of force after the Sunday immediately following the aforesaid Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday. Given at Rome at St. Mark's, in the year of the incarnation of our Lord 1555; in the ides of July, and in the first year of our pontificate.

“Ita est Edmundus episcopus London.”

Sept. 12.
*Cranmer
brought
before the
commissioners at
Oxford.*

385.

Fox, vol. 3.
p. 663.

I shall now go on to the process against Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, prisoners at Oxford. To begin with the first : a commission was sent from the pope to James Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, authorizing him to proceed upon Cranmer's trial. Dr. Martin and Dr. Story, two civilians, had commissions from the king and queen for the same purpose. When he was brought before them in St. Mary's church, he made his reverence to the two doctors, as representing their majesties, but refused to salute Brooks, the pope's commissioner, with any postures of respect. However, he let the bishop know, it was his foreign character, and not any disregard to his person, which put him upon this seeming singularity. He said he had solemnly renounced the pope's supremacy; and since his reasons held good upon his mind, he could not show any signs of submission to the see of Rome. At this examination Cranmer affirmed the power of the keys, as well as that of the sword, was lodged in the crown¹. After some trial to remove him from this sentiment, they charged him with several articles : that he had been twice married; that he had refused obedience to the pope; that he had discovered his heterodoxy in the doctrine of the blessed sacrament; that he had been declared an heretic by the late prolocutor, and the rest of the doctors commissioned by the queen and the universities. He

¹ A most explicit avowal of the ecclesiastical supremacy of British monarchs within their own dominions.

confessed the charge, but offered to defend his practice and opinions. After he had passed through the formalities of a trial, he was cited to appear at Rome within fourscore days. The archbishop replied, he was willing to go thither, provided the king and queen please to send him. But this was only matter of form, for he was remanded to prison and kept in close custody, till he came to the stake, of which more afterwards.

MARY.

About a fortnight forward, another commission was issued from the cardinal legate to White, bishop of Lincoln, Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, and Holyman, bishop of Bristol, or any two of them, to proceed to the degrading bishop Ridley and bishop Latimer, provided they could not prevail with them to recant. These commissioners, finding them firm to their former persuasion, and refusing to own any authority from the cardinal legate, pronounced them guilty of heresy: and then declaring they were no longer members of the Church, consigned them over to the secular magistrate, to be punished as the law directs. They were only degraded from priests' orders. This was somewhat particular, since cardinal Pole in his commission styles them bishops, and in case of obstinacy, directs their degradation from that character: and farther, White, bishop of Lincoln, one of the commissioners, owns Ridley was made a bishop according to the laws of the Church of Rome. But Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, who seems to have been the most bigoted delegate, would allow neither of them to be any more than priest. As for Latimer, he resigned his see in the reign of Henry VIII., threw off his episcopal habit, and pretended no farther to the title. This, it may be, the commissioners conceived amounted to a degradation; otherwise it will be difficult to account why his character was not allowed. The reason why Ridley passed for no more than a priest, may be somewhat better conjectured. For this prelate, being consecrated to his first see of Rochester, several years after the pope's supremacy was discarded, the kingdom was then supposed to be in a state of schism, and by consequence the bishops had no authority to consecrate and ordain. This was the sense of most of the governing clergy of this reign. Both Ridley and Latimer kept the same distance in their behaviour, and renounced the pope both in language and gesture, as archbishop Cranmer had lately done: for Ridley,

*Ridley and
Latimer
pronounced
heretics.*

Fox.

Fox, p. 487.

Id. p. 500.

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.
Fox.

especially, refused to pay any ceremony to the bishops delegated by the cardinal. But then this was managed with a salvo of respect for Pole's royal birth, his learning, and other good qualities. And Latimer, before his answer to the articles, protested against the pope's authority.

*And brought
to the stake.
October 16,
1555.*

They were both brought to the stake October 16th. The place was on the north side of the town, in the ditch, over against Baliol College. And to prevent tumults, the lord Williams and the burghers were ordered by the queen to assist at the execution. As Ridley came near Bocardo, where Cranmer was prisoner, he looked up, in hopes to have seen the archbishop and taken his leave; but Cranmer being then engaged in dispute with some Spanish friars, forgot to appear at the window; but soon after, recollecting himself, and seeing them at the place, he prayed for them. When Ridley saw Latimer come up, he saluted him with an air of pleasure, and told him that God would either abate the force of the fire, or enable them to go through it. Before they prepared for the stake, Dr. Smith, who recanted popery in the late reign, was ordered to preach. The design was to take off the impression which the execution might otherwise have made upon the company. His text was, "If I give my body to be burnt, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing." From these words

1 Cor. xiii. 3.

he observes, that it was the cause, and not the pain which made the martyr: that throwing up life without warrantable reason was no instance of true fortitude: and that Judas his sending himself into the other world, was far from an expiation of his crime. To die against truth and orthodoxy, had more of desperation than greatness in it; and this, he was afraid, would be the case of these men. From hence he went on to downright satire, and coarse misrepresentation. He cautioned the people to stand off from their doctrine, said they were heretics, and died out of the Church. And to describe them to farther disadvantage, he touched upon the diversities of opinions amongst the reformed: that the Lutherans, Oecolampadians, and Zuinglians could come to no agreement amongst themselves, and that Ridley and Latimer were of the last and worst sect of the three. In the close, he exhorted them both to retract their errors; and that in case they returned to the Church, they might save both their lives and their souls. Upon this, Ridley and Latimer kneeled to the lord Williams

and the commissioners for leave to speak two or three words in reply to the sermon: but before the lord Williams could give an answer, Ridley's mouth was stopped by the bailiffs and Dr. Marshal, the vice-chancellor, who assured him no discourse, excepting a recantation, would be admitted. After this, they were ordered to undress themselves for the fire, which they did accordingly, and suffered with all the commendable appearances of the primitive martyrs. The station they had formerly been in, the regularity of their lives, and their behaviour at the stake, raised the compassion of the company, and made them much displeased with the spectacle. To add a word or two farther concerning each of them: Latimer was born in Leicestershire, and bred at Christ's College in Cambridge. He was always in earnest in his religion; and had a strong opinion at first of a monastic life: he thought a man could hardly miscarry in the other world, after his being professed. He was no friend to the reformers in Germany, and made a speech against Philip Melancthon at the taking of his bachelor of divinity's degree. It seems Bilney made the first impression on him as to his belief. Being thus disengaged from some of the prejudices of education, and an implicit deference to the doctrine received, he made farther advances. He preached with great plainness at king Edward's court, and made no scruple to tax the vices of the age with a freedom that became his character. In the beginning of queen Mary's reign he was sent for to appear before the council. He had notice of the messenger's coming, but was so far from making his escape, that he prepared for his journey. The pursuivant was surprised to find him thus forward, and after having delivered a letter from the board, went away, letting him know he had no orders to stay for him. From hence it is plain that the government had no inclination to seize him, but would have been better pleased with his retiring beyond sea: but Latimer, it seems, when he heard the ministry laid out for him, conceived himself obliged to appear. And thus, when he had put himself in the hands of his enemies, they might probably think they were obliged in honour not to part with him without a recantation. And thus much concerning Latimer.

MARY.

Something touching their character.

386.

Ridley was a gentleman extracted from an ancient family in Northumberland: he was bred in Cambridge, where he commenced doctor of divinity, and was preferred to the mastership

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.

of Pembroke Hall. After some time, he quitted the university, travelled to France, and studied at Paris. At his return he was made chaplain to king Henry VIII. and by him promoted to the see of Rochester; how he was afterwards translated to London and Durham, has already been related. His parts and improvement were uncommonly distinguished: his memory and judgment were strong: he was well acquainted with the Fathers and ecclesiastical antiquities. His life was no less commendable than his learning. He kept a guard upon himself, and spent a great part of his time in prayer. His temper was smooth and obliging, and apt to forget an ill turn: and though he was particularly inclined to serve his relations, yet he would never put them in posts for which they were unqualified, or prefer them beyond their merit.

Notwithstanding his zeal for the Reformation, he was far from approving extremities. In a letter to his steward West, he shows his dislike of sudden changes without apparent necessity; and that driving to remote distances was never any part of his inclination. As to auricular confession to a priest, he always looked upon it as a very serviceable usage; that, by this expedient, the penitent might be instructed, reprov'd, or comforted, to very significant purposes, as the case should require. Here Fox, out of an over-scrupulous fear of popery, throws in a condition in his margin, and misrepresents the text. He says this confession is to be made by way of asking counsel, which is more than is in Ridley's letter. This prelate, in his letter to Bradford, who was burnt in Smithfield, desires his assistance after his martyrdom; and that, when he should come into the other world, he would then pray for those who were left behind and likely to suffer.

In another letter to Grindal, then in Germany, he complains of the hypocrisy and disorders of the late reign, and believes those provocations had brought the present calamities upon them. And here he laments the insincerity of king Edward's magistracy: that they professed the Reformation, and countenanced the clergy of that persuasion, for mercenary ends, and to enrich themselves with the estates belonging to the Church. This letter, though without date, was written this summer, as appears by his mentioning the queen being near her time, and praying she might be happily delivered.

This year, there was inquiry made for recovering church

furniture, and other effects, which had been carried off in the two late reigns. Several, who had been visitors in king Henry and king Edward's time, were questioned concerning their management; and after some of them had been sued, others were willing to compound and make a present to the Church to purchase their indemnity. I find commissions were awarded for this purpose: for the council sent a letter of thanks to sir Thomas Denys, to the dean of Exeter, and the rest of the commissioners, for their diligence, praying them to require the mayor and aldermen of the said city to make delivery of the eight hundred and ninety-one ounces of plate and other ornaments and church stuff, which they detained from the parish-churches; and to rebuild the towers of the churches which the burghers had defaced.

MARY.

Council
Book.
A.D. 1555.

On the 21st of October a new parliament met at Westminster. It was opened with a speech of the lord chancellor Gardiner's. He came to the house two days after; but the sickness of which he died hindered his coming any more.

Fox tells a story, which he pretends to have had from credible intelligence, that the bishop of Winchester refused to go to dinner that day Ridley and Latimer were burnt, till his servants, who were posted upon the road for that purpose, had brought him word the faggots were kindled about them: that this barbarous fancy made the dinner be kept back till four o'clock, and that the old duke of Norfolk was uneasy for staying so long. That when Gardiner heard these two bishops were burning, he was transported at the news, went immediately to dinner, but was suddenly seized at table, and carried to his bed, where he continued till his death, which happened about a fortnight after. To disprove this tragical relation, it may be sufficient to observe, that Gardiner appeared twice in the house of Lords after he is reported to have been seized with this mortal distemper. And besides, the old duke of Norfolk had been dead above a year when Fox makes him at dinner at the bishop of Winchester's, for this duke died at Framlingham castle, September, 1554; and was succeeded by his grandson, who could now be no old duke, as the story pretends.

Gardiner's
death and
character.
Fox, p. 527.
A story in
Fox dis-
proved.
Bp. Burnet,
pt. 2. p. 320.
compared
with Fox.
Heylin,
Hist. Ref.
Queen
Mary, p. 39.

As to Gardiner, Godwin relates he died of the gout, and not of a suppression of urine, as Fox would have it. As to his extraction, he is said to be the natural son of Lionel Woodvil,

Mill's
Geneal.
Catal. of the
Nobility.

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.

387.

bishop of Salisbury, which Lionel was brother to Richard Woodvil, brother to queen Elizabeth, wife of king Edward IV. He was a person of no mean judgment and acquirements. He wrote Latin commendably enough, was a good Grecian, and had made a considerable proficiency in the canon law. As to his divinity, he seems not to have gone far in the fathers and councils. He was too much a temporizer, as the reader may have observed, by his marches and counter-marches in the three reigns. He complied a great way in the Reformation in king Edward's time: for to mention nothing more in his sermon preached before that prince, he approves the receiving the communion in both kinds; he is reconciled to the suppressing the chantries, declares against some abuses in the mass, and confesseth himself satisfied with several other alterations in the Church: and as to the sacrifice of the holy eucharist, he seems to explain it commodiously enough. He grants the sacrifice of the cross is sufficient for all the purposes of redemption: that there is no need of farther atonement for sin; and that the eucharistic sacrifice is only continued to keep up the memory, and apply the benefits of our Saviour's passion; to strengthen our faith, and refresh our thankfulness.

Fox, p. 529.

*Gardiner's
contest with
Smith and
Cheek about
the pronun-
ciation of
Greek.*

This prelate's abilities for a minister of state, may easily be collected from his management. As to his skill in the Greek, it has been mentioned already: but then, it may be added, he seems to have valued himself too much upon this part of learning. For when sir Thomas Smith and sir John Cheek had attempted the retrieving the old pronunciation of the Greek language, given the sounds their just compass, and brought them up to their primitive distinctions, Gardiner, then chancellor of the university of Cambridge, wrote to Cheek, the professor, to desist from innovation; for so he miscalled the ancient way of pronouncing. This letter not being taken notice of so far as he expected, he dispatches an order in his own name, and the universities, in which all the members of that body are forbidden to make any change upon the modern pronunciation, either in Greek or Latin. That the diphthongs in either language should not be drawn to different sounds, unless where the vowels were to be parted into distinct syllables. *Α* and *ε*, *ει* and *ι* were to be sounded as if they had the same powers, and only distinguished in writing. In short, nobody

must be allowed to dispute upon the force and properties of the alphabet, but govern himself by the present usage. Thus the controversy was knocked down, and Gardiner's fancy prevailed, till the reformation in religion was farther settled. The contest was managed with more learning and concern than was generally expected. Gardiner insisted upon custom, and the authority of the modern Greeks. Cheek and his party, on the other side, pleaded old authors of the best class for criticism and credit. But enough of this. And, to conclude with Gardiner, his corpse having lain in state for some time in St. Mary Overy's, in Southwark, was attended to Winchester by the lord Montague, the bishop of Ely, and a body of two hundred gentlemen and yeomen in mourning. Nicholas Heath, archbishop of York, had the broad seal, with the title of lord chancellor, on new year's-day following: but the profits of the bishopric of Winchester were sequestered for some time for the cardinal's use. It was thought his eminence had a prospect of holding that see in commendam with the other of Canterbury, but John White, bishop of Lincoln, born at Winchester, master of the school, and warden of the college, solicited a translation thither: and, by his interest at court, gained the promotion, upon condition of paying the cardinal a yearly pension of a thousand pounds. About this time Voisie, or Vesie, bishop of Exeter, departed this life. He was succeeded by Dr. James Turberville, a gentleman of considerable family. Turberville was a great benefactor to his see, and recovered several estates which had been alienated; and, amongst others, the rich manor of Crediton, or Kirton: this was given back by the queen, but afterwards surrendered to queen Elizabeth, by bishop Cotton.

MARY.

Stow's
Annals.
White,
bishop of
Winchester.

This winter the emperor, Charles V., tired with the traverses of fortune, and the trouble of governing, resigned his hereditary dominions to his son, king Philip. The next year he resigned the empire, and retired to a private life. His brother Ferdinand was chosen emperor by the diet. As for king Philip, he left England in September previously, and stayed beyond sea about a year and a half.

Godwin de
Præsul.
October 25.

At the opening of the parliament, the queen endeavoured to dispose the houses to a full restitution of church lands: but this motion being generally disrelished, it was thought proper to drop the undertaking. However, the queen's piety prompted

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.

*First-fruits
and tenths
restored by
act of par-
liament to
the Church.*

her to do her own part, and carry the matter as far as it was practicable : to this purpose, having ordered the house of Commons to attend her, she told them her conscience would not give her leave to take the tenths and first-fruits of livings and spiritual promotions : that her father had laid this tax upon the clergy in consequence of his title of supreme head : and that, since she had given up all pretensions to that extent of the regale, she would discharge the imposition granted to support it. Upon this the cardinal made a speech, to show that tithes and impropriations were parcel of the Church's patrimony, and ought to be restored. In short, the parliament were prevailed with to pass a bill for this purpose, so far as the crown was concerned. By this act the payment of first-fruits and tenths was extinguished : " And all rectories, benefices impropriate, glebe lands, tithes, oblations, pensions, &c. vested in the crown since the twentieth year of king Henry VIII., are given up to the Church for the augmentation of the livings to which they formerly belonged, for the advantage of other poor cures ; for the furnishing preachers ; for the exhibiting scholars : and the disposal of these revenues thus restored, is left to the discretion of the lord legate, cardinal Pole. But then there was a proviso for saving the right of the subject, who had any interest in these estates granted from the crown. There is likewise a clause for exonerating the king and queen, and their successors, from the payment of pensions and annuities to the monks : to which are added corodies and fees, which, for the future, were to be paid out of the tenths, first-fruits, &c. without any burthen upon the crown. There is another proviso, by which the patronage of these impropriations belonging to the crown is still reserved. And because some temporal estates had been intermixed, and leased out by the crown with these tenths, impropriations, &c. it is enacted, that commissions shall be awarded out of the Exchequer to six indifferent persons, three of the spirituality, and three of the temporality, to call twelve men, of credit and substance, before them,—twelve men inhabiting in the neighbourhood where these estates lie,—and to oblige them, upon oath, to distinguish and sever the glebe lands, and other spiritual possessions, from the temporal estates, and to rate and apportion how much rent shall be paid for the one and the other."

2 & 3 Phil.
& Mary,
cap. 4.
Statutes at
Large.

There was another act passed this session, for restraining

purveyors from taking any provision within five miles of Cambridge or Oxford. Thus the markets of both universities were better supplied, and things were sold at a lower rate.

MARY.
2 & 3 Phil.
& Mary,
cap. 15.
388.

There was likewise a bill put in against the duchess of Suffolk, and others, who had transported themselves, to oblige them to return under penalties. This passed the lord's house, but, upon a division, was thrown out by the commons.

Bp. Burnet,
pt. 2. p. 323.

Having now done with the parliament, which was dissolved on the ninth of December, I shall go back a little to the convocation. A writ for summoning this body was issued to the dean and chapter of Canterbury: the see not being filled since the attainder of archbishop Cranmer. Boxhall, warden of Winchester, preached the sermon, and Dr. John Christopher-son, dean of Norwich, was chosen prolocutor. Cardinal Pole presided, and had the king and queen's letters-patent to indemnify him in holding the synod. The reader may see some part of the instrument in the records. And here, it may be observed, the cardinal, at his first coming over, had the same authority from the crown, for exercising his legatine jurisdiction; which he is allowed to manage with the same liberty, which any legate might have done in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of king Henry VIII. This convocation, to make the queen an acknowledgment for returning the first-fruits, tenths, &c. to the Church, granted a subsidy of six shillings in the pound, to be paid in three years next ensuing.

The convocation.

October,
1555.

See Records,
num. 74.

Regist.
Pole, fol. 6.

But, before I part with the convocation, I must observe, that cardinal Pole, finding the discipline of the Church relaxed, and some defects in the constitution, consulted the bishops about drawing up a supplemental provision. And here it was agreed that the best expedient was to convene a synod: that thus the cardinal might be farther informed of the abuses, and directed to proper remedies. Pursuant to this resolution, a convocation was summoned, the reformation plan laid before them, and passed both houses. It is digested into twelve heads, or decrees.

By the first, a procession is ordered on St. Andrew's day, in memory of the nation's reconciliation to the Catholic Church: upon this festival a sermon was to be made, or a homily read, to set forth the occasion of the solemnity. And here the reader may please to take notice, that, to avoid unnecessary explainings and repetitions, I use the cardinal's language.

Cardinal Pole's plan for the reformation of both houses in convocation.

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.

The second decree provides for the instruction of parish priests. For instance, they are obliged to be furnished with a Latin Bible, with other books proper to their function, and particularly with the Constitutions of Otho, Othobone, and the archbishops of Canterbury: and those who read, or keep any heretical books, without license from the pope, are declared excommunicate, and ordered to be prosecuted. The doctrines of the Church are all received with submission and belief, and all disagreeing tenets condemned: the canons against heresy are confirmed. An Abstract of the Catholic Faith, published by the eighth general council of Florence, for the Armenians, is inserted. It begins with a description of the papal supremacy; and here the bishop of Rome is affirmed primate of the universe, successor to the prince of the apostles, St. Peter; Christ's vicar, and head of the whole Church: that all Christians are to be instructed by him, and that, in the person of St. Peter, he received a full commission from our Saviour, to teach and govern the universal Church: and that this prerogative of the see of Rome is unquestionable, from the history of general councils, and the doctrine of the canons.

From hence the decree proceeds to treat the seven sacraments. And, in the first place, the things essential to a sacrament are defined to be the matter, a certain form of words, and a proper person to administer. As to this last requisite, the minister's intention of "doing what the Church does," is reckoned necessary. Baptism, confirmation, and orders, make a peculiar impression, or give the mind a particular signature, called an "indelible character," and therefore are not to be repeated.

As to baptism, a priest is ordinarily the proper minister of that sacrament; but, in cases of necessity, a deacon, or a layman, a woman, a heathen, or an heretic, may baptize, provided any of them makes use of the sacramental form, and acts as the Church does, with an intention of baptizing.

In speaking to the holy eucharist, it is declared, that upon the words of consecration, the substance of the bread is turned into the body of Christ, and the substance of the wine into his blood.

Extreme unction is not to be given to any sick person, unless the patient is more likely to die than to recover.

The host is to be renewed every week, a taper always kept MARY.
burning before it, according to ancient custom.

The anniversary festivals, for the dedication of churches, are ordered to be kept on the first Sunday in October : and all shows, revellings, and intemperance, commonly used at wakes, are forbidden, under ecclesiastical censures : and, in case of necessity, the Church is to apply for the assistance of the secular magistrate.

The third decree enjoins residence to the bishops, the chapters, and the rest of the clergy. There is likewise a provision against pluralities : and those that had more than one incompatible benefice, are obliged to resign within two months after the publication of these decrees.

The fourth complains of a customary abuse ; that the bishops neglected preaching, and transferred that part of their function upon others : it is therefore decreed by the synod, that archbishops and bishops should be obliged to preach, pursuant to our Saviour and his apostles' commands ; and that, in case they are prevented by any lawful impediment, they should appoint some persons well qualified for this business. All parsons and vicars are likewise enjoined to preach every Sunday and holyday, or provide some other person for the pulpit. And, that these exercises may be performed to the better advantage, the bishops are to instruct their clergy in the matter and manner of their sermons : particularly, they are to put them in mind of exhorting their people to repentance, and of guarding against those errors and immoralities so remarkable in the late schism. No unlicensed person is allowed to preach out of his own parish. And because all those who had cures might not be qualified for the pulpit, some homilies, drawn up by the appointment of the synod, are proposed to be shortly published : and that these were to be read by the curates instead of sermons.

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By the way, it does not appear that any more than the lines of this scheme were struck out. The cardinal's design was four books of homilies. The first was to settle the controverted points for a preservative against error. The second explains the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Sacraments, and the Salutation of the Blessed Virgin. The third furnished discourses upon the Epistles and Gospels for all Sundays and holydays. And the fourth was a sort of a common-place upon

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.
Ex MSS.
C. C. C.
Cantab.

virtue and vice, with a short rationale upon the rites and ceremonies of the Church.

To return: the fifth decree of the cardinal's reformation relates to the management of the clergy. And here the bishops are conjured to guard against their conduct, and set an inoffensive and exemplary precedent: particularly, they are exhorted not to swell their figure to any unnecessary bulk: not to fall into any pompous or expensive affectation, with respect to habit or retinue: that they should be frugal in their eating and entertainments, and not exceed three or four dishes, excepting desserts, upon any occasion. And that the remainder of their incomes should be spent in relieving the poor, in exhibiting scholars, and other works of piety and public service. The same rules of sobriety and discretion, the same reserves for charity, are set the rest of the clergy in proportion to their revenues. To proceed: marriage, as far as sub-deacons inclusively, is declared unlawful; that where any within the orders prohibited were married, separation is enjoined. And, lastly, the clergy are forbidden concerning themselves in secular, mean, or scandalous employments.

The sixth relates to the giving orders: and here the bishops are put in mind that they ought to examine the qualifications of the persons to be ordained themselves, and not trust to the report of others. However, since the number of candidates may be too much for the bishop's inspection, he is allowed to take in the assistance of the archdeacons, and other persons of character. Those to be ordained must be examined upon the heads of orthodoxy, learning, probity, birth, and age. They are likewise obliged to give the bishop convenient notice, to inquire into these particulars: and, lastly, they are to lay open their conscience beforehand, to some discreet confessor, and receive the holy eucharist at ordination.

The seventh provides against neglects and abuses in collations and institutions; for to the right discharge of this branch of the episcopal office, the apostle's caution of laying hands suddenly on no man, plainly refers: and here the same inquiries concerning learning, manners, orthodoxy, &c. required at ordination, are necessary to be premised. The bishop is to examine whether the person to be promoted is likely to reside: he is likewise to demand the sight of a testimonial from the heads of some college in recommendation of the person.

Farther, the bishops are exhorted that vacant benefices may be furnished with incumbents, with all possible expedition. And that, during their being void, neither the livings, nor the people may suffer. MARY.

The eighth declares against the disposing benefices before they are void.

The ninth is pointed against simony, and is very strict, comprehensive, and commendable. Nothing can be better guarded than the oath against simony, which the clerk presented is obliged to take, it runs thus :—

“Ego, N. præsentatus ad beneficium de N. juro ad hæc sacrosancti Dei evangelia, per me corporaliter tacta, quod propter prædictum beneficium obtinendum, aut præsentationem ad idem habendum, aut acquirendum, neque ego, neque alia persona vice et nomine meo, nec de consensu, aut scientia mea, patrono seu alii cuicunque aliquid præmissorum nomine, aut intuita promissimus, aut dedimus, nec quidquam ejus rei gratia permutavimus, compensavimus, aut prius datum confirmavimus, apudve quemquam deposuimus, seu quidquam mutavimus, seu elocavimus, priusve mutuatum, commodatum, depositum, aut elocatum, aut quocunque modo debitum remisimus, seu relaxavimus, nec de sanctuario, glebâ, domibus, terris, prædiis, tenementis, redditibus, predictæ ecclesiæ, fructibus vel decimis, aut oblationibus ejusdem præteritis, præsentibus, aut futuris, donationem, remissionem, locationemve promissimus, fecimus, aut inivimus, seu aliquis nostrum de mandato, scientia aut consensu meo promisit, fecit, aut inivit. Ita me Deus adjuvet, et hæc sancta Dei evangelia.”

The tenth is levelled against the alienation of lands or goods belonging to the Church. And here all incumbents are obliged to make a survey, terrier, and inventory of the real and personal estates belonging to their respective churches and promotions: that of these there should be two authentic copies, one of them laid up in the parish church: the other was to be deposited with the chapter, if the Church was metropolitical: if it was a cathedral of a diocese only, then the survey or inventory was to be lodged with the archbishop: but when it belonged to the parochial churches, it was to be transmitted to the diocesan's custody. And at all visitations the metropolitans, and other ordinaries, were to carry this record along with them, and examine whether anything specified in the evidences were wanting; and if so, to endeavour the recovery.

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MER,
Abp. Cant.

The eleventh directs to a provision for a seminary in all cathedrals. The design of it was to form the education of those intended for holy functions. Children were not to be taken into this nursery under eleven years of age, nor unless they could write and read: their genius and inclination was to be examined before their admission. After they had learned grammar, they were to be instructed in the learning and behaviour proper for an ecclesiastic; they were to appear in a clerical tonsure and habit, to assist in the service of the choir, and obliged to the same way of living with other clerks. To raise a fund towards their maintenance, the bishops were to contribute the fortieth part of their revenues, tithes, subsidies, and other incident charges deducted: all prebendaries, likewise, and beneficed persons, whose promotions amounted to the clear value of 20*l.* per annum, the tithes, &c. discounted, were to contribute in the same proportion.

And, lastly, none were to teach school in any place, unless allowed by the ordinary, who was to examine their sufficiency, and prescribe them what books were to be used.

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The twelfth lays down rules for visitations. And here not only churches, but schools, hospitals, and public libraries are to be visited. The last article was thrown in for examining whether any heretical books were lodged there.

In metropolitan visitations, the archbishop was to proceed upon the constitution of Innocent IV. which begins "*Romana Ecclesia.*" By this regulation, the metropolitan was to inquire whether the bishops were resident upon their dioceses: whether they preached and lived suitably to their character: whether they discharged their duty in ordinations, and admitting to benefices, in assigning confessors, punishing disorders, and all other things, with respect both to spirituals and temporals, belonging to their function. And those irregularities which cannot be reformed by archiepiscopal jurisdiction, he is to report to a provincial synod: and if the difficulty proves too big for such an assembly, application is to be made to the apostolic see.

And, lastly, archdeacons are to govern themselves by the canons in their visitations: and where anything is out of their verge, or too great for their correction, they are to acquaint the bishop; and see that all his mandates and provisions are executed and observed. And that they may answer to their office the better, the provincial constitutions of Otho and

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Othobon upon this head, are confirmed by the present synod. MARY.
 This Reformation, as it is called, of cardinal Pole, was published by him at Lambeth, in February following.

Concil.
 Labbe et
 Cossart.
 tom. 14.
 p. 173. et
 deinc.
*Philpot
 burnt in
 Smithfield.*

Upon the eighteenth of December this year, John Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, and son to sir Peter Philpot, of Hampshire, was burnt for religion in Smithfield. This gentleman had been more than a twelvemonth prisoner in the King's Bench. His commitment was only for disputing against the corporal presence, the mass, and transubstantiation, in the first convocation of this reign. This was a great hardship, considering the queen promised liberty of speech, as hath been already related. Indeed, this was no more than necessary privilege: for unless the members were allowed to speak their mind, which way could the controversy be discussed, and the truth discovered? Philpot was first brought before the queen's commissioners, Dr. Story, Mr. Cholmely, and Mr. Roper: he was afterwards put into Bonner's hands, from whom he appealed, as not being his diocesan. He argued that succession of bishops, without succession of doctrine, was no sufficient proof of Catholic communion: he is sometimes transported into vehemence of expression, but owns hastiness of speech his natural infirmity. Bonner treated him very coarsely, lodged him in his coal-house, and set him in the stocks. He is pronounced an heretic for calling the mass idolatry and abomination; and for denying the real, that is, the corporal presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar. His performance in the convocation, and his defence at his examination, are sufficient evidence of no ordinary learning and parts. He maintained his conscience to the last, and suffered with great cheerfulness and courage. Fox, p. 980.

To proceed: Constable, *alias* Featherstone, who had been gently punished for his treasonable practice, revived his imposture, and counterfeited king Edward again, to raise a rebellion. This lewd practice, it seems, made an impression upon a great many. For when people are disaffected to a government, they are apt to give credit to the most absurd and ridiculous stories: but Constable received his deserts, was arraigned at Guildhall, and executed at Tyburn.

Stow's
 Annals.
*The final
 process
 against
 Cranmer.*

I shall now give the reader an account of the remaining process against archbishop Cranmer. He had been cited to appear at Rome within eighty days. This, as hath been ob-

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.

Heylin,
Hist. Re-
form. p. 55.
Feb. 14,
1555-6.

*He appeals
from the
pope to a
general
council.*

served, was a mere form, for they knew his coming thither was wholly impracticable: however, after the term was expired, the pope pronounced him contumax. Pursuant to this sentence, a commission was directed to Bonner, bishop of London, and Thirleby, bishop of Ely, to degrade and excommunicate the archbishop, and consign him over to the secular magistrate. In this instrument it is set forth that the proceedings against him passed through all the legal forms in the court of Rome: that articles had been exhibited, evidence produced, and his defence heard and examined: all which was notoriously untrue. This being allowed, notwithstanding, for matter of fact, Bonner and Thirleby executed their commission. Cranmer made a stand upon their authority, and appealed from the pope to a general council: this expedient, though managed to the best advantage, and put in form of law, did no service. The reason why Cranmer was not sooner despatched, is said to be owing to Gardiner. This prelate was no friend to cardinal Pole: he is thought to have grudged him his character and sway in the English Church. He knew the cardinal stood ill at the court of Rome: this gave him some hopes that the pope might be brought to recall Pole's commission, and that himself might be made both cardinal and legate; and when he had once pushed his fortune thus far, he did not question gaining the see of Canterbury. Upon this view he is supposed to have stopped the process against Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer, from the revival of the act against heresy, enacted the last parliament, till the twelfth of September, this year. During this interval, there was no commission sent from the pope to bring Cranmer to his trial. Now by ancient privilege no final sentence could be passed upon a metropolitan, without an authority from the pope.

Cranmer, as I observed, appealed from the court of Rome to a general council. I shall mention some of the reasons on which his appeal was founded. First, because he was cited to Rome, and yet kept in prison, and under no possibility of making his appearance: and that no man was obliged to defend himself there by proxy: and, besides, since all his estate was seized, he was in no condition to furnish the charge. Secondly, because, being cited by Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, delegated by cardinal Pole, to answer certain articles, in which his life and fortune were nearly concerned, he was

denied the assistance of counsel, contrary to all equity and justice. Thirdly, he complains the process went on, notwithstanding his appeal; which was breaking in upon the general rule in such cases. Farther, that after his protestation had been admitted, and a copy of his answer promised him for farther amendment, neither the one nor the other were made good. To pass over his other reasons, and just mention his opinion concerning the holy eucharist, I shall give it the reader in Fox's words: "Cranmer disputed against the popish doctrine, which by consequence he argues, affirms our Saviour's having two bodies very different from each other, one in heaven, and the other in the sacrament of the altar. Now, to me," says the archbishop, "it seems a more sound and comfortable doctrine, that Christ has but one body and that has form and fashion of man's true body; which body spiritually enters into the whole man, body and soul: and though the sacrament be consumed, yet whole Christ remains, and feeds the receiver unto eternal life, if he continue in godliness, and never departs until the receiver forsake him; and as for the wicked, they have not Christ within them at all, who cannot be where Belial is. And this is my faith." And for this belief he declares he was governed by the Holy Scriptures, by the primitive Church, and the exposition of the Fathers. And that he was not only willing to be determined by the sense, but to subscribe the very phrases and terms of the ancients, relating to the holy eucharist.

MARY.

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His belief concerning the holy eucharist.

Fox, vol. 3. p. 675.

Id. p. 655.

The archbishop's appeal being over-ruled, Bonner and Thirlby proceeded to a formal degradation. They put a mitre and pall upon him, with the rest of the habit for an instalment: and that the ceremony might be performed in the most ignominious manner, this equipage was made of canvass. Thirlby, it must be said, did his part with regret and good-nature: but Bonner managed in a rallying insulting way, and made pageantry and diversion of the employment. Being thus put into the hands of the secular magistrate, a writ for burning him went out on the twenty-fourth of February, which notwithstanding was not executed till the twenty-first of March following. In the mean time, the doctors and divines of the university endeavoured to reconcile him to the Church of Rome, and bring him to retract his opinions. To this purpose they removed him from the prison to the dean's lodgings, and treated him with great.

Feb. 14.

His appeal is overruled.

He is degraded, and put into the hands of the civil magistrate.

CRAN-
MER,
Alp. Cant.

*He signs a
recantation
of his doc-
trine.*

civility and respect: they employed proper agents to argue with him first, and if that expedient failed, to try his constancy with overtures of favour. One Henry Sydall and a Spanish friar, de Villa Garcina, were the principal managers. They acquainted him how acceptable the disowning his errors would be to the king and queen: that the council and others of the nobility were inclined to do him good offices. They gave him hopes not only of his life, but his former station; and that nothing was required of him but only subscribing a short form. That upon this condition the queen would give him his choice, either of an honourable post, or a private life. That without this compliance there was no prospect of a pardon, no hopes of either staying in this world, or being well received in the other. In short, the infirmities of nature prevailed, and Cranmer was gained to sign a recantation. In this instrument he owns the pope's supremacy to the utmost extent: he declares for the corporeal presence and transubstantiation, and for the other six sacraments as they are held in the Church of Rome. He owns his belief of purgatory, of praying for those detained there, and invocation of saints. And in general he professes to believe every thing taught by the Catholic Church of Rome. He begs God's forgiveness for his having been of another opinion, and conjures those who have been misled either by his doctrine or example to return to the unity of the Church. And in the close, appeals to God Almighty for his integrity in this declaration: that he was not swayed by any regards of interest or fear; but that it was his conscience which governed him wholly in this affair.

Fox affirms the chief motive to Cranmer's compliance was to gain him time for the finishing his answer to Gardiner's book, called "Marcus Antonius Constantius," concerning the holy sacrament. Fox attempts to prove his conjecture by a letter of Cranmer's, sent to a lawyer. But nothing of this can be concluded from the letter, as it is printed by Fox. On the contrary, the archbishop acquaints the lawyer, whom he desired to draw up his appeal from the pope, that the principal reason of his applying to this expedient was to lengthen his life a little, till he had finished his answer to the book above mentioned: but here is not a syllable of his recantation in the letter, which was not made till his appeal was over-ruled, till he was degraded in form, and put into the hands of the secular

Fox, p. 665,
666, com-
pared with
p. 670, 677.

magistrate. After all, Cranmer found no account in giving way thus unhappily. The queen was inexorable upon this head, and resolved to proceed to the last rigours. One of our learned Church historians says, it was thought "Pole himself hastened Cranmer's execution, longing to be invested in that see." But so dishonourable a practice is foreign to the cardinal's character: and if we examine the matter farther, it will be found Pole could have no temptation to such extraordinary management: for, as hath been already observed, the see of Canterbury was actually void upon Cranmer's attainder, two years since. Besides, the present pope, in his bull of December last, had collated Pole to the archbishopric of Canterbury. And in this instrument he declares he had solemnly excommunicated and deposed Cranmer. From hence it is evident that Cranmer's life could be no hindrance to Pole's advancement to the see of Canterbury.

MARY.

Bp. Burnet,
pt. 2. p. 327.

Dec. 11,
1555.

Regist. Pole.

To proceed: the queen sent Dr. Cole to Oxford, with private instructions to prepare a sermon against the twenty-first of March, when Cranmer was to be burnt. The lords Williams and Chandois, sir Thomas Bridges, sir John Brown, Fox, and some other persons of condition, were likewise ordered to be at Oxford the same day with their retinue, to prevent disturbance. When the time drew near, Cole visited Cranmer in the prison, and questioned him touching his perseverance in the Catholic faith. Cranmer gave him a satisfactory answer. The next morning, which was the day of the execution, Cole made him another visit, exhorted him to constancy, and gave him money to dispose of to the poor as he thought fit. Soon after, the Spanish friar, who was a witness to his recantation, proposed the reading his recantation to a public audience: and to this purpose desired him to transcribe the instrument with his own hand and sign it. Till this time, as far as it appears, Cranmer had no suspicion of being brought to the stake. And here it must be said he was used with unprecedented severity; for either the friar, or the rest who tampered with him, had authority from the court, or not. If they had not, they were scandalously false in giving so strong an expectation of favour: if they had instructions to flatter him thus far, the imputation must lie elsewhere: but farther, when his doom was unalterably fixed, it is strange they would not give him notice of what he was to expect. To hurry a man blind-

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CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.

fold into the other world, not to afford him time for recollection and putting himself in a posture for eternity, looks like cruelty in distraction.

*Dr. Cole's
sermon at
Cranmer's
execution.*

To proceed : Cranmer, who was still uncertain what would become of him, was brought from prison to St. Mary's church, and placed over against the pulpit upon a low scaffold. Soon after Dr. Cole began his sermon : he discoursed upon the justice and mercy of God : that notwithstanding the attribute of mercy prevailed so far as not to charge the punishment to the bulk of the crime, yet his justice required that even repentance should not wholly protect some offenders from correction. Of this he gave an instance in David, who when he had the liberty of choosing his punishment, and preferred the plague, though God shortened the time, yet did not release him from all the calamity. This he applied to Cranmer's case, and told him, that notwithstanding by disclaiming his errors he had gained the Church's absolution, yet there were reasons why the queen and council should order his execution. And that he might be the less surprised at these proceedings, he put him in mind that he had divorced the queen's mother, drawn a blemish upon her birth, and thrown the pope's supremacy out of the kingdom : that he had been at the head of heresy and schism, and exerted himself with all imaginable zeal in so bad a cause. That as the taking off the duke of Northumberland was some reparation for the execution of sir Thomas More, so it was but reasonable there should be an equivalent for destroying Fisher, bishop of Rochester. And because Ridley, Hooper, and Far-rar, had not bulk enough for a counterpoise to Fisher's character, it was fit Cranmer should be thrown in to make up weight. Besides these, the king and queen had other just motives, which it was not proper to insist on.

After this he addressed himself to the audience, exhorted them to caution and loyalty ; put them in mind by the instance before them, that no dignity or height of station was sufficient to protect a criminal from justice : and here he ran on upon the uncertainty of human greatness, the strange reverses of fortune, and drew a parallel between Cranmer's former circumstances and the despicable condition he was in at present. At last, directing his discourse to the archbishop, he endeavoured to support him against the terrors of death. He told him he had no reason to distrust the application of our Saviour's say-

ing to the penitent thief, "This day thou shalt be with me in Paradise:" "And that God was faithful, and would not suffer him to be tempted above what he was able." To this he added, the miraculous deliverance of the three children, that the flame of Nebuchadnezzar's furnace played about them like a lambent fire: that St. Andrew expired in pleasure on the cross: and that St. Lawrence held out with patience upon the burning grate. After this he gave God thanks for Cranmer's conversion, and promised him there should be diriges and masses said for his soul in all the churches of Oxford.

MARY.

During the sermon Cranmer wept, and gave great signs of grief and displeasure at himself. And now Cole called upon him to make an open profession of his faith, to remove all suspicion of heterodoxy, and give the world satisfaction of his dying a good Catholic. The archbishop agreed to the motion, and speaking to the company, told them there was one miscarriage in his life, which troubled him more than all the rest. And after having kneeled down and prayed, he suggested some things briefly to the audience by way of exhortation. He put them in mind not to engage their affections too far with the world: to obey the king and queen "not only for wrath, but for conscience sake:" because they were God's ministers, and that "whoever resists them, resists the ordinance of God." Upon these grounds he told them they ought to do the duty of good subjects, not out of fear only, but inclination. From hence he proceeded to recommend benevolent temper and general kindness, and not to hate or hurt any one: and that those who were rich should by no means forget being charitable to the poor. And now he told them that being upon the brink of eternity, he should declare his faith, without the least reserve or dissimulation. And after having repeated the Creed, and professed his belief of every article of the Catholic faith; of every thing contained in the Old and New Testament, he came to the great thing which troubled more than any action of his whole life: and that was the signing and publishing a paper against his conscience; that it was the fear of death which carried him to this prevarication: and since his hand had moved counter to his heart, he resolved it should be burnt before the rest of his body. Then he renounced the pope in strong language, and as to the holy eucharist, he declared his

*Cranmer's
exhortation
to the people.*

*Fox.
He recants
his recantation.*

CRAN-
MER,
Abp. Cant.

*And suffers
with great
fortitude.*

Godwin.
Heylin.
Bp. Burnet,
pt. 2. p. 335.

*He does mention it
in his speaking of
his p. 99. col. 2.*

belief was the same with what he had maintained in his book against the bishop of Winchester.—This was a great disappointment to the Roman Catholics: they were strangely surprised at his recanting his recantation, and charged him with dissembling and falsehood. He replied, he was always a lover of truth and clear dealing, and never practised otherwise, except in his late recantation. Upon this, he was hurried to the place where Ridley and Latimer were executed, and the fire applied to him. He made his word good, and held his right hand extended in the flame, never drawing it back, excepting once to wipe his face. His fortitude was very extraordinary. He burnt to appearance without motion or pain; he seemed to repel the force of fire, and overlook the torture by strength of thought. It is reported by some of our historians, that his heart was found whole, after his body was burnt to ashes. But the truth of this relation may be questioned; for Fox, who never omits any thing for the advantage of those who suffered, says nothing of this wonderful circumstance.*

The court was resolved to have his life; but which way they could reach it upon the score of religion, is not easy to discover at first sight. His recantation had brought him within the mercy of the ecclesiastical law, for he was no heretic relapsed. Now, to condemn a Catholic to the flames, and burn a man for heresy that they own is no heretic, is mysterious severity. To make this matter somewhat more intelligible, we are to observe, that Cranmer's recantation was posterior to the writ for his execution. Had he recanted before they had put him in the hands of the secular magistrate, his life in all likelihood had been saved; for then he might have pleaded the canon law for his discharge. However, though he might have lost the letter, he was still within the equity. Why, then, did not the bishops petition for stopping the execution of the writ, since they could not call him a heretic relapsed? It is true they might have enjoined him penance; but which way they could bring him to the stake, is hard to conjecture. Such rigour was straining against the canon law, contrary to customary practice, and particularly to the proceedings in the present reign; for those who were burnt had the offer of their lives upon condition of recanting their tenets. As to the civil magistracy, since the Church had put him in their hands for heresy, it is granted

they might legally award a burning writ; but then, since the government had determined his death, was it not less invidious to take him off for treason, than burn him for heresy? MARY.

To add a word or two farther concerning this archbishop. *Something of his character.* He was descended from an ancient and wealthy family in Nottinghamshire, and bred in Jesus'-college in Cambridge. Upon what occasion he was first taken notice of by king Henry VIII. has been already related. He was a person of great equality of temper, and never discovered his hopes or fears with levity or dejection. He was of a gentle, generous, and forgiving disposition. When he was in power, he treated the Roman Catholics with lenity and good-humour; and being charged with remissness and over-complaisance for such management, he used to defend himself by saying, that "people ought to have time to disentangle themselves, and be led, rather than driven, out of their mistakes." As to his learning, he was a great divine, and over and above, well read in the canon and civil laws. By extracting the books he made use of, he was prepared to give a sudden and satisfactory resolution of almost any question within his possession. He had studied the controversy touching the holy sacrament with the utmost exactness, and made a full collection of the sense of the Fathers, councils, and modern doctors upon this argument. As to the rest of his character and management, it has been already related in the order of time, and therefore needs not be repeated.

The next day after Cranmer's suffering, Pole was consecrated to the see of Canterbury; and on the 25th of March he had the pall put on him at Bow-church, by the bishops of Ely and Worcester. At this solemnity he officiated in the mass, and afterwards made a sermon upon the subject of the pall, which it seems was but a dry discourse, and fell short of his customary elocution. *Memor. Cranmer. Pole consecrated archbishop of Canterbury. Regist. Pole.*

About this time there was a plot to rob the treasury of 50,000*l.* then lodged there. The design, as Stow reports, was to furnish a rebellion. One White discovered the rest of the accomplices, which were Udall, Throckmorton, Peckham, Daniel, Stanton, and some others who escaped to France. Those I have named were all executed, and sir Anthony Kingston, who was apprehended upon the same score, died in the messengers' hands as they were bringing him to London. *A D. 1555. A plot to rob the treasury. Stow's Annals.*

POLE,
Abp. Cant.
*An insur-
rection in
Norfolk.*

Id. 628.

*An account
of the mis-
understand-
ings between
the English
refugees
in Germany.*

*An English
church
opened at
Frankfurt.*

In July this summer an insurrection was concerted at Norfolk. One Cleber, and three brothers whose names were Lincoln, were to head the attempt. But Cleber's man, who was posted to inform his master of the coming up of their party, happened to mistake his men and give the wrong sign; upon which, Cleber discovering himself too soon, and reading a treasonable proclamation, was seized and executed.

I shall now go back a year or two, and give the reader a brief account of the differences which happened amongst the English refugees in Germany. I have already observed that some of these exiles settled at Emden in Westfriesland, some at Arrow in Switzerland, some at Strasburg, and some at Zurich and Frankfort. To begin with those at Frankfort, where they procured the liberty of a church, by the favour of Glauberge, one of the principal senators. Here they had the same liberty of preaching and administering the sacraments with the French; but with this condition, that the English should conform to the French in doctrine and ceremonies, and subscribe their confession of faith, which was done accordingly. However, they were not bound up to punctualities, but had something of a discretionary latitude; for so far as the French gave way to a diversity of ceremonies, the magistracy were content to allow it. Upon this permission, the English gave in to the German and French novelties, and refined to a considerable alteration upon their own Common Prayer-book. For instance: they agreed the responses should not be pronounced aloud; that the Litany, the surplice, and several other things prescribed by the rubric, should be omitted. The reason was, because the reformed in those countries would be somewhat shocked with these ceremonies. It was farther resolved, that the priest (whom they call the minister) should use a confession different from the English, and as they fancied better suited to their present circumstances. When this was done, the people were to sing one of Hopkins and Sternhold's psalms. This innovation was made in conformity to the French, Dutch, Italian, Spanish, and Scotch custom; and thus it seems they thought all the reformed wiser than those of their own country. After the psalm, the minister was to pray for the assistance of the Holy Spirit, and then proceed to the sermon. When the sermon was done, they made a general prayer for all estates and conditions, and particularly for

England; then followed the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, MARY.
 after which the people sung another psalm, and were dismissed
 with the minister's blessing. As to the administration of the July 29,
1554.
 holy eucharist, they unanimously agreed to leave out several
 things as unnecessary and superstitious. And thus, after they
 had disguised and maimed the English service to a remarkable
 disadvantage, they chose their minister and deacons, and opened
 their Church.

Upon this establishment, they thought fit to acquaint the
 rest of the English refugees, and invite them to settle at Discourse of
the Troubles
at Frank-
fort. edit.
1642. p. 2, 3.
 Frankfort. To this purpose letters were sent to Strasburg,
 Zurich, Emden, and Wesel. This letter is signed by John
 Stanton, John Makebray, William Williams, William Wit-
 tingham, William Hammond, Thomas Wood, and Michael
 Gill.

August 2.

The English at Strasburg mistook the meaning of their
 letter. They imagined the request was only to furnish those
 at Frankfort with one or two for the pastoral charge, and to 394.
 take the government of that church upon them. To this pur-
 pose Mr. Grindal wrote to bishop Scory, at Emden, to under-
 take the superintendency of the Frankfort congregation.
 Scory complied, and offered his assistance; but before his
 letter came to Frankfort, the English there had elected Knox,
 Haddon, and Lever for their ministers. Besides, the Frank- Id. p. 9.
 fort congregation had no inclination for a superintendant being
 put upon them: for, in the first place they reserved the choice
 of their church-governors to themselves, and over and above
 had already declared against a spiritual monarchy, and made
 choice of two or three pastors with co-ordinate authority.

The English at Zurich being informed of the measures taken The English
at Zurich
refuse to use
any other
form except-
ing the Eng-
lish Common
Prayer.
 at Frankfort, refused to concur with those innovations, and
 declared their resolution not to use any form different from the
 English Common Prayer-book. Soon after, the English at
 Zurich sent Chambers to Frankfort to adjust the terms for
 them, and make them easy at their coming thither; but the
 Frankfort congregation giving Chambers no assurance his
 friends should have the liberty of using the English service, the
 invitation was refused: and soon after Knox came from Geneva Knox comes
from Ge-
neva, and
is chosen
minister at
Frankfort.
 to Frankfort, and officiated as their minister. This refusal
 was ill taken by the Frankfordians, who complained of the
 incomppliance in their letter to Zurich. In this remonstrance

POLE,
Abp. Cant.

they except against the use of the English Common Prayer-book, and take the freedom to call some of the ceremonies unprofitable, and others not to be endured. And whereas, it might be objected their refining upon the liturgy, and discharging great part of it, might be a hardship upon the memories of the compilers, and stick a blemish upon the English Reformation; to this they answered, that the English bishops and divines in the late reign had made no scruple to alter many things, and would have gone on to farther deletions and improvements, had they not been prevented by the iniquity of the times; and had they been in the circumstances of the refugees, there is no question but that they would have relaxed upon these points, and practised with the same latitude.

Id. p. 16.
Nov. 15.

*Those at
Strasburg
offer some-
thing to-
wards an
accommoda-
tion.*

The exiles at Strasburg, not willing to break altogether with the Frankfordians, sent Chambers and Grindal to them with farther overtures for composing the difference. They acquaint them in a letter how willing they are to accept their invitation, and close with their Church: but then they desire the English service may be retained as far as it is possible. That going off from that form to any remarkable alteration could not be done without throwing a hard imputation upon those who drew it up, and upon the English martyrs who lost their lives in defence of it. That a new model would give the enemy an occasion to charge them with errors in doctrine and inconstancy: that it was likewise the way to unsettle the reformed in England; to make them question the orthodoxy of their religion, and discourage them from transporting themselves. This letter was signed by James Haddon, Edwin Sandes, Edmund Grindal, John Huntington, Guido Eaton, John Jeffry, John Peddar, Thomas Eaton, Michael Reyniger, Austin Bradbridge, Arthur Saul, Thomas Steward, Christopher Goodman, Humphrey Alcoxon, Thomas Lakin, Thomas Crafton.

Nov. 15,
1554.

After the reading this letter to the congregation, Grindal acquaints them that the chief business of his and Chambers coming was to solicit the settling of the English Liturgy. But then he added, his commission allowed him to sink the terms a little, and insist only on the substance. Knox and Whittingham asked what they meant by the substance of the book? To this Grindal and Chambers replied, they had no instructions to state that point, and therefore desired the congregation

would answer three questions. First, they desired to know what parts of the Common Prayer-book they were willing to admit? Secondly, whether those of Strasburg might have the favour of a distinct Church to meet in! And thirdly, what security they could have for quiet and protection! To the first question it was answered, they should have the use of the Common Prayer-book as far as they could maintain it by Scripture, and the country would give leave. To the second, in which they petition for a church to meet in by themselves, it was answered, they were informed by the magistracy, that it was not seasonable to move that point till the diet at Augsburg was over. To the third, they told them the government of Frankfort had given the English in general all the encouragement imaginable, and that those of Strasburg might settle upon the common security.

MARY.

The refugees at Frankfort not yielding to a satisfactory answer, those at Strasburg stood off from the invitation. The Frankfort congregation at last proposed the settling the Geneva service; this being, in their opinion, most remote from superstition. But Knox refused to officiate by this form, till the English at Strasburg, Zurich, Emden, and other places were consulted. He likewise declined using the English book in the interim. His exceptions were, because many things in it stood only upon human authority, without any warrant from the Holy Scripture, and had over and above been abused to superstition in the mass. In case, therefore, he might not be permitted to administer the sacraments as his conscience would give him leave, he desired his business might be only preaching: and if that was thought too much, he was willing to resign.

Knox declines making use of the Geneva form till further consultation.

Whilst these matters were under debate, Leaver proposed a compromise, and moved the drawing up a form might be referred to himself: and here he promised, that he would neither be governed by the Geneva model, or any other. But when they perceived his scheme would fall short of their notion of purity and reformation, they rejected the overture. Knox, Whittingham, and their party, were apprehensive these disputes might terminate in something worse: to prevent this issue, they extracted the English Common Prayer-book in Latin, and sent it to Calvin for his opinion: letting him know that some of their countrymen endeavoured to obtrude the English

A compromise proposed by Leaver, but rejected.

Id. p. 22.

POLE,
Abp. Cant.

service, magnified it as a most perfect form, and engaged their utmost to settle it in England, in case they should ever return.

Page 24.
*The Knox-
ians censure
the Common
Prayer in
their letter to
Calvin.*
395.

Id. p. 26, 27.

*Calvin's
answer.*

Jan. 22,
1555.

In this abstract, the Knoxians make a scandalous representation of some part of the Litany. They call the petition, "By the holy incarnation," &c., "a conjuring of God." They ignorantly carp at the angelic hymn, "Glory to God in the Highest,"—for this lamentable reason, because the Papists use it. They find fault with the arguments for confirmation. They call the ceremonies in the office of matrimony follies, and censure the offering at the churching of women as a Jewish custom. And lastly, they pretend to conceal some blemishes out of shame and pity. Thus they endeavoured to prepossess Calvin, and lead him to a decision on their side; but Calvin was sufficiently biassed by his own principles, and needed no suggestions of this kind. This divine, in his answer, complains of the unseasonableness of the contest; but then lays the blame upon those who pressed the English service. He confesseth, "though it has been his custom to show himself easy and resigning in the point of ceremonies, yet he does not always think it proper to give way to people foolishly and inflexibly constant, and who cannot be prevailed with to give up the least circumstance of what they had been used to. He pretends to discover a great many "tolerable fopperies" in the English Liturgy,—meaning, as he explains himself, the ceremonies were not so pure as might be wished. These blemishes, not rising to any downright wickedness, might be allowed at first. The juncture considered, it was lawful to begin with such imperfect rudiments; but then the ministers of Christ were obliged to make farther advances, to press to greater degrees of purity and perfection. If the Reformation had continued undisturbed in England, they ought to have refined in several particulars, and many things should have been quite thrown out. Now, since the English Church is overborne by the persecution,—since the circumstances of time are so much altered,—what should hinder melting down the old figure, mending the metal, and casting it in a better mould? And here he blames those who dote upon the remains of popery, and are so childish as to throw away a noble opportunity of improvement; and, as he would not have the Knoxians stand too nicely upon terms and manage with too much rigour, so he

advises the other party not to value themselves upon their own whimsies, nor check the edification of the Church by peevishness and pride. For what makes them so stiff and quarrelsome? Is it not because they are ashamed to own their mistakes, and give way to wiser resolutions? If they are afraid their brethren in England will charge them with deserting their religion, their fears are altogether chimerical: for, by complying with the godly at Frankfort, they will bring their brethren at home to more serviceable reflections. By this means they will lead them to consider into what gulf popery has thrown them, and to what a dangerous depth they were sunk; and thus they will still be more sensible of the false ground, when they find (says he) you do not think it safe to stop at the first remove, but are still going off to farther distance."

MARY.

Id. p. 28.

Calvin's
Epist. p. 213.

This peremptory letter of Calvin's gave a turn to the congregation at Frankfort, pushed them to a farther dislike of the Common Prayer, and made the Knoxian faction more hardy and enterprising. However, the victory was not entire: for, after they had raised a ferment, and broke in upon the English establishment, the difference was still kept on. At last, it was resolved by the Dissenters, that Knox, Whittingham, Gilby, John Fox, and Thomas Cole, should form a draught for divine service. These men, who, it seems, were Calvin's disciples, translated the Geneva office, and laid it before the congregation; but this would by no means pass with those who were well affected to the English liturgy. To prevent a rupture, it was agreed that Knox, Whittingham, Parry, and Leaver, should try to accommodate the matter, and project another form more inoffensive to both parties; and thus, to make the expedient received, there were concessions made on each side, and an office, partly extracted from the English Liturgy, and partly formed upon Calvin's model. This order was to continue till the 1st of May next ensuing; and if, in the mean time, any controversy should happen, it was to be determined by Calvin, Musculus, Peter Martyr, Bullinger, and Vyret. This agreement was engrossed, and signed by the congregation. And now the differences seemed to be laid asleep, and the parties brought to a coalition. And thus the matter rested till March following, when Dr. Cox and some others came to Frankfort from England. These men, as the writer of this narrative relates, broke in upon the compro-

A compromise of the difference.

POLE,
Abp. Cant.

mise, repeated the responses aloud, and would recede from nothing of the English service. Upon this, Knox mounted the pulpit, and declaimed intemperately against our Liturgy. Here, amongst other things, he pretends to divination and prophecy, and affirms that the English, being too heavy and languid in the Reformation, was one reason why that nation was so much punished at present. And here he ran out in his censure of the constitution of the English Church, charged it with want of discipline, found fault with the episcopal habit and the permission of pluralities.

Another meeting was appointed to debate these matters at large. And here a motion was made, that Dr. Cox and his company might have the liberty of voting in the congregation. The Dissenters—for so I shall distinguish them—objected that the controversy on foot ought first to be decided, and that the Coxians should be obliged to subscribe the discipline as the rest had done. They objected, farther, that some of those lately arrived lay under suspicion of going to mass in England, and that others had signed the doctrine of the church of Rome. It seems they had been informed of Mr. Jewel's failing in that point, which he afterwards lamented there in the pulpit. And thus the motion made in behalf of Dr. Cox and his friends was at first rejected; till, at last, Knox, by a surprising compliance, prevailed with the congregation to admit the Coxians to vote with the rest. When they had gained this point, they soon grew to a majority, and were admitted members of the Church; and thus, pushing the advantage, they drove Knox from his post, and ordered him not to officiate any longer in the congregation.

Cox, his party admitted to vote in the congregation, and become a majority.

Upon this, Whittingham went with a remonstrance to the senator Glauberg, who, interposing in the dispute, silenced the pulpit for one day, sent for Valerand the French minister, and ordered him to appoint the choosing two learned persons of each party; that these four should pitch upon an expedient, and make a report to him of what they had done. Cox and Leaver were chosen by one party, and Knox and Whittingham by the other; and Valerand was ordered to take notes of what they agreed in: but, when they came to the conference, they could not get through the Morning Prayer, nor come to any tolerable harmony. The author of this narrative, who was a Knoxian, lays the blame upon Dr. Cox's stiffness and magisterial behaviour. Thus, the committee breaking up without

Id. p. 33.

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A conference.

Page 34.

effect, the Knoxians addressed the senate, and complained loudly of the other party and the English Reformation. MARY.

Upon this address, Glauberg came to the English congregation, acquainted them it was the magistrate's command they should conform to the French, both in doctrine and ceremonies, menaced them with shutting up their church, and that those who refused to comply should quit the town. Cox, being pressed thus close, was willing to relax. He told the congregation he had perused the Geneva service, thought it good and defensible, and therefore advised them to comply with the order of the magistracy. The congregation consenting, Glauberg returned satisfied.

Page 36.

The matter had not been long settled upon this footing, when Knox was charged with treason by the Coxians. They drew the impeachment out of his book entitled, "An Admonition to Christians," written in English: In this tract he had taken some unaccountable freedoms with the emperor, his son king Philip, and Mary queen of England. The passage relating to the emperor, preached in Buckinghamshire in the beginning of the present reign, was this: "O England, England! if thou wilt obstinately return into Egypt,—that is, if thou contract marriage, confederacy, or league, with such princes as do maintain and advance idolatry, such as the emperor, who is no less enemy to Christ than was Nero,—if, for the pleasure and friendship, I say, of such princes thou return to thine old abominations before used under papistry,—then assuredly, O England, thou shalt be plagued and brought to desolation by the means of those whose favour thou seekest, and by whom thou art procured to fall from Christ and serve antichrist." There were eight other obnoxious citations, but this was the most remarkable. The magistracy, not pleased with the information, ordered Knox to depart the city; for that otherwise they should be obliged to deliver him up to the emperor's council upon demand. Thus Knox, having made a farewell sermon to support his party, retired to Geneva.

A charge of high treason against Knox.

March 26, 1555.

He quits Frankfort, and retires to Geneva.

And now the interest of those who adhered to the English establishment improved to an overbalance: for, the same day that Knox went off, Adolphus Glauberg, nephew to John Glauberg the senator, sent for Whittingham, and told him that three doctors, thirteen bachelors of divinity, besides others of the same nation, had petitioned the magistrates for the use

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*The English
Common
Prayer-
book re-
ceived at
Frankfort.*

of the English service ; that they had succeeded in their application ; and, therefore, charged him not to clash with what was settled, or make any disturbance. Whittingham answered, he was ready to acquiesce, but moved for toleration ; and that himself and his friends might have the liberty of joining some other church. Cox soliciting against this indulgence, Whittingham offered to dispute before the magistracy against the English Liturgy ; but this offer was overruled by young Glauberg. The Knoxians, thus distressed, applied to Glauberg the senator ; but this gentleman told them he was informed both parties had agreed to receive the English book, and that he had referred the matter to his nephew Adolphus.

Page 39.

Whittingham, in a letter to his correspondent in England, reports the misfortunes of his friends, charges Cox with breach of promise and indirect dealing, and magnifies the Geneva Church above all the rest. This Whittingham was employed as an agent, to procure a settlement for his party, at Geneva and Basil. He succeeded in his negotiation, and, passing by Zurich, asked Bullinger's opinion of the English service. And here Bullinger declared against the use of the surplice, against private baptism, churching of women, and the ring in marriage.

Page 40.

*Bullinger's
censure.*

*Dr. Cox
forms the
Church
towards the
English con-
stitution.*

Cox, having gained his point, began to form the congregation to farther advantage, and bring it forward to the face and reputation of an English Church. He got Whitehead chosen superintendant or principal pastor, appointed two clergymen for elders, and four deacons to assist. He likewise proceeded to some resemblance of an university : Robert Horn had the Hebrew lecture, and Mullings the Greek ; Trahern was preferred to the divinity chair, and Chambers made treasurer for the contributions remitted from England.

*He writes to
Calvin.*

The Church settlement being thus far advanced, Cox gave Calvin an account of their proceedings. The letter is subscribed by fourteen of the chief in the congregation. They excuse their going so far without consulting him ; but conclude with the satisfaction they had of bringing over the greatest part of the Church to their sentiments. Calvin, in his answer, complains of their pressing the English Common Prayer-book too far. And here he takes the freedom to dictate with his usual haughtiness, and calls the use of the cross and other ceremonies "trifles and dregs," and makes no scruple to say they are

*Calvin's
answer.*

May 31,
1555.

hurtful and offensive in the present circumstances ; and, lastly, he recommends a fair correspondence between those who remain at Frankfort and the others who seem disposed to go off, and points at some farther expedient to make up the breach.

MARY.

Page 43.

Those who refused to acquiesce in the majority, and retired to Geneva and Basil, wrote a letter to the Coxians, to purge themselves from the imputation of schism, and offer to refer the controversy to four arbitrators. This letter is signed by eighteen, of whom Whittingham, Gilby, Christopher Goldman, and John Fox the martyrologist, are four. But Cox, thinking it best to maintain his ground, insisted on the present settlement, and declined any farther reference ; and in this condition I shall leave the English refugees at present.

I shall now return to England, and proceed to a farther account of the persecution. And here I shall only be brief and general in the narrative. To begin : Bonner is reported to have burnt no less than two hundred in three years. Christopherson, bishop of Chichester, brought ten to the stake together at Lewes, and seventeen more during the course of this reign. Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, and Thornton, suffragan of Dover, were remarkably sanguinary, as hath been already observed. Griffin, bishop of Rochester, was furiously warm in his prosecutions. And bishop Baine, of Lichfield and Coventry, burnt several clergymen and others of both sexes.

A general account of the persecution.

The prelates in the northern province managed with more tenderness and humanity. Neither Heath, archbishop of York, nor Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle, proceeded to any severity upon the score of religion ; and, in the diocese of Chester, there were none burnt, excepting one George Marsh. In the four Welsh dioceses, bishop Farrar and two more were condemned to the fire. In the dioceses of Exeter, Peterborough, Bath and Wells, and Lincoln, four suffered by the same cruelty ; two in the diocese of Ely, and six by the bishops of Salisbury and Bristol ; and, lastly, the bishops of Oxford, Gloucester, Worcester, and Hereford, stood off from persecution, and made no martyrs. In short, those who suffered death for their belief are said to amount to two hundred and seventy-seven. And, to mention somewhat of the distinctions of those that were burnt, in this list there are

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five bishops, one-and-twenty clergymen, eight lay gentlemen, eighty-four tradesmen, one hundred husbandmen, servants, and labourers, five-and-fifty women, and four children : sixty-four more were prosecuted for religion, seven of whom were whipped, and sixteen perished in prison ; not to mention those who lay condemned in durance, and were discharged by the queen's death. In fine, the proceedings against the reformed in this reign were extremely bloody and barbarous. To destroy people for points of mere speculation, and which have no ill effect on practice and civil government, seems very remote from the spirit of Christianity. Supposing truth on the persecuting side, yet, to burn a man because he will not belie his conscience and turn hypocrite, is strangely unaccountable. Men cannot believe what they please. Their understandings are not all of a size. Things do not stand in the same light, and strike with the same force on every body.

Besides, if the Roman Catholics believed the reformed such notorious heretics, if they believed they would be so ill received in the other world,—why did they not use them gentlier in this ? Why did they hurry them to eternal destruction before their time ? If life had gone on in its natural course, it is possible they might have altered their belief ; mere compassion, one would think, should have given them the utmost leisure to recover themselves. If it is said that, in charity to other people, they were obliged to come to extremities, had the heretics' (as they call them) lives been spared, they would have spread the contagion, and destroyed great numbers with themselves. To this it may be returned, they might have been closely confined, barred correspondence, and made very inoffensive as to this matter.

See the first
part of
this history,
p. 616.

In a word, these cruel expedients serve only to blacken a communion, to heighten differences, and inflame one part of Christendom against another. And besides the doing injury in religion, the State has sometimes suffered upon this account : the dread of the Smithfield fires has given designing men a handle to impose on the people, to make them tools to their ambition, and fright them into a revolt. Whether the grounds of their fear are real or imaginary, is little material ; they are generally apt to indulge their suspicion, to swallow a calumny, and believe the worst of their governors. Thus, to avoid being martyrs, they turn rebels ; and rather than endure

the fire a few minutes with a good conscience, venture to burn MARY.
always with a bad one.

Before I shut up this melancholy scene, it may not be improper to add some strains of ill usage upon the dead. For instance, the cardinal's commissioners at Cambridge interdicted two churches, for affording graves to the bodies of Martin Bucer and Paulus Fagius. Thus there was a process formed against these two learned men, some years after they were dead. The pageantry went so far as to summon them before the commissioners, and depositions were taken to convict them of heresy. From hence they proceeded to sentence: the writ "de hæretico comburendo" was sent down, the bodies taken up, and burnt, with their books, in the market-place.

And, that one university might not fare better than the other, the same treatment was offered to the corpse of Peter Martyr's wife at Oxford. This gentlewoman had been very charitable there, and lived every way to a character of advantage. And now Oxford being supposed to want a visitation no less than Cambridge, a commission was directed by cardinal Pole, to Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, Ormanetto, the pope's datary, and some others. Their business was to rectify such things as they found amiss: amongst other matters, they had instruction to take up the corpse of Peter Martyr's wife; but when they came to execute their orders, no evidence appeared to prove her an heretic. It seems she spoke only the language of her own country, and therefore nobody could depose what religion she professed. This defect of witnesses being sent up to the cardinal, an order was given to Dr. Marshall, dean of Christ-church, to take up the body and bury it in unconsecrated ground. This was not done until the latter end of this year, but I have mentioned it here for the resemblance of the matter.

It is no wonder if the rigours of this reign transported some people beyond decency and duty, put them upon foul practice and libelling the government. That there were disorders of this kind, appears by a letter of thanks, sent by the council to the lord chamberlain, for the pains he had taken in searching for several seditious pamphlets dispersed in Sussex; there was likewise another letter signed by the board, and sent to the earl of Rutland, to sir William Cecil, and other justices of

POLE,
Abp. Cant.
Council
Book.

*The queen
founds
several
religious
houses.
Nov. 21,
1556.*

398.

peace, in the county of Lincoln, to thank them for examining certain persons, seized for spreading false and seditious news.

And now to proceed to more agreeable matter. The queen's resolution, to return the Church lands in her possession, has been just mentioned. To give a brief account of the executing this project: her majesty began with the church of Westminster, and prevailed with dean Weston to surrender the late foundation. Thus the house was returned to its first Benedictine order, and furnished with an abbot and fourteen monks; which was as full a number as the lands could maintain. Dr. Feeknam, dean of St. Paul's, a person of learning and moderation, was preferred to the government of this abbey; and the prebendaries ejected were allowed pensions, till better provided for. The queen restored the convent of Observants at Greenwich. Some of the friars of this house, as has been related, appeared very boldly against the divorce between king Henry and Catherine of Spain; the queen, therefore, out of gratitude, and regard to her mother's memory, rebuilt the monastery, brought in as many of the old fraternity as could be met with; and recruited them with new ones to a competent number. To proceed; she founded a new convent of Dominicans, or Black Friars, in Smithfield. By the way, these Observants and Dominicans, being both begging orders, were resettled at the less expense.

At Sion, near Brentford, in Middlesex, there was a famous nunnery, of the order of St. Bridget; since the late dissolution, the greatest part of these recluses were either dead or married: however, the society was soon competently furnished, the house repaired, and endowed with a proportionable revenue. At Sheen, on the south side of the river, near Richmond, there had been another ancient monastery; this place the queen furnished with a new convent of Carthusians, an order of great discipline and mortification. Another considerable benefaction this way, was the refounding the fraternity of the Knights Hospitallers of Jerusalem. This monastery was put in a condition to dwell in, and an honourable maintenance settled. Sir Thomas Tresham was made the first lord prior, who died soon after his promotion, and was succeeded by sir Richard Shelley, the last grand master of that order in England.

All these foundations were secularised, and fell at the queen's death: but her new hospital at the Savoy had better fortune. For what purposes this house was founded by king Henry VII., and when dissolved, has been already related: as for the lands, they had been granted to the city of London: there was no other way, therefore, of executing the scheme but by a new endowment. However, the queen's piety was not to be checked by considerations of expense; and, therefore, out of the remainder of the abbey-lands in the crown, she settled a fair revenue for the purposes of the first institution. The queen's example had a good effect upon the court ladies, who furnished the house at their own charge: and thus a considerable number of poor were comfortably provided for; and, over and above, the mastership of the hospital was a considerable preferment. These foundations were carried on at some distance of time, but I thought it most proper to mention them together.

MARY.

And the hospital in the Savoy.

The new founding these religious houses, gave the monks of Glastonbury some hopes of raising their own abbey, which was one of the ancientest and richest in England. Some of these monks, now placed at Westminster, petitioned the lord chamberlain to put the queen in mind of her promise, for erecting the late monastery of Glastonbury. And here they take notice, that, by her majesty's and the cardinal's encouragement, their abbot had procured a warrant from the lord treasurer: that, upon the strength of this favour, their friends had begun to build and repair, at a considerable expense; but that now the project was stopped. They desired the grant of nothing but the house and site: that, for the rest, a few of them would endeavour to maintain themselves upon their labour and industry, till the charity of good people would furnish farther, and subsist a greater number. To make their request speed the better, they suggest their monastery was not surrendered, but wrested from them, and their abbot and two inoffensive monks illegally executed: at last, they plead from the antiquity of their house, and the general regard paid to it, upon the score of its being begun by Joseph of Arimathea, who, as they pretend, lies buried there. But this tradition has been disproved in the first part of this work. As to their petition, I do not find it had any success: whether the shortness of the

An attempt to settle some monks at Glastonbury.

Ex MSS. Com. de Huntingdon.

Bp. Burnet, pt. 2. book 2. num. 30.

POLE,
Abp. Cant.

queen's reign, or the impracticableness of the project, made it miscarry, it is somewhat uncertain.

Bp. Burnet,
pt. 2. p. 341.

In mentioning the abbey of Westminster, one of our learned Church historians makes a tragical complaint of the erasure and destruction of records in this reign : of records relating to the irregularities of religious houses ; to the renouncing the pope's authority, and the new extent of the regale. To make good this charge, he produces a commission to Bonner, and some others, to search for records of this nature, and certify the lord cardinal what they had done in the inquiry : the design of this search was to inform the queen of the contents of such instruments, and that they might be considered and disposed of as she thought fit. But how far this commission was executed is no where to be found, as this learned author confesses : and that there were no such erasures, appears pretty plain from the registers of Cranmer and Bonner, where the bishops' solemn disclaiming the pope, and holding their bishoprics by letters-patent from the king, are entered at large : and, as to the state of the abbeys, with respect to manners and other circumstances, they are still to be seen in the Augmentation-office. And, to be more particular, Bale affirms he had in his custody an account of the visitation of a hundred monasteries and eighteen collegiate churches, drawn up by Layton and Beadill, two of the king's visitors, and by Berthet, a public notary. This collection is intitled, "*Breviarium Comptorum in Monasteriis, Conventibus, Collegiis,*" &c. To this may be added the testimony of Ackworth, in his book against Saunders' "*De visibili Monarchia,*" where he affirms the records of the immoralities of the monks were then extant. But whether the misbehaviour of these religious was not swelled and misreported by some of the visitors, is another question.

Bale in
Append. ad
Centur. 8.
N. 75.
p. 665.

March 23,
1556-7.

An insurrection in the North.

In the beginning of the spring, next year, king Philip embarked for England, landed at Dover, and made a cavalcade with the queen, and a great train of the nobility, through London. In April following, Thomas Stafford, a gentleman well extracted, set sail from France, with some malcontents and foreigners, landed in the north of England, and surprised Scarborough-castle. Upon this success he endeavoured to raise the country upon the government ; for this purpose, he dis-

persed declarations, stuffed with treason and untruth. He disclaims the queen's title, gives her coarse language, pretends king Philip had landed twelve thousand Spaniards, and that the forts of the kingdom were to be put into their hands. But Dr. Watson, dean of Canterbury, the English ambassador at Paris, having got within Stafford's plot, and traced the scheme, sent her majesty intelligence. Upon this warning the earl of Westmoreland was prepared for Stafford at his landing; and thus in a week's time this rebel was seized, brought to London, and beheaded.

MARY.

Stow's
Annals.
Godwin's
Annals.

May 28,
1557.

The next month the queen published a proclamation, in which she complains of being ill used by the French king: that this prince had countenanced the rebellion headed by Northumberland and Wyatt; and that Dudley and Aston, who formed a conspiracy in the French ambassador's house, were afterwards entertained in France; and, lastly, that Stafford was furnished by the French king with shipping, forces, ammunition, and money, to invade her dominions, and seize the government. For these provocations, she forbid her subjects trading with France, and declared that monarch an enemy. Notwithstanding this manifesto was reasonable, and well-founded, yet, it is thought, she would not have come to an open rupture, if the pope had not prevailed with the French king to break the truce between him and king Philip: and thus the war breaking out between France and Spain, the queen was resolved not to stand neuter in her husband's quarrel.

399.

*The queen
declares war
against
France.*

The pope was displeased with the queen for taking these measures; and not being in a condition to reach her, discharged his choler upon cardinal Pole: besides some old grudges, he was highly dissatisfied with Pole for endeavouring to adjust the differences between the two crowns of France and Spain. This was downright clashing with the court of Rome, who made it their business to bring on a rupture. The cardinal, out of zeal for the repose of Christendom, had been very active in this matter, and taken the freedom to suggest the mediation of a peace to his holiness. And though this address was couched in all the terms of respect, yet it is thought the pope's height of temper would not bear being put in mind of his duty. In short, Pole's legatine commission was revoked, and himself cited to appear before the inquisition at Rome; and to make him farther sensible how much his

POLE,
Abp. Cant.

*The pope
takes away
Pole's lega-
tine cha-
racter,
and com-
mands him
to Rome.*

*The queen's
letter to dis-
suade the
pope from
calling back
the cardinal.*

interest was sunk there, the pope had lately imprisoned his intimate friend, St. Felice, bishop of Cava. And that Pole might have no pretence of Church business in England, William Peyto, an English Franciscan, and afterwards bishop of Salisbury, was made cardinal and legate in his place. This Peyto, though a strong Roman Catholic, and a man of regular behaviour, wanted Pole's quality and learning to support the dignity, and make the character significant. When the queen was informed of the pope's intention, she took all imaginable precaution to prevent the issue. To this purpose, concealing the news from the cardinal, she ordered the ports should be guarded, and nobody suffered to come on shore from Rome; and if any packets came from thence, they were seized, and brought to the council. She likewise wrote to her ambassador at Rome, to acquaint his holiness, that in case Pole was stripped of his character, and recalled, the interest of religion would suffer extremely in England. This letter was backed with a remonstrance to the pope himself upon this subject: she puts him in mind, Pole had a double commission; one as he was legate *à latere* from his holiness, and another upon the score of his being archbishop of Canterbury. That both these distinctions were necessary to the present juncture: that his predecessors at Rome had annexed this legatine privilege to the see of Canterbury: that it was partly granted out of regard to the kings of England: that uninterrupted usage and length of time had made it unquestionable, and that it was farther fortified by the English constitution: that she looked upon her having a legate in England as part of her prerogative: that by her coronation oath she was bound to maintain the rights of the crown, and the privileges of the kingdom: that nothing of this kind can be resigned without great ignominy and damage: that the nobility and commons would by no means give up the honour and advantage of the government: and in case they might be worked to a compliance, she could not concur with them.

Ex Biblioth.
R. Harley.
Armig.
Bacartellus
Vit. Regi-
nald. Poli.

I have transcribed this letter somewhat at large, to show that, notwithstanding the queen's being a Roman Catholic, she took care to guard her prerogative, and stood firm to the public interest. As for the pope, he was resolved to gratify his passion, and make a blow at the cardinal, right or wrong. However, to keep this motive somewhat out of sight, he told

the English ambassador he had business of great importance to communicate to Pole: and besides, he threw out some hints as if he suspected the cardinal's orthodoxy. To this the queen's answer was, that this suspicion could be of no long date; for that otherwise his holiness would never have given so large a commendation of Pole in the conclave, nor sent him the pall for the see of Canterbury: but if his holiness had any late grounds (which seems unlikely) to question the cardinal's religion, she would take care he should be tried by the bishops in England.

The pope, to colour his proceedings, made some faint excuses to the ambassador, sir Edward Carne, for recalling Pole. He told him, that since king Philip had broken with him, it was not proper he should have any legate in that prince's dominions. To this Carne replied, his holiness had promised him, England and Ireland should be excepted, and not come under the same hostile treatment with the rest of that prince's dominions. The pope pretended he could not reverse a solemn decree passed in consistory; and all that the ambassador could get of him was, to stop the intimation till he heard farther from the queen.

Paper-office.

The cardinal being apprehensive the queen had intercepted the pope's letter to him, acquiesced at a venture, and laid aside the functions and distinctions of a legate. He likewise dispatched his friend Ormanett to Rome to purge himself; to give his holiness an account of his administration, and acquaint him with the state of religion in England. And now the pope receiving advice of the defeat of the French in Flanders, and of his own forces in Campania, grew more tractable, dissembled his former resentment, and told Ormanett, that now he was satisfied Pole had been misrepresented, and that nobody living could be covered from calumny. As for cardinal Peyto, though he took the title of legate to keep the pope in humour, yet he never exercised the charge, but treated Pole with the same regard as formerly.

Id. p. 73.

Father Paul,
Hist. Council of Trent.
King Philip gains a battle against the French at St. Quintin's.

July, this summer, king Philip took leave of the queen, and embarked for Flanders; and in August following gained the battle at St. Quintin's, in Picardy. Great numbers of the French nobility were made prisoners in this action, and the town surrendered in a week after. King Philip's success

POLE,
Abp. Cant.

was in a great measure owing to the bravery of the English troops.

*The Norfolk
and Suffolk
addresses
for liberty of
conscience.*
400.

This year commissioners were sent down into Norfolk and Suffolk by the queen and council. Their business was to inquire into religion, and press conformity to the worship established. To this committee certain inhabitants of the two counties presented an address for liberty of conscience. They request they may be allowed to serve God by the English Common Prayer-book, and king Edward's Reformation. They complain of great hardship put upon them with respect to person and fortune. Notwithstanding these grievances, they declare positively against the lawfulness of relieving themselves by applying to force. They mention the service they did the queen against the lady Jane and the duke of Northumberland; own it was no more than their duty, and thank God they had the honesty to do it. These men were of opinion the right to the crown lay in the constitution, and not in the Creed. They thought a different religion in the prince was no discharge of their allegiance; nor gave them any liberty of standing neuter in the quarrel.

*They declare
against the
lawfulness of
resistance.*

Fox, vol. 3.
p. 690. et
deinc.

*A farther
account of
the dif-
ferences be-
tween the
English at
Frankfort.*

To return to the Church at Frankfort, and give the reader a farther account of the clashing between the English there: when Dr. Cox gained his point, and settled Horn in the pastorate, he retired to Strasburg for the pleasure of Peter Martyr's conversation—who, by the way, had formerly been his acquaintance at Oxford. Cox's going off is supposed to have given occasion to a new misunderstanding. Some warm discourse passed at supper between Horn, abovementioned, and Ashley, a lay gentleman. About three days after, Ashley received a summons to appear at the house of one of the elders to answer for some expressions in contempt of the ministry. Ashley, suspecting the cause would go against him, appealed from the elders to the congregation. Upon this the pastor and elders were required to stop the process. The pretence was, that in regard they were parties, they were unqualified for the cognizance of that matter. Horn and Chambers, the treasurer, excepted against this order; it was passed, they said, at a private meeting, and not being carried by a majority of the congregation, they were resolved to exert their authority, and manage by the direction of their discipline. Ashley and

their adherents justified their resolution at the last meeting, and protested against the pastor and elders as incompetent judges. Horn and the elders thought the bodies interposing thus far a sort of anarchy in the Church, remonstrated that the congregation had left them nothing but a shadow of authority, and therefore threw up their character, and refused to act. The congregation, being willing to keep the dernier ressort, and not be governed by their governors, proposed some new regulations. They complained of the defectiveness of the old discipline, and that there was no provision made to call the pastor and elders to account in case of misbehaviour: they insist, therefore, that a supplemental clause might be added for this purpose. The pastor and elders, not liking the supremacy should be thus lodged in the congregation, dissented from the motion; but offered, at the same time, to go upon amendments in the discipline, provided themselves might be part of the committee: but this, considering the matter, was thought too much by the congregation. In short, a committee was appointed to decide the difference between Horn and Ashley; but Horn and the elders refused to acquiesce in this authority, or so much as come amongst them. And to prove the nullity of their proceedings, they argued against the authority of the congregation, and asserted it no better than a conventicle in the pastor's absence. This point was contested by Ashley's party, who urged the decrees of the councils of Basil and Constance, though but little to the purpose; for from an assembly of bishops in council being superior to a single bishop at Rome, it does not follow that a congregation of the laity have any right to try the pastors, or revoke an authority which they never granted. The congregation, finding Horn incontinent, and that he declined preaching, moved for another election, and resolved to settle their Church without him or the elders. The magistracy, somewhat alarmed at this clashing, commanded Horn and Chambers to forbear the congregation till farther orders, but some few days after restored them and the elders to their first authority. The congregation demurred to some part of this order, addressed the magistracy with a remonstrance against Horn and his party, and complained of their encroachment.

MARY.
Discourse of
the Troubles
at Frank-
fort, p. 55,
et deinceps.

Feb. 1556-7.

Id. p. 67.

Id. 72, 73.

In the mean time a committee had drawn up a new discipline, which was laid before the congregation, and passed. By this draught the spiritual supremacy was lodged with the dif-

POLE.
Abp. Cant.

fusive body of the Church, and the disposing of the public money taken from the treasurer, and entrusted with the deacons. This refining upon the old settlement widened the breach. The magistracy being now prevailed with to favour the congregation, Horn and his party agreed the discipline should be reviewed by a committee, but excepted against having more than one pastor: notwithstanding the discipline went on, and was subscribed by a majority. Upon this, Horn, Chambers, and some others desired the magistrates their not subscribing might be excused.

The controversy being still kept on foot, a new expedient was proposed; and by the consent of the magistracy, letters were dispatched to Strasburg, to Dr. Cox, Dr. Sandys, and Robert Bertie, esq., to undertake adjusting the difference. Each party was contented to receive them for arbitrators, but disagreed upon the conditions of the reference. This jarring about the terms of the compromise, gave occasion to more noise and scandal: the cause was bandied, and the heats kept up by Horn's and Whitehead's drawing their pens upon each other. At last a reconciling form was tendered by some of the English, who valued peace more than victory and party interest. But the new discipline men, now grown a majority, refused to submit to any lessening of the power of the congregation. And now Horn and Chambers, despairing of an accommodation, withdrew to Strasburg. As for the congregation, they took little notice of Chambers' letters, but stood by the late election of new ministers, and looked after the old ones no longer.

April 1557.

Thus these disorders in the Church at Frankfort took their rise from a dislike of the English Common Prayer-book, and giving in too much to the Geneva model. The difference was farther continued by the mutiny of the congregation against the governing part of the Church. From hence the English Reformation broke into parties: this was the leading case to the puritans and presbyterians in after-reigns. Upon these principles and precedents, they formed their schism, and raised their exceptions against the Liturgy and government of the Church. But of this more hereafter¹.

401.

It has been already observed, some of the English at Frankfort proposed officiating in the Geneva form. It may not be

¹ Thus the British Presbyterians and Dissenters had "a violent commencement:" whether they will have "an answerable sequestration" or not, remains to be seen.

amiss, therefore, to give the reader a brief account of the Church service and discipline approved by Calvin, and used by the English at Geneva. To begin with the election of their ministers and elders: they are chosen by the whole congregation, and after a previous inquiry into their life and qualifications. The people are to prepare themselves, by fasting and prayer, for a blessing upon their choice: the minister's chief business lies in preaching and administering the sacraments; for as to discipline, managing elections, and other branches of government, he has no authority to overrule anything, neither is his judgment considered any farther than by way of advice. The elders are likewise chosen by the body: they make a sort of standing committee with the ministers for the executive part of government and discipline: they neither preach nor administer the sacraments. When the congregation is to be summoned, notice must be given by the joint consent of ministers and elders, otherwise it is no lawful assembly. The office of their deacons is to collect and distribute charity, and take care of persons disabled by age, accident, or sickness. These distributions are not to be made without the consent of the ministers and elders: they are chosen by a majority of the congregation, like those already mentioned.

MARY.

The service used by the English refugees at Geneva.

Calvin's Common Prayer-book, &c. Phœnix, vol. 2. p. 204. 210. *The election of ministers and elders.*

The ministers, elders, and deacons, meet every week in consistory, to inspect the conduct of the Church. And here they are to be particularly careful in censuring themselves. For instance, if the minister is delated for affectation or negligence in his sermon, for flattery, detraction, &c. he is first to be admonished, and afterwards deposed, in case he continues incorrigible. But for crimes of a blacker complexion, such as heresy, blasphemy, fornication, theft, drunkenness, and such like, he is to be discharged without farther trial.

The ministers and elders' consistory.

The congregation meets every week to hear some parts of the Scripture expounded; and here every man has the liberty to speak to the point. And if they happen to carry the discourse to controversy and squabble, the moderators are to interpose: and if the party refuses to acquiesce, he is enjoined silence, and the case is referred to the resolution of the consistory above-mentioned.

Their Common Prayer begins with a confession. After the confession a Psalm is sung by the people; then the minister makes an extempore prayer for the assistance of the Holy

Id. p. 214.

POLE,
Abp. Cant.

Spirit. Then follows the sermon. After which the minister prays in a form for the whole state of Christ's Church, but very different, both in matter and expression, from that in the English Liturgy. It is concluded with the Lord's Prayer. Then follows this short collect, though it is not called so :—

“ Almighty and everliving God, vouchsafe, we beseech thee, to grant us perfect continuance in thy lively faith, augmenting the same in us daily, till we grow to the full measure of our perfection in Christ, whereof we make our confession, saying, ‘ I believe in God,’ ” &c. After repeating the Creed, another Psalm is sung ; then the minister pronounces the blessing, either taken from Numbers vi. 24, 25, 26 ; or from 2 Corinthians, xiii. 14. And here, to guard against the danger of believing the minister has any spiritual authority, and to strike him out of all representation of God Almighty, not only the ancient form of the Church is declined, but the Scripture language is changed to a great alteration in sense ; for instead of “ the Lord bless thee, and keep thee,” it runs, “ the Lord bless us and save us,” and so “ us ” is made use of instead of “ thee,” to the end of this and the other benediction, in the second of the Corinthians.

A discretionary latitude allowed for extempore prayer.

And to avoid the imputation of being tied to a form, and encourage unpremeditated effusions, the rubric allows a large discretionary latitude. The minister, says this directory, is not obliged to repeat all these stated prayers : he has the liberty of beginning with a confession of his own : from hence he may go on directly to the sermon : after which it is at his choice either to use the form for all estates above-mentioned, or else to pray, as the Spirit of God shall move his heart. And here his prayer is to be suited to the circumstances of time, and the matter of his discourse in the pulpit.

At the administration of baptism, they very commendably declare against christening in private houses. The father and godfather are ordered to come to church with the child. And after a question being asked, whether they come to have the child baptized, and their answer in the affirmative, the sacrament of baptism is explained by the minister. After this, the father, or in his absence the godfather, repeats the Creed, which is expounded by the minister in a form prescribed through all the articles. After which follows a prayer for the sanctification of the child, which concludes with the Lord's

Prayer. When the sacramental words are pronounced, the minister takes water in his hand, and lays it upon the child's forehead : and the office ends with a stated prayer of thanksgiving for the benefit of this sacrament.

MARY.
1 Cor. xi.

The holy eucharist is commonly administered once a month. The service begins with setting forth the institution in the words of the apostle, St. Paul. Then follows an exhortation to the receiving of the sacrament. This discourse is prescribed and made in the pulpit. And here the minister, to prevent the unqualified persons approaching the holy table, delivers himself in very significant solemn language. The words are these :—

“ In the name and authority of the eternal God, and of his son Jesus Christ, I excommunicate from this table all blasphemers of God, all idolators, all murderers, all adulterers, all that be in malice or envy, all disobedient persons to father or mother, to princes or magistrates, to pastors or preachers, all thieves and deceivers of their neighbour,” &c.

When the exhortation is over, the minister comes out of the pulpit, sits down at the communion-table, with the rest of the congregation, and then taking bread, either uses a thanksgiving form for the redemption of mankind, or prays to the same effect from his own thoughts or composition. Then he breaks the bread, and delivers it to the people, who divide it amongst themselves. The cup is likewise given in the same manner. While the congregation are receiving, some portion of Scripture representing the death of our Saviour in the most affecting manner, is read to assist devotion. Then follows a thanksgiving, intermixed with a prayer to live answerably to so great a blessing. After this prayer, the hundred and third, or some other eucharistic Psalm is sung. One of the benedictions above-mentioned follows next ; and thus the solemnity is ended.

402.

To proceed : those who intend to marry have their banns published three several days in the congregation. The minister begins the service with an exhortation, in which the ends of marriage and the duties of the relation are explained. Then both the parties and the congregation are questioned concerning any lawful impediment. Upon silence to this interrogatory, they proceed to the matrimonial stipulation, which is made much in the same form with that in the English service.

POLE,
Abp. Cant.

Then follows a short exhortation to make good the engagement; and, after the minister has given them the blessing, the office is closed with singing the hundred and twenty-eighth Psalm, or some other of a resembling subject.

In the visitation of the sick, there are general rules laid down for the minister's management: that regard is to be had to the temper and condition of the penitent; that terror or comfort must be applied as the case requires, and the remedy proportioned to the disease. After this general direction, a long prayer is subjoined for the sick person.

At burials, the corpse, attended to the grave by the congregation, is thrown into the ground without any prayers or other ceremony. There is no necessity for the minister's being present; but, if he happens to be there, if the people desire a funeral discourse, and the church is at no great distance, he goes thither, and makes a consolatory sermon upon the subject of death and the resurrection.

Excommunication not to pass upon any person without the consent of the congregation.
Id. p. 229.

To conclude: as to the exercise of public discipline, the ministers are not to overlook any crime, irregularity, or behaviour, unbecoming a Christian; and, therefore, admonition or other correction is to be applied in proportion to the fault. But as to the highest censure of excommunication, it is not to be exerted without the consent of the whole Church. And, lastly, the excommunicated person, though excluded from the sacraments and prayer, is permitted to hear sermons.

And from this short view the reader may perceive what small resemblance there is between Calvin's model and that of the ancient and English liturgies. We need not wonder, therefore, at our countrymen's receiving an odd tincture at Geneva,—it is not strange, I say, if, after such a compliance with Calvin and his congregation, they came home prepossessed with novelties, condemned the Fathers, and stood off from the government and worship of the primitive Church.

To return to England: this year, if Fox's chronology holds, cardinal Pole gave out articles of inquiry for the visitation of his diocese of Canterbury. They are ranged under two heads: the first one-and-twenty relate to the clergy; and the other three-and-thirty to the laity. I shall mention only some few of the most remarkable; and first, of those which concern the clergy:—

The visitors were to inquire, whether any of the parishioners died without ministration of the sacraments through the negligence of their curates?

Whether parsons, vicars, or curates, haunted taverns or ale-houses?

Whether they were diligent in teaching midwives how to christen children in time of necessity, according to the canons of the Church?

Whether they keep a book of all the names of those reconciled to the Church?

Whether they diligently teach their parishioners the Articles of their faith and the Ten Commandments?

Whether any of them say the divine service, or minister the sacraments in the English tongue, contrary to the usual order of the Church?

Whether any of them keep company with men suspected of heresy or dangerous tenets?

Whether any of them use unlawful games, as dice, cards, and such like?

Whether they are resident and live hospitably upon their benefices?

Whether they enter the christenings, burials, and marriages, upon the church registers, together with the names of the godfathers and godmothers?

To proceed to some of those in which the laity are concerned:—

Whether any refuse or deny auricular confession?

Whether there be any guilty of incest, fornicators, or adulterers, any bawds, or such as entertain licentious people?

Whether any blaspheme, take the name of God in vain, or are noted for common swearers?

Whether any are guilty of perjury or simony?

Whether any are common drunkards, or use any scandalous diversions, especially in time of divine service?

Whether any keep private conventicles for the exercise of religion contrary to the laws?

Whether the poor in every parish are charitably provided for?

Whether there is a lamp or candle in churches burning before the sacrament?

Whether any person works upon Sundays or holydays?

MARY.

Some articles of inquiry set forth by cardinal Pole.

POLE,
Abp. Cant.

Whether taverns or ale-houses entertain any guest in time of divine service?

Whether fiddlers or any others sing any burlesqueing songs upon the holy sacraments, or other rites and ceremonies of the Church?

Whether the revenues of hospitals are spent pursuant to the intendment of the foundation, and whether any goods, plate, jewels, or land, are taken away and detained from such houses?

Fox, vol. 3.
p. 779.

A.D. 1557.
*Orders from
the privy-
council.*

Council
Book.

Council
Book.
403.

This summer, the council sent the mayor of Canterbury a letter of thanks for his diligence in apprehending and committing the players. He is commanded to keep them confined till farther order from the board. In the mean time, their lewd play-book, as it is called, is referred to the consideration of their majesties' learned council. By this account it appears the players had either burlesqued religion or libelled the government, or both. These men had run much the same riot at London. This the reader may perceive by the council's letter to the lord mayor, to discharge those players they had ordered him to imprison. And here the prisoners, and others of the same business, were commanded not to act any stage entertainments, excepting between the feasts of All Saints and Shrovetide, and then only such as have been perused and allowed by the ordinary.

About this time the council wrote to the mayor and aldermen of Bristol, to conform themselves to the worship established, to frequent sermons, to assist at processions, and other public ceremonies at the cathedral. That they should not expect attendance from the dean and chapter to bring them to church, that usage being indecent and much out of order. And here their non-conformity and absence from church is censured as a great singularity, and different from the practice of all other corporations.

Upon the defeat near St. Quintin, the French king recalled his army out of Italy, to defend his own kingdom. The duke of Alva, king Philip's general, now much superior to the pope's troops, marched directly towards Rome. The town might easily have been taken, had the duke pressed the opportunity. Whether it was want of courage, or a religious regard to the pope which made him lose the advantage, is somewhat uncertain. It is probable he believed a treaty would be more ac-

ceptable to his master than proceeding to extremities. The pope, on the other side, was very stiff in the articles, and held up his prerogative as high as if victory had been at his disposal. In short, he insisted upon Alva's coming to Rome, asking pardon, and receiving absolution; protesting that rather than lose the least part of his right, he would venture the ruin of the universe: for since our Saviour's honour was concerned in the dispute, it was not in his power to give it up. The duke of Alva submitted to this and some other conditions not disadvantageous to the pope, went to Rome and received his holiness's absolution for the king and himself. Thus the conquering party stooped to apology and disgrace, and he that was at mercy appeared with all the signs of success and superiority. It is said that by one of the secret articles cardinal Pole was restored to his legatine authority. This seems not improbable, considering the queen's resolution not to admit any other with the same character; for when cardinal Peyto was upon his journey to England, with his bulls and faculties, the queen forbid him coming into her dominions at his peril. Peyto being willing to acquiesce, stopped in France, and died there in April following.

MARY.

Sept. 1557.

Paul's Hist.
Council of
Trent.Camden.
Britann.
Warwick-
shire.Council
Book.
Oct. 1557.
*A peace
between the
king of
Spain and
the pope.
A.D. 1557.
The queen-
regent of
Scotland
breaks the
peace with
England.*

Upon the news of the peace between the pope and the king of Spain, the council wrote to the lord mayor of London, to come to St. Paul's with the aldermen, and order bonfires to be made in the city.

The war being now broke out between England and France, the French solicited the queen-regent of Scotland, and endeavoured to draw that nation into the quarrel. A convention was summoned upon this occasion: but when they met, their sentiments were not unanimous. The ecclesiastic state was now for keeping fair with England; as for the queen-regent, they did not altogether approve her conduct: they fancied somewhat of a partiality in her, to those they called the heretical lords. Those noblemen, on the other hand, being willing to improve their interest with the regent and the French court, closed with the motion for a war. By breaking with our queen they hoped to increase their party by a foreign accession: for in consequence of this, the queen-regent would be obliged to protect the English refugees. However, the majority of the convention declared against a rupture. The queen-regent,

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Abp. Cant.

notwithstanding, being willing to attempt something in favour of France, sent her general D'Oisel to fortify Aymouth, which was an infraction upon the last treaty with England. Upon this the governor of Berwick made an incursion into Scotland, to disturb their works. This gave D'Oisel a pretence to march into England, and sit down before Warke castle. The Scotch nobility, alarmed at these sallies, met at Edinburgh, remonstrated against D'Oisel's conduct, and required him to counter-march, under the pain of being declared a public enemy. He complied with the order, though with great regret. The queen-regent, finding her measures thus remarkably checked, wrote to France to hasten the marriage between the young queen her daughter, and the dauphin; suggesting withal, that this was the most likely expedient to raise the French interest in Scotland. The French court complying with the motion, agents were dispatched to the Scotch convention, to acquaint them the dauphin was now near coming of age, and therefore desired they would send over commissioners to conclude the marriage. The request was answered, and an embassy furnished out of the three estates; and though they had an unfortunate voyage, they succeeded in their negotiation; and the marriage was solemnized in the latter end of April following.

Lesley de
Reb. Gest.
Scot.

*Calais, &c.
taken by the
duke of
Guise.*

To return to England: the queen received advice from king Philip, that Calais was in danger of a siege; and that it was necessary to reinforce the garrison; offering, at the same time, a sufficient number of troops for that purpose. The English court, suspecting the king's kindness, and presuming upon the strength of the place, neither accepted the offer, nor increased the garrison themselves. The French king therefore seizing the advantage, ordered the duke of Guise to make a sudden march. This general sat down before the town on the first of January, and had it surrendered on the sixth.

Godwin,
Annal.

By the articles, the garrison and the burghers were to march out with their effects; the lord Wentworth, who was governor, and fifty others, remaining prisoners of war. This town had been in the hands of the English somewhat above two hundred years, ever since the reign of king Edward III. Soon after the loss of Calais, Guisnes and Ham were carried by the French. And thus the remainder of the English dominions

upon the continent were all lost. This unexpected misfortune sat heavy upon the queen's spirits, threw her into a deep melancholy, and proved very unserviceable to her health. MARY.

And now, to support the government and put things in the best posture, the parliament met on the twentieth of January, and sat till the seventh of March. Their business was mostly military provisions, and granting of taxes for the war against France. At this sessions, Fecknam, the new abbot of Westminster, and Tresham, the new prior of St. John's of Jerusalem, took their places in the house of Lords.

The convocation sat at the same time with the parliament: and here Harpsfield, archdeacon of London, was chosen prolocutor. The cardinal proposed that some expedient might be thought on, for the recovery of Calais. But a scheme of this nature being looked on as impracticable by the clergy, the motion dropped. His eminence was as little successful in his other suggestion, for the reviewing the statutes of the new foundations, and altering them to a more serviceable form. A parliament and convocation. 404.

On the other hand, the clergy applied to the cardinal for the redress of grievances, and supplying some defects in the church establishment. First, that the queen may be entreated to give orders, that no parson, vicar, or curate, may be pressed to serve in the war. Secondly, that where the endowments of two neighbouring benefices are too slender to maintain a priest, the bishop may give them *in commendam* to one incumbent, to supply them by turns. Thirdly, that those parishioners who have chapels of ease, and want priests to officiate, may be obliged to come to the parish churches, till the chapels of ease are provided with some curate. And, Fourthly, that every bishop may be authorised by the pope to ordain "*extra tempora præscripta*;" that is, at other times, as well as on the Sundays after the four Ember weeks.

This convocation, considering the pressing necessities of the state, granted the queen a subsidy of eight shillings in the pound, to be paid in four years: they likewise charge themselves with finding horse and arms for the defence of the kingdom. Their subsidy, according to custom, is confirmed by act of parliament; but the other imposition upon their own body is uncorroborated by the state, and stands wholly upon the authority of the synod.

The prosecution against heretics, as they called them, went

Heylin's
Hist. Ref.
Q. Mary,
p. 78.
Journal of
Convoca-
tion, fol. 87,
et deinceps.

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Abp. Cant.

on, but turned to little account ; for the courage of those that suffered continued, neither was the Reformation to be stifled by any rigours. Upon this occasion, one of our learned Church historians affirms, " he finds it said, that some advised that courts of inquisition, like those in Spain, might be set up in England." But here he is not pleased to tell us by whom it is said, neither can I meet with this advice in any of our historians : nay, even Fox himself is silent in the case. Indeed, considering the queen's late expostulation with the pope, in which she declares her resolution to maintain the prerogative and constitution ; considering king Philip's confessor's declaiming against persecution in the pulpit ; to which we may add the gentleness and uncontested good-nature of cardinal Pole ; considering these things, I say, one would think the project of an inquisition looks very improbable.

Bp. Burnet,
pt. 2. p. 346.

However, the reverend author above-mentioned thinks there was a considerable advance made towards it in the latter end of this year, and, for evidence, reports a commission given to the bishops of London and Ely, the lord North, secretary Bourne, sir John Mordaunt, sir Francis Englefield, sir Edward Waldegrave, sir Nicholas Hare, sir Thomas Pope, sir Roger Cholmely, sir Richard Read, sir Thomas Stradling, sir Rowland Hall, serjeant Rastall, Dr. Cole, dean of St. Paul's ; William Cook, Thomas Martin, John Story, John Vaughan, doctors of law ; William Roper, and Randolph Chomley, esquires.

Fox, vol. 3.
p. 781.
*The date of
this com-
mission most
probably to
be referred
to February
1556-7.*

*A commis-
sion to
inquire into
heresy, sedi-
tion, &c.*

These commissioners were empowered to inquire after all persons suspected of Lollardies and heretical opinions : to search for seditious and heretical books, with power to seize them, as well in printers' houses, shops, as elsewhere : to trace and examine concealments, contempts, conspiracies, seditious discourses, and calumnies against the government. It is likewise their business to inquire after persons who refuse to receive the sacrament of the altar, to hear mass, and come to their parish churches : who decline processions, taking holy bread, or holy water, or misbehave themselves in any church, or consecrated place. They are likewise commissioned to call what witnesses they think proper before them, and to tender an oath to the parties prosecuted, to answer such questions as shall be thought serviceable for the discovery of the truth : but then here is a remarkable clause of restraint upon the

commissioners: for it is expressly commanded, that if any MARY.
 person brought before them for heresy, or heretical opinions,
 happen to persist in his error, "he shall be immediately com-
 mitted to his ordinary, there to be used according to the
 spiritual and ecclesiastical laws."

Bp. Burnet,
 pt. 2.
 Records,
 book 2.
 num. 32.

And from hence the reader may perceive, there was nothing
 of the face, process, or power, of an inquisition in this instru-
 ment. The commissioners had no authority to try heterodoxy,
 or put the offenders "upon making an act of faith." On the
 contrary, they are commanded to deliver them up to their
 ordinaries: and here the proceedings against them were to be
 governed by the laws of the Church. Besides, the commis-
 sioners, it may be, not liking their employment, did little in
 the business, especially as to the searching after prohibited
 books. To quicken the execution of this part, a proclamation
 was published. Here the queen complains of the importing
 seditious and treasonable books, and that pamphlets of the
 same malignant tendency were printed at home, and dispersed.
 This complaint was not without reason: for, besides the
 "Treatise of Politic Power," already mentioned, Knox and
 Goodman had lately printed their "Blasts against the Govern-
 ment of Women." Goodman, in his performance, calls the
 queen traitoress, bastard, Proserpine, and other coarse names.
 This Goodman raised another battery against all government:
 part of the title is, "Wherein Superior Powers may by God's
 Word be lawfully resisted." As the provocation was great,
 the proclamation runs high, and strains the constitution: for
 the instrument sets forth, "that upon whomsoever any of the
 said wicked or seditious books are found, after this notice
 given; or, in case those that find them, do not immediately
 burn them, without showing or reading the same to any other
 persons, they shall be reputed and taken for rebels, and
 executed accordingly by martial law."

Heylin.

June 6,
 1558.

Wood,
 Athen.
 Oxon.

Heylin's
 Hist. Re-
 form. p. 79.

This proclamation, though sufficiently arbitrary, was not
 altogether so surprising as another which came out the same
 month. It was published at Newgate, and in Smithfield, at the
 burning of seven Protestants: and here all persons were com-
 manded neither to pray for, nor to speak to those who suf-
 fered: this, to speak softly, was unprecedented rigor, and the
 last excess of persecution¹.

Fox, p. 878.

¹ This was indeed "out-Heroding Herod."

POLE,
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405.

Fox.
Heylin.
*The re-
formed had
congrega-
tions in
London.*

Notwithstanding the strictness of this uncharitable order, Bentham, a clergyman, who officiated at a private congregation in London, ventured to break through it. When the fire was kindled, he spoke aloud to the company, told them "that those who suffered were certainly the people of God: therefore," says he, "we cannot choose but wish them well, and say, God strengthen them." After this, he gave an instance of the courage he recommended, and spoke out boldly, "Almighty God, for Christ's sake, strengthen them." Upon this, all the people cried, "Amen, Amen:" and here the noise was so great, and made by so many, that the officers were almost over-set, and thought it to no purpose to seize any single person.

By the way, Bentham was not the only reformed clergyman who had a congregation in London, for, notwithstanding Bonner's sanguinary temper, the reformed bore up bravely against the persecution, and kept on their religious meetings, though at the utmost hazards; and Bentham's church, (for so I shall call it) though without a steeple, had sometimes two hundred in the audience.

A great many books, as hath been observed already, were sent over from beyond sea, to support the spirits of the reformed, and enable them to defend their religion. As to the English refugees, they had little shelter amongst the Lutherans, excepting at Embden. The rigid Lutherans had a strong aversion for our Reformation; the dissent of the English from these Germans in the points of ubiquity and consubstantiation, was not to be forgiven. The distance and disgust upon this score went so far, that Peter Martyr takes notice a friend of his in the dukedom of Saxony, was generally hated by his countrymen for entertaining some few of the English exiles. And Peter Martyr observes with regret, that many of these stiff Lutherans, called the English who suffered for religion, the "devil's martyrs." John Alasco and his company, in their passage through Germany, seem to have contributed to this ill opinion: for these Polanders coming from England, and declaiming coarsely against Luther, the Augustin confession, and the ceremonies of that church, made the Lutherans apt to conclude the English were of the same sentiment.

P. Martyr.
Epistol.
*The Lu-
therans had
an ill opinion
of the Eng-
lish Re-
formation,
and why.*
Melaneth.
in Epist.
Oct. 8.
A. D. 1558.

This year there were great numbers in England died of a pestilential fever, and quartan-ague. These distempers seized those mostly who were advanced in years; thirteen bishops

died within less than twelve months, and the mortality reached such numbers of the priests that in many parishes there was no parson to officiate. MARY.

The queen was carried off by a dropsy, to which she had been inclined for some time: the physicians mistook her distemper till it was grown too strong to deal with. It is said the wars, in which the king her husband was involved, the death of her father-in-law the emperor, and especially the loss of Calais, afflicted her extremely. These accidents struck in with the disease, and made a fatal impression upon her constitution: she died at St. James's on the seventeenth of November. The funeral service was performed at Westminster in the customary manner, and on the thirteenth of December, she was buried on the north side of king Henry VII.'s chapel. The sermon at this solemnity was preached by White, bishop of Winchester: he made his discourse upon these words, "A living dog is better than a dead lion." He was very strong in his panegyric upon queen Mary, but not without some satirical inuendos and strokes of disadvantage on queen Elizabeth. For this he was afterwards questioned by the privy council, and ordered to keep his house; and being called before the board a second time, received a reprimand and had his liberty. *The queen's death.*

There was another funeral sermon preached for queen Mary, by Dr. Fecknam, abbot of Westminster: his text was, "Laudavi mortuos magis quam viventes, sed feliciorum utroque judicavi, qui necdum natus est," *i. e.*, Wherefore, I praised the dead, which are already dead, more than the living which are yet alive; yea, better is he than both they, which has not yet been. Eccles. ix. 4.

This preacher, when he comes to touch upon the queen's character, gives the audience a hint of the "traverses of her fortune, and the troubles she had met with. And here he commends her for her patience and resignation to Providence. And that no person gave better signs of integrity and religious disposition than this princess. He adds, that to put herself in mind of the close relation between the prince and subject, she used a ring as an emblem of being married to the kingdom; and that she never forgot to make her conduct answerable to this ceremony. She was remarkable, as he goes on, for her clemency, for her compassion to the poor, and for her benefactions to the Church. And here he takes notice of her restor-

POLE,
Abp. Cant.

ing several abbeys and church ornaments, taken away in the late reigns. Amongst other instances of commendation, he mentions her bringing religion to the old state and form : and particularly, that she declined being called head of the Church ; which title was never usurped by any prince for fifteen hundred years after Christ. Neither was the laying aside this indefensible addition an implicit resignation to custom. No, her majesty was well prepared to account for what she did. She considered that after Zacharias was dead, Onias, the prince, assumed the priest's office ; that this encroachment had a very unhappy issue ; that God struck him with leprosy, for exceeding his commission. And thus the prophecy of David was fulfilled upon him, ' Imple faciem eorum ignominia.' She would argue, continues this preacher, how can a woman be head of the Church, who by the Scripture is forbidden to speak in the Church ? Upon this principle, the Church must have a dumb head. But this can by no means be maintained : for it is part of the functions of the head of the Church to preach there. Besides, the head of the Church is obliged to offer sacrifice for the sins of those departed : but we do not read, either in the Old or New Testament, that ever a woman sacrificed. He proceeds to tell the audience how uncomfortable this princess's life had been ; and that, abating the satisfaction she took in the exercise of religion, few people had less pleasure than herself.

406.

" From hence he goes on to commend her for her patience in her last sickness : with what devotion she received the sacraments, and prepared for her passage into the other world : that she repeated the Psalms, used in the offices of the Church, without book. And, in short, that considering her resignation, and the piety of her behaviour, if an angel had been mortal, saith he, he could scarcely have gone off with more advantage. And, lastly, notwithstanding he believed her in a state of happiness, yet, because it would be rash to pronounce upon people in the other world, he thought it advisable to comply with the common custom, and therefore desires the audience to join with him in praying for her soul." And now turning his discourse from queen Mary to queen Elizabeth, he wishes the latter a prosperous reign : and that " she may see her children's children, and peace upon Israel."

Cotton.
Libr. Vespasian. D.18,
fol. 94.

But this sermon apart, it may be affirmed without panegyric

that the queen's private life was all along strict and unblemished. It must be said that religion had the over-balance, the other world was uppermost with her, and she valued her conscience above her crown. But her zeal was ill-directed; she was under an unhappy management: Gardiner and Bonner, and some few others of resembling bigotry, seem to have pushed her upon severities beyond her temper. That she was not of a vindictive, implacable spirit, may be inferred from her pardoning most of the great men in Northumberland's rebellion. She was well furnished with resolution, and I may say with martial vigour, when occasion called for it; as appears by her behaviour upon Wyatt's insurrection: for in her speech at Guildhall, when the danger was not formidable, she declared herself ready to march in person against that rebel. That the public interest, and the honour of the kingdom was much her concern, may be collected from the stand she made upon the pope's encroachment in obtruding a new legate, and the deep melancholy she fell into upon the loss of Calais.

MARY.

Something further of her character.

Besides her founding some religious houses, and returning impropriations, tenths, and first-fruits, to the Church, she built the public schools in Oxford, which continued for that service till the reign of king James I., when they were taken down to make way for a much nobler structure.

During her reign, and possibly by the encouragement of her example, there were two colleges founded in this university. Sir Thomas Pope, one of king Henry's abbey visitors, had a grant from the crown of a small college in Oxford, founded by the bishop and prior of Durham, for a nursery to their monastery. To the lands belonging to this house, this gentleman adding some other estate of his own, founded Trinity-college, and settled a maintenance for a president, twelve fellows, twelve scholars, besides officers and servants.

Two colleges founded in Oxford.

Sir Thomas White's was a nobler benefaction: this worthy person, who was lord mayor of London, built and founded St. John Baptist's College. This foundation is endowed with lands for a president, fifty fellows and scholars, not to mention the officers and servants belonging to the chapel. The college preferments are generally filled from Merchant Tailors' School, in London, of which company the founder was a member.

Wood's Antiq. Oxon.

To proceed: cardinal Pole survived the queen but sixteen

POLE,
Abp. Cant.
*Cardinal
Pole's death
and cha-
racter.*

hours: he had been for some time languishing under a double quartan, and though his recovery was unlikely, yet it is thought the news of the queen's death precipitated his own.

Some few days before his death, when he despaired of the queen's recovery, and had little or no prospect of his own, he sent a letter to the princess Elizabeth, by Holland, his chaplain, dean of Worcester. The design of it was to satisfy the princess, that he had acted nothing against her, and that no part of the unacceptable usage she had met with was owing to his advice. The message the dean was charged withal, it is likely, was to fortify the contents of the letter, in case of any objection. And since the princess was the next in the succession, and so very near mounting the throne, it is highly probable the dean was to recommend the supporting the Roman Catholic religion; to show the danger of unsettling the Church, and argue from the topics of interest and duty. The reader shall have the cardinal's own words in the records.

Biblioth.
Cotton.
Vespasian.
F. III.
Records,
num. 75.

As to his character, it may be partly collected from what has been already delivered. However, some things not falling within the course of the history may be reported here. At the calling the council of Trent, Paul III. made Pole one of his legates there, and joined him in commission with the cardinals Monte and Santacroce, afterwards higher distinguished by the names of Julius III. and Marcellus II. Paul III. had a great opinion of Pole's learning and judgment. He often consulted this cardinal, and made use of his pen in affairs of religion. For instance, Pole drew the pope's answer to the interim proposed by the Germans; he likewise penned the reply to the imperial ambassador's remonstrance against the council's being translated from Trent to Bononia. He was a very exemplary person: nothing could be more regular and better guarded than his conduct. The retiredness of his temper, and his inclination for study, did not govern him so far as to make him unfit for public business. He was of a modest unpretending behaviour, and his good nature made him willing to overlook the advantages of his birth and station. However, the port of his family, and his figure on public occasions, was not unbecoming his quality. Notwithstanding his interest at court, he never solicited the queen on his own behalf. He declined the opportunities of enriching himself by his legatine character; would neither accept presents, nor suffer his ser-

Bacatell.
Vit. Poli.
p. 33.

wants to receive any : and as to the surplusage of his revenues, ^{MARY.} he turned it to charity and pious uses. He made Prioli, a ^{Id.} noble Venetian, with whom he had maintained a long and intimate acquaintance, his executor. This gentleman undertook the trust, but refused to receive any advantage of Pole's bounty, reserving nothing to himself of what belonged to the cardinal, excepting his breviary and diurnal. ^{Id.}

As to the prosecutions of the reformed, the cardinal seems to have been overruled in his temper, and gone off in some measure from those gentle methods he had formerly recommended. Whether he was overset by the court of Rome, and gave way for the pope's satisfaction, is somewhat uncertain. But let this be as it will, it is certain he cannot be excused from being concerned in the persecution. For instance, he gave a commission for the trial of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, at Oxford, and connived at the cruelties of Harpsfield and Thornton, in his own diocese.

And, farther, he granted a commission to this Nicholas Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury ; Robert Collins, bachelor of law, commissary-general for the diocese of Canterbury ; Richard Fossett and Hugh Turnbole, doctors in divinity ; to John Mills, Hugh Glasier, and John Warren, bachelors in divinity, and prebendaries of Canterbury ; to inquire into, and try persons of heretical pravity ; and in case they were convicted, to oblige them to abjure. And if they continued obstinate, to deliver them over to the secular power, "*si facti atrocitas ita exposceret.*" This commission is dated from Lambeth, 28th of March, 1558.

407.

About four months after, the cardinal returned a significavit into the court of Chancery, signifying, that John Cornford, Christopher Brown, John Hurst, Catherine Knight, and Alice Snoth, had been brought before the commissaries above-mentioned, and convicted of heresy : upon this process he remits them to the justice of the secular magistrate.

Regist.
Pole. fol. 29.

It must be allowed, however, he preserved two-and-twenty at one time, who otherwise would, in all likelihood, been destroyed by Bonner ; for they were seized in Essex, and brought up prisoners to London. But the cardinal interposed for their rescue, and contrived them a gentle and ambiguous confession of faith. This form running with an easy latitude, and lying smooth upon their conscience, they made their submission, and

See Records,
num. 76.

POLE,
Abp. Cant.

Fox, vol. 3.
p. 783, 785,
786.

were discharged. That these persons had all been sentenced to the stake—that they all, I say, had been thus disposed of, appears by Bonner's own letter. What then prevented their doom? Why, Bonner was afraid of losing the cardinal's friendship by such barbarities. His eminency, it seems, had formerly shown his dislike of Bonner's proceedings. This sanguinary prelate, therefore, sends to him now to know his pleasure.

After all, it is true, he was far from having a good opinion of the Reformation: the divisions amongst the Protestants, and their want of discipline; their disregard of the priesthood, and seizing the church revenues; these things, together with the prepossessions of his education, might probably incline him to think the interest of religion could not be supported without an adherence to the pope, and the countenance of so powerful a see as that of Rome.

But, though his judgment misled him in this matter, it is plain he was governed by motives of conscience. Had money or ambition swayed him, he would certainly have complied with the measures in the two late reigns. Had he then fallen in heartily with the court, no one could have opened a fairer prospect to wealth and greatness than himself; in this case, he would probably have stood foremost in his prince's favour, and gained a preference to Cranmer and Cromwell.

This cardinal died in the nine-and-fiftieth year of his age; the corpse, after having lain in state about six weeks at Lambeth, was conveyed to Canterbury, and solemnly interred in archbishop Becket's chapel.

He wrote several books, besides that "*Pro Unitate Ecclesiastica*," and his "*Reformatio Angliæ*."

To mention two of them in print: the first, "*De Consilio*, lib. 1.," the other, "*De summi Pontificis Officio, et Potestate*." And thus I shall take leave of this reign, and the cardinal.

At the conclusion of Mary's reign the readers of Collier will probably like to see how far his views of her character and conduct have been confirmed or invalidated by subsequent historians on the Papal and Protestant sides.

The best informed divines of all orders at the present day seem to have arrived, by all the arguments of reason and experience, at a steady preference for toleration in religion, and a settled abhorrence of persecution for conscience sake. They now look back with a mixed sensation of amazement and horror at the deplorable sophistry of scholastic casuists, who could once convert the revelation of divine love into a source of diabolic cruelty. Diabolic we term it, in the most definite sense of the word; for we believe

persecution, in all its countless manifestations, to be the result of infernal malice, and nothing better. Its artificial disguises, indeed, have been gorgeous and resplendent enough; for Satan's favourite apparition is as an angel of light: but let no man deceive himself,—whenever and wherever he finds the spirit of persecution, there let him recognize the arch Antichrist—the implacable accuser of the brethren. In reading the page of Church history I know of no test of Antichrist so infallible and all-penetrating as this of persecution. The God of the Bible is a God of love, the Gospel of Christ is a Gospel of love, the tradition of the Fathers is a tradition of love. Even Voltaire had divinity or humanity enough to perceive this, and nobly has he pleaded it in his work on toleration; a book written in the brightest of his lucid intervals,—a book which should redeem his name from the infamy that lours over his tomb. But plain and self-evident as the maxims of toleration appear to those who cultivate the love of God and man, in the calm sphere of philosophy and philanthropy, numberless zealots, both of the Papist and Protestant Churches, have been seduced to the opposite vice. Having a zeal towards God, not according to knowledge, but infinitely misguided, they have imprecated fire from heaven on their enemies, or kindled that of earth to exterminate the sincerest of their fellow-creatures. Such has been the conduct of the Christian disciples who knew not of what spirit they were, and who, under pretence of emulating the self-devoted Saviour of men, have followed him that was a murderer from the beginning to the eternal home of murderers. The fatal tendencies to persecution which exhibited themselves in the Papal Church were, by a necessary consequence, communicated to the Protestant Church likewise. Emerging from an atmosphere of hatred and bloody compulsion, Protestantism carried the same contagious pestilence,—she, too, has blood upon her robes. Misanthropy and all its anathemas were repaid with interest on those, who had forgotten that in vice, as in gravitation, action and reaction are equal. In Catholicism, indeed, persecution was more direct, palpable, resolutely professed, and elaborately organised, while in Protestantism it assumed the insidious forms of political oppression, pregnant with crushing disabilities. Both Churches have in this respect sinned grievously, and both Churches alike have been signally punished. Let their punishment teach them the lesson of love for which it was administered: let them now vie with each other in holy devotion and charity, and by mutual tears of repentance wash out the blood of the martyrs, with which they have been so lamentably defiled.

In order that the reader may be able to form a just estimate of the reign of Mary, I shall impartially quote the testimonies on both sides. The following are the remarks of the Roman Catholic historian, Dodd, illustrated by the annotations of Mr. Tierney.

Near two years of queen Mary's reign were passed, and nothing was attempted that looked like persecution for conscience sake. "Many of the reformed, who had neither outraged the papists, nor appeared for the lady Jane, had either the liberty to go beyond sea, or, if they happened to be seized, were dismissed without much difficulty, at their friends' intercession." However, "it must be confessed, that eagerness of temper, and injudicious aversion, carried some of the reformed to practices by no means defensible¹." Both at home and abroad they gave many instances of their uneasy, factious, and rebellious disposition. William Thomas, esquire, who had been clerk of the council in the late reign, and one of Wyatt's adherents, was executed for attempting to assassinate, or advising others to assassinate, the queen. "At his execution he justified his treason, and said he died for his country²." The queen's preacher was shot at, in the pulpit, at St. Paul's-cross. One Fetherstone was put upon personating king Edward VI., and giving a disturbance to the queen's title. Father Peto and Father Eltson, two of the queen's chaplains, were mobbed, and pelted with stones, as they walked in the streets. Robert Mendrain shaved a dog's head, in contempt, and to deride ecclesiastical tonsure. A cat was was hung up in Cheapside with a wafer in her paws, to ridicule the blessed sacrament. When it was presumed that the queen was with child, and public prayers were ordered upon that occasion, several of the reformers who lived in London, and exercised their religion privately, prayed, indeed, for the queen, though after another

¹ Collier, ii. 375. 380.

² Ibid., 362; Wood, Athen. Oxon. i. 90.

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manner; for one person Rose, and many honest citizens, as John Fox is pleased to style them, inserted this clause in their prayer: "That God would either turn the queen's heart from idolatry, or shorten her days." Whereupon, about thirty of these zealots, with their leader, parson Rose, were imprisoned; and notwithstanding the heinousness of their crime, they were comforted by a letter from bishop Hooper, as suffering saints¹. This form of prayer seems to have been a general practice; as appears from an act of parliament made upon the occasion, which declared it to be treason². They also made use of pretended revelations and divine inspirations, to promote the interest of their cause. For "the 15th of July, Elizabeth Croft, a wench about the age of eighteen years, stood upon a scaffold at St. Paul's-cross, all the sermon time; where she confessed, that she, being moved by divers lowd persons thereunto, had, upon the 14th of March last before past, counterfeited certain speeches, in the wall of a house without Aldersgate of London, through the which the people of the whole city were wonderfully molested, for that all men might hear the voice, but not see her person. Some said it was an angel, and a voice from heaven; some the Holy Ghost, &c. This was called 'The Spirit in the Wall.' She had lain whistling, in a strange whistle made for the purpose, which was given her by one Drake, servant to sir Anthony Nevil. Then were there divers companions, one named Myles, clerk of St. Botolph's without Aldersgate, a player, a weaver, Hill, clerk of St. Leonard's, in Foster-lane, and other, confederate with her, which, putting themselves among the press, took upon them to interpret what the spirit said, expressing certain seditious words against the queen, the prince of Spain, the mass, confession, &c."³ This insulting the queen's religion (which was then the Church by law established) was followed by several attempts and practices against the civil government. Udal, Throckmorton, Peckham, sir Anthony Kingston, &c., laid a design to rob the treasury, in order to raise a rebellion. Cleber, or Cleobury, with the three Lincolns, &c., appeared at the head of an insurrection in Norfolk; and, about the same time, Dudley, Ashton, and others, practised with the French king, to make an invasion; which was attempted not long after, when Stafford and a gang of fugitives landed in Yorkshire, and seized Scarborough-castle⁴. It was also thought by many that the loss of Calais might, in a great measure, be attributed to certain English reformers abroad, who took that way to be revenged of the queen, and king of Spain. For, indeed, they left no stone unturned to embroil the nation: especially those of the Geneva

¹ Fox, iii. 93, 95; Stowe, 626; Heylin, 217; Collier, ii. 370. 375. 379. [To the outrages here mentioned, may be added that of Flower, an apostate monk of Ely, who, entering St. Margaret's church, at Westminster, during the time of the communion, attacked one of the assistant priests with a knife, and seriously wounded him (Strype, iii. 212). For his offence, Flower was condemned to the stake, having previously, "for the more terrible example," had his right hand cut off. (Privy Council Book in Archaeologia, xviii. 181.) Flower's "martyrdom" is, of course, related by Fox, iii. 199—203.—T.]

² Stat. 1 and 2 Phil. et Mar. cap. 9. [By the last clause in the act, however, it was provided, that any persons already committed for this offence, might, by expressing their sorrow, and submitting themselves to the queen's mercy, obtain a commutation of the capital punishment, for any other penalty, at the discretion of the court.—T.]

³ Stow, 624.

⁴ Burnet, ii. 301, 302, 326. Rec. 284; Stow, 626. 628. 630, 631; Strype, iii. 336; Philipeter, 70; Heylin, 228, 229. 242. [That Elizabeth was implicated in Dudley's conspiracy is certain. Before the plot was ripe, Henry, the French king, had concluded a truce with the English crown. The plans of the confederates were therefore frustrated; the design of an insurrection was abandoned for the present; and Henry, through the agency of his ambassador, hastened to advise Elizabeth, as to the course which it would be prudent to adopt. "Et surtout eviter," says he, "que Madame Elizabeth ne se remue en sorte du monde, pour entreprendre ce que m'ecrivez: car ce seroit tout gaster, et perdre le fruit qu'ilz peuvent attendre de leurs desseins, qu'il est besoign traicter et mener a la longue." Noailles, v. 299.—T.]

faction, who were, by much, the stronger party of the reformed English Church. Knox and Goodman were so open, as not only to attack the queen's title, but to urge the argument against all womankind, as to any right or capacity of governing. Nor were the rest much better employed. "Such of the English as had retired to Geneva, employed themselves in setting out a new translation of the Bible, in the English tongue, which afterwards they published, with certain marginal notes upon it, most of them profitable for the understanding of the text; but so, that some were heterodox in point of doctrine, some dangerous and seditious in reference to the civil magistrate, and some as scandalous in respect of episcopal government¹." Again, a kind of remonstrance and libel was sent over into England, as it imported, in the name of the exiles abroad. "They endeavour to alarm the nobility, by presenting a prospect of losing their abbey-lands; and, to make the danger more formidable, they prestage the loss of their liberties²."

"These, it must be owned, were very unjustifiable sallies. What could be more provoking to the court, than to see the queen's honour aspersed, their religion insulted, their preachers shot at in the pulpit, and a lewd imposture played against the government? Had the reformed been more smooth and inoffensive in their behaviour,—had the eminent clergy of that party published an abhorrence of such unwarrantable methods, it is possible, some may say, they might have met with gentler usage, and prevented the persecution from flaming out³." But "the governors of the church exasperated by these provocations, and the queen charging Wyatt's rebellion on the Protestant party, she agreed on the reviving some ancient statutes made in the time of Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V., for the severe punishment of obstinate heretics, even to death itself⁴." Yet the point was a long time debated, before they came to a resolution. It is commonly said, that the emperor, king Philip, cardinal Pole, and the queen herself,

¹ Heylin, 230, 234. [Knox's book, against the government of women, was entitled "The First Blast of the Trumpet:" that of Goodman professed to be a treatise, "How superior powers ought to be obeyed of their subjects, and wherein they may lawfully, by God's law, be disobeyed and resisted; wherein is declared the cause of all this present misery in England, and the only way to remedy the same. 16mo. Geneva, 1558." The book is a violent incentive to rebellion. Whittingham, the fellow-labourer of Knox, wrote the preface, and Kethe, another of the Genevan exiles, appended to it the following metrical summary of its principles:

- "Whom fury long fostered, by sufferance and awe,
Have right rule subverted, and made will their law;
Whose pride how to temper this truth will thee tell:
So as thou resist may'st, and yet not rebel.
- "Rebellion is ill, to resist is not so,
When right true resisting is done to that foe,
Who seeks but by ruin against right to reign,
Not passing what perish, so she the spoil gain.
- "A public weal wretched, and too far disgraced,
Where the right head (Lady Jane Grey) is off-cut, and a wrong instead placed;
A brute beast untamed, a misbegotten,
More meet to be ruled than rule over men.
- "A marvellous madness, if we will behold,
What sighs shall assure men to see themselves sold;
And yet, when from slavery their friends would them free,
Do stick to their foes, so still slaves to be."

On which Strype remarks, that "such treating of the queen did, no question, irritate her much, and provoke her to issue out such angry declarations of her mind, and resolutions of taking vengeance of all such like book-writers, or book-readers." iii. 460.—7.]

² Collier, ii. 383.

³ Collier, ii. 371.

⁴ Heylin, 217.

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were for lenity ; and, as she acted otherwise, it is believed she was overruled by Gardiner, Bonner, and other leading men of the council, who, being better acquainted with the violent temper of some of the reformers, and how apt they would be to take all opportunities of rising against the government in defence of their religion, judged there was no other way of putting a stop to their attempts, than by terrifying the party by some instances of justice ; which, as it usually happens, degenerated into something like cruelty : as it seems to be the present case, when the persecution fell upon a number of poor illiterate wretches, who threw away their lives more like enthusiasts, than upon any rational conviction¹."

² [As Dodd has intimated, the subject of persecution was frequently discussed among the members of the council, before it was finally determined to resort to it. Early in November, 1554, the decision of those in favour of violent measures was laid before the queen ; and, in a few days, she returned the following answer :—"Touching punishment of heretics, we thinketh it ought to be done without rashness, not leaving, in the meanwhile, to do justice to such as, by learning, would seem to deceive the simple : and the rest so to be used, that the people might well perceive them not to be condemned without just occasion, whereby they shall both understand the truth, and beware to do the like. And, especially within London, I would wish none to be burnt, without some of the council's presence ; and, both there and everywhere, good sermons at the same." The paper which contains this reply is in Collier (371, 372) and Burnet (ii. Rec. 263) and commences with an instruction to "such as have commission to talk with my lord cardinal, at his first coming." It has been thought that the date, thus distinctly marked, would disprove the conversation between Pole and Gardiner, in Hume (c. xxxvii), inasmuch as Pole had evidently not yet arrived. But the argument detailed by the historian is expressly said to have occurred after the revival of the statutes against heretics, in the following December, and, consequently, after the arrival of the legate ; and though much of it is clearly dressed up by the imagination of the writer, yet, that some such discussion took place, is distinctly asserted both by Burnet (ii. 278) and Heylin (217).

The reader has seen in the text, that the statutes to which I have just referred were the three acts passed in the reigns of Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V., for suppressing the heresy of the Lollards. (See this Hist. i. 157. 162.) On the 12th of December, a bill for their revival was brought into the commons : three days later it was carried up to the lords ; and on the 18th of the same month it was passed without a dissenting voice (Journals of Commons, i. 39 ; Lords, i. 477, 478). But if this measure was calculated to alarm the great body of the reformers, it was unable to damp the ardour of those numerous preachers, who, on various charges, had already been committed to prison. From their cells, they addressed the king, the queen, and the two houses of parliament. In one petition, they complained that, "contrary to all laws of justice, equity, and right," they had been imprisoned, plundered, and defamed ; they demanded to be forthwith heard in their own defence ; and they engaged to show that the tenets for which they were accused as heretics were, in reality, the only "true doctrines of Christ's Catholic Church." (Fox, iii. 97.) In a second petition, their language became even more bold. They called on the king and queen, and the other branches of the legislature, to repent of their enormities, in repealing the godly statutes of the last two reigns : they denounced "the Romish superstitions and vain service, which, by the popish, proud, covetous clergy, had been placed again, in contempt of God's word, all heaven, and all the Holy Ghost's lessons, in the blessed Bible : " they charged the queen with breaking her engagements, the parliament with violating the right of conscience, with introducing heresy and idolatry, and committing acts of "robbery and cruelty, such as in Turkey were never used ; " finally, they demanded to be heard in public, where, they continued, "if we be not able both to prove and approve, by the Catholic and canonical rules of Christ's true religion, the Church homilies and service, set forth in the most innocent king Edward's days, and also to disallow and reprove, by the same authorities, the service now set forth, since his departing : then we offer our bodies, either to be

During the debate concerning the revival of the aforesaid laws, several books were published, for and against persecution for conscience' sake; wherein were handled the convenience and necessity of putting such laws in execution, upon the present juncture of affairs, with what could be alleged against such proceedings. Against persecution on the score of religion, it was alleged, that, God being the only judge of conscience, the magistrate had no jurisdiction there, so as to force obedience; that faith being a gift of God, and depending solely upon him, why should any one pretend to punish another, because God had not bestowed that gift upon him? that it would be irrational to persecute and punish a person because he was subject to some corporal defect, or had less wit than his neighbour; that the weapons of Christians were not carnal, but spiritual; that arguments, exhortations, prayers, and good life, were more suitable to the Gospel than fire and faggot; that as it was impossible to compel the assent, so the attempt was both irrational and tyrannical; and that such a proceeding might make men hypocrites, and damn them, but never would make them believers. It was added, that St. Paul declares, "We lord it not over your faith¹:" that the Gospel pronounces against pluck-

immediately burned, or else to suffer whatsoever other painful and shameful death that it shall please the king and queen's majesty to appoint." (Strype's Cramer, Appendix, 196.)

The violence of these addresses was not calculated to mollify the advocates of severity. Yet the policy or propriety of enforcing the revived statutes still continued to be debated in the council. If the bishop, according to the representation of his enemies, advised a recourse to persecution, the cardinal, by the confession of the same parties, as strenuously opposed it; nor was it but under the conviction, that a few examples would suffice to strike terror into the Gospellers, that the power of the law was ultimately lost loose against them (Burnet, ii. 278. 282; Heylin, 217).

It was, probably, the intemperate conduct of Rose, mentioned in the text, that immediately provoked the first sanguinary demonstration on the part of the government. On the evening of new-year's day, that reformer, with his companions, was apprehended. On the 28th of the same month, a commission, with Gardiner at its head, was opened for the trial of the chief prisoners. Eight persons were brought before the court, Hooper and Farrar, the deprived bishops of Gloucester and St. David's, Rogers, a prebendary of St. Paul's, Saunders, rector of Allhallows in London, Taylor, rector of Hadley in Suffolk, and two others named Cardmaker and Crome. Of these, Cardmaker, who was a canon of Wells, pretended to recant; Crome requested and obtained a delay of two months; Ferrar was remanded without trial; and the remaining five, having refused to subscribe to the doctrines of the Church of Rome, were first excommunicated, and then delivered to the civil magistrate to be burnt (Fox, iii. 96; Strype, iii. 238, 209). On the 9th of the following month, six others were sentenced in a similar manner by Bonner; but, the next day, Alphonso di Castro, a Spanish friar, confessor to the king, ascended the pulpit, and, in the presence of the court, loudly condemned these inhuman and unchristian proceedings. For a moment, the spirit of intolerance seemed to quail. The execution of the prisoners was suspended; all further prosecutions in cases of heresy were arrested; nor was it until some of the excesses mentioned in the text had again provoked the anger of government, that, at the end of five weeks, (March 16) the fires of persecution were rekindled. (Fox, iii. 149; Strype, iii. 309; Burnet, ii. 284).

To the atrocities which ensued allusion will afterwards be made. To detail them would be a revolting task: the mind would shudder, the heart sicken, at the recital. Suffice it, therefore, to say, that the persecution continued to rage until the death of Mary. At times, indeed, a momentary suspension of cruelty seemed to indicate the presence of a milder spirit; but the illusion was quickly dissipated. New commissions were issued, new barbarities were enacted, and a monument of infamy was erected, which, even at the distance of three centuries, cannot be regarded without horror. One of the commissions may be seen in the Appendix, No. XXVIII.—7.]

¹ 2 Cor. i. 23.

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ing up tares from amongst the good corn, till the last day : that it was to be done by the hands of the angels ; in fine, that none were for persecution, but such as were in power ; and that, commonly, it was nothing but revenge, and some temporal consideration, that prompted them to it. For persecution, it was alleged : that the Church of God not being an invisible community, but a visible society of men, consisting of superiors and inferiors, there ought to be some expedient to restrain refractory members, in point of behaviour ; that, though the civil magistrate could not claim any jurisdiction in spiritual matters, by the strength of his character, yet the ecclesiastical minister had a power from Christ to inspect, advise, correct, punish, &c. ; otherwise God had provided worse for the peace of his Church than for that of the civil government. Hence they inferred, that, though errors against faith were only punishable by God, or by his Church, with spiritual censures ; yet, as they affected society, and influenced mankind, in order to disturb the peace of the civil or ecclesiastical government, they fell under the cognizance of both the magistracies ; that many years' experience had convinced the world that heresy was an immediate disposition towards rebellion, and that an insurrection on account of religion was much more formidable than when persons rose in defence of titles and civil rights, there being no obstinacy equal to that which was rooted in religion ; that, though the conscience could not be compelled, yet methods might be made use of to remove prejudices, and oblige people to make use of such means as Christ had established, to inform the world, and preserve the peace of his Church ; and that both threats and punishments were advisable in such cases,—especially when the government was in danger, by unlawful assemblies, and doctrines of a pernicious tendency. They endeavoured to enforce their arguments by some instances of the old law, where persons were punished with death not only for idolatry, but even for their schismatical behaviour. They also alleged the authority of St. Augustin, who, though he was once of opinion that the law of Christ did not favour persecution upon account of errors against faith, yet he afterwards altered his sentiment, and judged the practice to be both lawful and advisable, in certain cases.

It is sufficient to have mentioned these general heads, which are discussed at large by divines. Now, whether the legislature, in queen Mary's reign, acted prudently in reviving the sanguinary laws, and whether they had a sufficient provocation and inducement to put them in execution, depends altogether upon the circumstances of those times ; and particularly on the behaviour of the persons who had rendered themselves obnoxious. That the queen was in daily apprehension of being disturbed in her title, by the reformed party, is very apparent¹ ; and it is no less certain, that the persecution which followed was one of the expedients she made use of to secure herself. It would be an endless labour to examine the particular behaviour of every person that suffered upon this occasion. In the biographical part of this work, I have given an account of

¹ [In addition to what has been already stated on this subject, I may subjoin the following. On the 25th of May, 1554, Montmorency and Renard, the imperial ambassadors, thus write to their master : " Paget, avec les heretiques, contre le chancelier et les catholiques ; aiant advis la dite dame (Marie) que le dit Paget et ceulx de sa partie s'arment, et que, si ilz peuvent prevenir, ilz prendront prisonnier le dit chancelier, qui avec ses adherens, par le sceu de la dite dame, [s'arme aussi,] la conseilant de partir, le plustôt qu'il pourra, de ceste ville, et de mectre en la tour le conte d'Arondel et Paget, pour ce l'on entend que le dit conte fortifie ung chasteau qu'il a supres de la marine, et fait plusieurs gens de chevaux, sans le congé de la dite dame ; et que, de jour à l'autre, il y vient plusieurs souldars en ce lieu de Londres, par quartre et cinq ; et que Paget pratique plusieurs gentilshommes pour les divertir de l'affection de la dite dame. * * * Et a l'on advis, par particuliers espies, qu'il se brasse une grande revolte, tellement, Sire, que ceste partialité ne se peult appaiser sans grand trouble. * * *

" Le point de la religion, qui fut debattu au dernier parlement, est cause de ce trouble ; et est la dite dame si perplex, qu'elle ne sçait quelle conseil prendre, car elle entend bien, que le tout se fait en faveur de Madame Elizabeth." Apud Tytler, ii. 399, 400.—T.]

the five reformed bishops that were brought to justice, and have omitted nothing material concerning them¹. As to the rest that underwent the same fate, I shall only take notice of them in general. Dr. Heylin says, "The martyrs, in all parts of the kingdom, amounted to the number of two hundred and seventy-seven persons, of all sorts and sexes. But, more particularly, there are said to have perished in these flames, five bishops, twenty-one divines, eight gentlemen, eighty-four artificers, one hundred husbandmen, servants, and labourers, twenty-six wives, twenty widows, nine virgins, two boys, and two infants². Father Persons, who has taken a great deal of pains in looking into the particulars of this account, has said so much concerning the number, opinions, and behaviour to these pretended martyrs, that any one that will but give himself the trouble to peruse what he has published in relation to that affair, will be obliged to own that a great abatement is to be made³. He has made it appear that many of them died for treason; others maintained opinions inconsistent with the doctrine of the reformed Church in England. Some were notoriously scandalous and wicked persons; others distracted, and no better than enthusiasts. In a word, he has made it appear that John Fox, the original compiler of those records, has failed against truth in a vast number of particulars, and made himself suspected in many more; in so much, that a learned Protestant divine says of him, that where John Fox produces records, he may be credited; but as to other relations, he is of very slender authority⁴. However, the bloody reign of queen Mary is the nurse's language to all Protestant children, and an article they are carefully instructed in from their cradle. Not only those that were active in that persecution, but the whole Catholic Church, is charged with those proceedings⁵. They were the

¹ [Cranmer, Hooper, Ridley, Latimer, and Farrar.—T.]

² Heylin, 252. [He adds, "Sixty-four more, in those furious times, were presented for their faith, whereof seven were whipped, sixteen perished in prison, twelve buried in dunghills, and many more lay in captivity condemned which were delivered by the opportune death of queen Mary, and the most auspicious entrance of queen Elizabeth, whose gracious government blotted out the remembrance of all former sufferings." (ibid.) Thus it is with all parties: that persecution is only then reprehensible when directed against themselves! Would the Catholics or the Anabaptists of Elizabeth's reign have subscribed to Heylin's eulogy on her "gracious" government?—T.]

³ [In his *Three Conversations of England*, vols. ii. and iii.—T.]

⁴ [Fox was long the oracle, he is still the idol, of Protestant writers. Yet one of the latest and warmest of his admirers can find no better praise for him, than that "he abhorred falsehood, but was very often deceived." (Mackintosh, ii. 333.) In another place, the same writer says, "The stories in Fox's *Martyrology* are not, indeed, to be indiscriminately believed. That honest, but zealous and credulous writer, would himself reject the commendation of impartiality." (ibid. 329.) In a Catholic writer, perhaps such "zeal" would scarcely obtain the praise of honesty.]

As to the number and character of the sufferers, certain it is, that no allowances can relieve the horror, no palliatives can remove the infamy, that must for ever attach to these proceedings. The amount of real victims is too great to be affected by any partial deductions. Were the catalogue limited to a few persons, we might pause to examine the merits of each individual case; but when, after the removal of every doubtful or objectionable name, a frightful list of not fewer than two hundred still remains, we can only turn with horror from the blood-stained page, and be thankful that such things have passed away.—T.]

⁵ [On this point, even sir James Mackintosh can descend to utter a remark, which should have belonged only to a more ignoble name. "It was," says he, "the first measure of the restored Church of Rome;" (ii. 319.) and yet, only a few pages farther, he acknowledges that, "of fourteen bishoprics, the Catholic prelates used their influence so successfully, as altogether to prevent bloodshed in nine, and to reduce it within limits in the remaining five." (ii. 323.) How much more just is the observation of Mr. Tytler! "The truth," says he, "seems to be, that the principle of toleration, whether we look to Catholics or Protestants, was utterly unknown. In this respect, Gardiner and Knox,

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proceedings of the legislative power of England; and that power alone is answerable, if any thing was done amiss. I dare not presume to call the supreme court of judicature to account. Thus much I dare venture to advance in their behalf: if persecution upon account of conscience is a doctrine to be allowed of; if the legislature judged it proper to revive the ancient laws in that case; if several bishops, clergy, and others, were become delinquents, by disobeying and deserting the communion of that Church, in which they were baptized and educated, and, after being reconciled, relapsed again into the errors they had renounced;—where this was the case, could there ever be a greater provocation, or better grounds to put such laws in execution? All that seems particular in queen Mary's reign, was an excess in the manner, either in punishing too many, or, may be, now and then, improper persons; a mismanagement those only seem answerable for who were immediately concerned to see the law executed. Bishop Bonner is chiefly mentioned, for having a hand in the rigorous executions of this reign. I will not say how far zeal for religion, warmth of temper, or some other less commendable circumstances, might induce him to distinguish himself upon the occasion. There is neither prudence nor charity in prying too nearly into men's intentions. It may be said, in his behalf, that, London being the stage where most of the offenders were to make their appearance, it is a thing not to be wondered at, if we find the bishop of that see more active than any of the rest in seeing the laws executed; and it must be attributed to his being bishop of London (if it is true what Heylin affirms), that he alone brought two hundred to the stake. As for other parts of the kingdom, great moderation was used; for "in all the province of York, I find none brought unto the stake but George Marsh of Chester, condemned thereto by bishop Cotes; and not much more to have been done in the four Welsh dioceses, in which, besides the burning of bishop Farrar at Caermarthen, by bishop Morgan, and of Rawlins and White at Cardiff, by bishop Kitchen, no extraordinary cruelty seems to have been acted. In the dioceses of Wells, Exeter, Peterborough, and Lincoln,—though this last is the greatest in the kingdom,—I find mention but one a-piece, of two in Ely, and of no more than three a-piece at Bristol and Salisbury. In those of Oxon, Gloucester, Worcester, and Hereford, I find none at all." And, indeed, the generality of the bishops were persons of great compassion, and no friends to persecution; and if any cruelty was shown, it was by some leading men at court, and upon such persons as remarkably misbehaved themselves, in insulting the religion then by law established. What can be said in their justification (if regard be had to the cause for which they suffered) is not my present purpose to determine. It is certain the reformers abroad had but a very indifferent opinion of their behaviour, since the Lutherans called the English, who suffered for religion, the devil's martyrs².

To these observations of Dodd we subjoin the following remarks of Hume:—

"The success which Gardiner, from his cautions and prudent conduct, had met with in governing the parliament, and engaging them to concur both in the Spanish match, and in the re-establishment of the ancient religion, two points to which it was believed they bore an extreme aversion, had so raised his character for wisdom and policy, that his opinion was received as an oracle in the council; and his authority, as it was always great in his own party, no longer suffered any opposition or control. Cardinal Pole

Pole and Calvin, Mary and Elizabeth, stand pretty much on the same ground." (Edward and Mary, ii. 210.)

As Pole's name is here mentioned, I may, perhaps, remark, that Mr. Sharon Turner has lately discovered what every other writer has been unable to detect, namely, that the legate was "the instigator of Mary's sanguinary cruelties." (Hist. Mary, 492.) That Pole was not wholly guiltless of persecution, will be readily acknowledged; but that he was generally averse to it, is as certain, as that the first and only commission against heresy, issued within his diocese, was not signed until the last year of his life. (Wilkins, iv. 173, 174.—T.)

¹ Heylin, 226, 227.

² ["Ubi vociferantur quidam, martyres Anglicos esse martyres diaboli."—Melanct. in Epist. Octob. 8, apud Heylin, 250.—T.]

himself, though more beloved on account of his virtue and candour, and though superior in birth and station, had not equal weight in public deliberations; and while his learning, piety, and humanity were extremely respected, he was represented more as a good man than a great minister. A very important question was frequently debated before the queen and council by these two ecclesiastics; whether the laws lately revived against heretics should be put in execution, or should only be employed to restrain by terror the bold attempts of these zealots? Pole was very sincere in his religious principles; and though his moderation had made him be suspected at Rome of a tendency towards Lutheranism, he was seriously persuaded of the truth of the Catholic doctrines, and thought that no consideration of policy ought to come in competition with such important interests. Gardiner, on the contrary, had always made his religion subservient to his schemes of safety or advancement; and by his unlimited complaisance to Henry, he had shown that had he not been pushed to extremity under the late minority, he was sufficiently disposed to make a sacrifice of his principles to the established theology. This was the well-known character of these two great counsellors; yet such is the prevalence of temper above system, that the benevolent disposition of Pole led him to advise a toleration of the heretical tenets which he highly blamed; while the severe manners of Gardiner inclined him to support by persecution that religion which at the bottom he regarded with great indifference. This circumstance of public conduct was of the highest importance; and from being the object of deliberation in the council, it soon became the subject of discourse throughout the nation. We shall relate, in a few words, the topics by which each side supported, or *might* have supported, their scheme of policy; and shall display the opposite reasons, which have been employed with regard to an argument that has ever been, and ever will be, so much canvassed." It is perhaps hardly necessary to say, as Mackintosh observes, that the arguments put into the mouths of these two statesmen are but ingenious inventions of Hume to give the usual arguments on each side the question. We retain them as an excellent statement of the dispute.

"The practice of persecution, said the defenders of Pole's opinion, is the scandal of all religion; and the theological animosity, so fierce and violent, far from being an argument of men's conviction in their opposite sects, is a certain proof that they have never reached any serious persuasion with regard to those remote and sublime subjects. Even those who are the most impatient of contradiction in other controversies, are mild and moderate in comparison of polemical divines; and wherever a man's knowledge and experience give him a perfect assurance in his own opinion, he regards with contempt, rather than anger, the opposition and mistakes of others. But while men zealously maintain what they neither clearly comprehend nor entirely believe, they are shaken in their imagined faith by the opposite persuasion, or even doubts, of other men; and vent on their antagonists that impatience which is the natural result of so disagreeable a state of the understanding. They then easily embrace any pretence for representing opponents as impious and profane; and if they can also find a colour for connecting this violence with the interests of civil government, they can no longer be restrained from giving uncontrolled scope to vengeance and resentment. But surely never enterprise was more unfortunate than that of founding persecution upon policy, or endeavouring, for the sake of peace, to settle an entire uniformity of opinion in questions which, of all others, are least subjected to the criterion of human reason. The universal and uncontradicted prevalence of one opinion in religious subjects can be owing at first to the stupid ignorance alone and barbarism of the people, who never indulge themselves in any speculation or inquiry; and there is no expedient for maintaining that uniformity, so fondly sought after, but by banishing for ever all curiosity and all improvement in science and cultivation. It may not, indeed, appear difficult to check, by a steady severity, the first beginnings of controversy; but besides that this policy exposes for ever the people to all the abject terrors of superstition, and the magistrate to the endless encroachments of ecclesiastics, it also renders men so delicate that they can never endure to hear of opposition; and they will sometimes pay dearly for that false tranquillity in which they have been so long indulged. As healthful bodies are ruined by too nice a regimen, and are thereby rendered incapable of bearing the unavoidable incidents of

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human life; a people who never were allowed to imagine that their principles could be contested, fly out into the most outrageous violence when any event (and such events are common) produces a faction among their clergy, and gives rise to any difference in tenet or opinion. But whatever may be said in favour of suppressing, by persecution, the first beginnings of heresy, no solid argument can be alleged for extending severity towards multitudes, or endeavouring by capital punishments to extirpate an opinion which has diffused itself among men of every rank and station. Besides the extreme barbarity of such an attempt, it commonly proves ineffectual to the purpose intended; and serves only to make men more obstinate in their persuasion, and to increase the number of their proselytes. The melancholy with which the fear of death, torture, and persecution inspires the sectaries, is the proper disposition for fostering religious zeal: the prospect of eternal rewards, when brought near, overpowers the dread of temporal punishments: the glory of martyrdom stimulates all the more furious zealots, especially the leaders and preachers: where a violent animosity is excited by oppression, men naturally pass from hating the persons of their tyrants, to a more violent abhorrence of their doctrines: and the spectators, moved with pity towards the supposed martyrs, are easily seduced to embrace those principles which can inspire men with a constancy that appears almost supernatural. Open the door to toleration, mutual hatred relaxes among the sectaries; their attachment to their particular modes of religion decays; the common occupations and pleasures of life succeed to the acrimony of disputation; and the same man who in other circumstances would have braved flames and tortures, is induced to change his sect from the smallest prospect of favour and advancement, or even from the frivolous hope of becoming more fashionable in his principles. If any exception can be admitted to this maxim of toleration, it will only be where a theology altogether new, nowise connected with the ancient religion of the state, is imported from foreign countries, and may easily at one blow be eradicated, without leaving the seeds of future innovation. But as this exception would imply some apology for the ancient pagan persecutions, or for the extirpation of Christianity in China and Japan; it ought surely, on account of this detested consequence, to be rather buried in eternal silence and oblivion.

“Though those arguments appear entirely satisfactory, yet such is the subtlety of human wit, that Gardiner and the other enemies to toleration were not reduced to silence; and they still found topics on which to maintain the controversy. The doctrine, said they, of liberty of conscience is founded on the most flagrant impiety, and supposes such an indifference among all religions, such an obscurity in theological doctrines, as to render the Church and magistrate incapable of distinguishing with certainty the dictates of heaven from the mere fictions of human imagination. If the Divinity reveals principles to mankind, he will surely give a criterion by which they may be ascertained; and a prince who knowingly allows these principles to be perverted or adulterated, is infinitely more criminal than if he gave permission for the vending of poison under the shape of food to all his subjects. Persecution may, indeed, seem better calculated to make hypocrites than converts; but experience teaches us, that the habits of hypocrisy often turn into reality; and the children, at least, ignorant of the dissimulation of their parents, may happily be educated in more orthodox tenets. It is absurd, in opposition to considerations of such unspeakable importance, to plead the temporal and frivolous interests of civil society: and if matters be thoroughly examined, even that topic will not appear so universally certain in favour of toleration as by some it is represented. Where sects arise, whose fundamental principle on all sides is to execrate, and abhor, and damn, and extirpate each other, what choice has the magistrate left, but to take part, and by rendering one sect entirely prevalent, restore, at least for a time, the public tranquillity? The political body, being here sickly, must not be treated as if it were in a state of sound health; and an effectual neutrality in the prince, or even a cool preference, may serve only to encourage the hopes of all the sects, and keep alive their animosity. The Protestants, far from tolerating the religion of their ancestors, regard it as an impious and detestable idolatry; and during the late minority, when they were entirely masters, they enacted very severe though not capital punishments against all exercise of the Catholic worship, and even against such as barely abstained from their

profane rites and sacraments. Nor are instances wanting of their endeavours to secure an imagined orthodoxy by the most rigorous executions: Calvin burned Servetus at Geneva: Cranmer brought Arians and Anabaptists to the stake: and if persecution of any kind be admitted, the most bloody and violent will surely be allowed the most justifiable, as the most effectual. Imprisonments, fines, confiscations, whippings, serve only to irritate the sects, without disabling them from resistance; but the stake, the wheel, and the gibbet, must soon terminate in the extirpation or banishment of all the heretics inclined to give disturbance, and in the entire silence and submission of the rest.

MARY.

AN
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

PART II.—BOOK VI.

409. THE queen's death being some hours concealed, was first signi-
1558. fied to the lords lately assembled in parliament. This un-
welcome news struck the house to silence for some time: after-
wards, recollecting themselves, and disguising their concern,
they turned their thoughts to the public. And, first, it was
unanimously resolved to proclaim the princess Elizabeth, found-
ing her right upon the thirty-fifth of Henry VIII., chapter the
first. This being agreed, Heath archbishop of York, and lord
chancellor, sending for the house of Commons, acquainted them
with the queen's death: that the loss of this admirable princess
was so great a calamity to Church and State, that they should
have remained unconsolable, had it not pleased God to have
preserved her sister Elizabeth. And, since she stood next upon
the line, and was by law the undoubted heir of the crown, the
prelates and temporal nobility had all resolved to proclaim her;
and only wanted the concurrence of the other house. Upon
this the commons immediately shouted, one and all, "God save
queen Elizabeth; may her reign be long and prosperous:"
and now the parliament being dissolved upon the demise of
queen Mary, Elizabeth was proclaimed by sound of trumpet,
and strong acclamations, first in the Palace-yard at Westmin-
ster, and afterwards in London.

*Queen
Elizabeth
proclaimed.*

The queen was now but five-and-twenty years old; but her
natural abilities, the nice juncture of the late reign, and the
difficulties she had to deal with, had furnished and improved
her beyond the expectations of her age: and, of this early suf-

ficiency, she gave good proof in the choice of her council. She thought it most advisable to intermix Papists and Protestants at the board: that by this means neither party would despair of her favour, and the balance would be best kept in her own hands¹. The Roman Catholic part were, Nicholas Heath, archbishop of York; William Pawlet, marquess of Winchester, lord treasurer; Henry Fitzallen, earl of Arundel; Francis Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury; Edward Stanley, earl of Derby; William Herbert, earl of Pembroke; Edward, lord Clinton, admiral; and William, lord Howard of Effingham, lord chamberlain; sir Thomas Cheyney, sir William Petre, sir John Mason, sir Richard Sackville, and Dr. Nicholas Wotton, dean of Canterbury: these were all privy-counsellors to the late queen. The others, of the reformed persuasion, as Camden reports, were William Parr, marquess of Northampton; Francis Russell, earl of Bedford; sir Thomas Parr, sir Edward Rogers, sir Ambrose Cave, sir Francis Knolles, and sir William Cecil; to this number sir Nicholas Bacon was soon added. But, that two of this last division conformed to the Roman Catholic religion in the late reign, may easily be collected from their having a share in public business.

At her first entering upon the government, she selected a sort of cabinet council from some few of the Protestant party, and with these she concerted measures for retrieving the Reformation; but this was to be done with great precaution and gradual advances. In the first place, therefore, she took care to settle the magistracy, and secure the kingdom from disturbance. And to prevent confederacies and invasions from abroad, she despatched her ambassadors to keep on the friendship of foreign princes. For instance, sir Thomas Chaloner was sent to the emperor to acquaint him with the queen's inclinations for cultivating the ancient correspondence between the houses of England and Austria. The lord Cobham was dispatched with resembling instructions to the Spanish court in Flanders. This nobleman, and the lord Howard of Effingham, were likewise furnished with powers to go on with the treaty at Cambray, begun in the latter end of the late reign. Besides these, sir Henry Killigrew was privately sent to form an alliance with the Protestant princes in Germany; there

ELIZABETH.

She chooseth her privy-council.

Camden, Elizabeth, p. 18.

Privy-Council's Letter to Sir William Cecil, Sir Robert, Dynith, &c. Council Book.

August 13, 1557.

Bp. Burnet, pt. 2. p. 290.

Privy-Council's letter of thanks to the Earl of Bedford. Council Book.

July 20, 1558, and Sept. 20, 1558.

Ex Biblioth. R. Harley, Armig.

410.

And despatches ambassadors to the principal courts in Christendom.

¹ An admirable stroke of policy.

were likewise ambassadors dispatched to the courts of Denmark and Holstein.

Camden,
Eliz.

*King Philip
courts her.*

*She is some-
time unre-
solved about
the overture.*

Id. in Appa-
rat.

The king of Spain, being informed of his queen's death, ordered the count of Feria, his ambassador at London, to address queen Elizabeth for marriage, giving her an assurance of the pope's dispensation for this purpose. Philip was not only willing to keep his English title and interest, but likewise apprehensive lest the British dominions and Ireland should fall into a union with France by the queen of Scots' pretensions: these are supposed to have been the motives to king Philip's courtship. The queen being thus solicited, was unresolved in her answer for some time. An overture of this kind from so great a prince, and one who had formerly been much her friend, was not suddenly to be refused. That king Philip had done her good offices in her sister's time, is beyond dispute. To lay something of this matter before the reader, it has been already observed that the princess Elizabeth, being suspected of concerting Wyat's insurrection, was kept some time confined, and ruggedly treated. While she was under these hardships, Henry II. the French king, wrote privately to her, professed a great regard, and gave her a strong invitation into France. Christian III. likewise, king of Denmark, who had received Luther's Reformation, courted her privately, for prince Frederick, his son. When some bigoted papists had got wind of this application, they began to threaten her afresh, and cry out that neither religion, the queen, nor the kingdom could be secure as long as this princess was in being. About this time, when the ecclesiastical courts were prosecuting Protestants, as we call them, Dr. Story, and some other warm men, used to declare, that unless they struck at the root of heresy (meaning the princess), the lopping the small branches would signify nothing. The princess, either satisfied in her conscience, or overawed by terror, which is the more likely, went frequently to confession, and complied with the established religion. However, the queen being sensible from herself how far fear might govern practice, questioned her sister's sincerity. And to what degrees of rigour this suspicion might have carried her is somewhat uncertain. But the king made it his business to take off this jealousy, and bring her to a kinder opinion. In short, he screened the princess from farther mischiefs, and

disappointed the ill-will of her enemies. Whether it was pure friendship or state policy is another question. However, the favour was to be interpreted to the fairest sense.

ELIZA-
BETH.

These considerations kept the queen in suspense upon the overture. At last, looking farther into the consequence, she perceived that the marrying the wife's sister was equally forbidden with entering into the same relation with the brother's wife. That such an engagement standing condemned by the Holy Scriptures, the pope's dispensation could never disentangle the matter. Besides, by engaging with her sister's husband, upon the strength of a papal dispensation, she must, by necessary inference, own herself the issue of an unlawful marriage—a marriage which she might think she had no reason to suspect, considering the public determinations, both at home and abroad, in favour of her father's divorce with Katharine of Spain. Upon the whole thought, she returned king Philip's addresses the smoothest refusal, showing herself rather disinclined to marriage, than denying upon any other score. But this prince renewing his application by several letters, seemed to have gotten some ground in her fancy: for she made no scruple to commend him for the reservedness and decency of his behaviour, and that she should value herself in imitating his conduct. This discourse made the Protestant courtiers apprehensive of an impression, and that the king might probably gain her. To prevent this alliance, therefore, they ventured to remonstrate loudly against the haughtiness of the Spaniard: and some of her council she admitted to the highest confidence, told her that herself, her friends, and the kingdom, were perfectly ruined, if she owned the papal authority either in dispensing, or any other matter; that two popes had pronounced her mother's marriage unlawful: and that upon this sentence the queen of Scots had now put up her claim to the English crown: that the pope would never reverse this judgment of his predecessors: that it was in vain to expect justice from the court of Rome, who had shown themselves so partial against her mother: and that the French king was now trying his utmost with that see, that Mary queen of Scots might be declared sovereign of England.

*But at last
she refuseth
it.*

The queen being now wrought to a resolution against the marriage, believed nothing would give a more effectual check to king Philip's importunity, than a speedy alteration in reli-

*She intends
the restoring
the Re-
formation.*

*The dangers
of the enter-
prise con-
sidered.*

411.

gion. Now, therefore, she consulted the cabinet upon the measures for recovering the Church to the condition it was left in by her brother, king Edward. And here, to proceed with the greater security, the danger of the enterprise, together with the method for disentangling the government, was laid before the board. The dangers might be ranged under two heads, either foreign or domestic. From abroad, her majesty might expect the pope would excommunicate her, and encourage an invasion. It was likewise not improbable the French king might make his advantage of the opportunity, break off the treaty at Cambray, and it may be; solicit the queen of Scots to make war upon England: neither was it improbable but that the Irish, being malcontents, and so warmly affected to the Church of Rome, might rise upon the government: and, lastly, the king of Spain's great power in the neighbouring Low Countries, was no favourable circumstance. The remedies in counterbalance were these: as to the pope's excommunication, it was only insignificant noise, powder without ball, and ought to be despised; the French, if they offered a peace, they were to be closed with; if not, it was thought worth the while to court their friendship, since it brought that of Scotland along with it. The Protestants in France and Scotland were to be encouraged, and the divisions in religion fomented: the garrisons in Berwick and upon the borders were to be reinforced; and the same securities provided in Ireland: and that a good correspondence with the Spaniards was to be kept on, and the old alliance with the house of Burgundy renewed.

*The remedies sug-
gested.*

The dangers at home the cabinet foresaw would arise, from the temporal nobility discharged the council-board; from the bishops and other ecclesiastics, who must lose their preferments; from the judges and justices of peace employed in the late reign; and, in short, from all the hearty Papists of wealth and distinction. The way to make these people inoffensive was to throw them out of commission, and bring none but Protestants into the administration, to purge the universities, to place new presidents in the colleges, and turn out the masters at Winchester, Eton, and other schools; that the Papists must not only be put out of business, but care must be taken to sink their character and lessen their interest, as long as they continued of that persuasion. And, if some of them

should happen to comply with the alterations in the Church, they were not to be trusted : it being natural for every man to watch his opportunity for recovering his old ground, and to like that establishment best which himself had a share in settling. And particularly, as to the non-complying bishops, they must be reduced by some new parliamentary provisions : the *præmunire* must be played upon them ; and, when once they were *in misericordia*, they were not to be pardoned without entire submission and conformity ; and that, by hampering them well, and pressing the laws close, her majesty's occasions for money might be somewhat supplied.

ELIZABETH.

That those Protestants who affected improper alterations, and were for throwing the ecclesiastical polity into a new form, ought to receive an early check ; that it was by no means advisable to allow more than one Church ; that the free exercise of different religions would prove an everlasting principle of sedition and disturbance, especially in a nation of so martial a genius as the English. However, to prevent discontents, the reformed Liturgy ought to be reviewed, and made as inoffensive to all parties as may be ; that this affair should be referred to Parker, Bill, May, Cox, Grindal, Whitehead, and Pilkington, these divines being all remarkable for learning and temper ; and that sir Thomas Smith—who is supposed to have drawn this advice—was to bring them together, and have a share in the consultation. That, when the debate was settled, and the performance finished, the book was to be presented to the queen, and, after her approbation, laid before the parliament ; that, besides this committee, other persons of learning and character should have the perusal of the book, to give it a farther reputation ; that, before the reviewed service was published, there must be a strict prohibition of all innovation ; that frequent changes lessened the authority of a government, and therefore ought to be prevented as much as possible. Besides, the giving out orders would suggest an instance of duty to the subject, and train them to the practice of obedience. And, as to her majesty, she may keep to the same form of religion, unless with respect to the communion on high festivals ; at which times her highness may receive with such a latitude of ceremonies as she shall think fit. That, where there are more priests than one at mass, they may all communicate in both kinds. And, for farther relief of her highness's con-

Biblioth.
Cotton.
Julius. F. 6.
fol. 53.
Cambden,
Eliz. p. 22.

science, if need be, the office of the mass may be the seldomer read, and some other devout prayers, or memory, used instead of it. And, lastly, to the question, What noblemen were to be made privy to this design before it was opened to the whole council? the answer was, That none but the marquess of Northampton, the earl of Bedford, the earl of Pembroke, and the lord John Grey, were to be trusted with the secret.

Biblioth.
Cotton.
Julius. F. 6.
fol. 53.
Cambden,
Eliz.

But the queen having discharged those committed for religion in the late reign, and given the exiles leave to return, the inclinations of the court were not difficultly collected. The Protestants, therefore, presuming on the favour of the government, ventured beyond the protection of the constitution; and thus, meeting first in private houses and afterwards in churches, preached their persuasion, and drew great audiences after them. The Papists, on the other side, not dropping their defence, the people began to ruffle and grow warm in the controversy; and thus images were pulled down in several churches, and the priests affronted. The queen, to keep the kingdom quiet and prevent unseasonable squabbling, put out a proclamation for silencing the pulpit, and commanded all disputes of this nature should be forborne; and thus, for some time, none were allowed to preach without a license under the broad seal. But, to give some discovery of what she intended, she allowed the liberty of reading the Epistles, the Gospels, and Ten Commandments, in English, provided it was done without expounding. The Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Litany, might likewise be said in the same language. As to the rest of the service, it was to go on by the rubric of the missals and breviaries till the queen and parliament had farther debated this matter.

*A proclamation
to forbid
preaching.*

To proceed: the day before the coronation, there was a splendid cavalcade from the Tower to Westminster. The queen, before she stepped into her coach, is said to have made a short ejaculation, heard by those near her. She returned God thanks for preserving her to so happy a day; acknowledged her being rescued by Providence from the extremity of danger, comparing it with Daniel's deliverance in the lion's den. She was saluted as she passed with all imaginable marks of duty and affection. Her return to these acclamations was very engaging, both in air and gestures. Her receiving an English Bible was particularly taking in the

manner. It was let down from one of the triumphal arches, and presented by a child representing Truth. When she discovered the present, she first kissed her hands, and then, receiving the book, kissed it, laid it to her heart, promised to read it, and returned the city more thanks for this present than for all the rest of great value she had already received. It must be said she was a great mistress of behaviour, and perfectly understood the art of making herself popular without expense.

ELIZA-
BETH.

412.

The next day she was crowned at Westminster by Owen Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle. The solemnity was performed according to ancient custom, and directed by the Roman pontifical. And here she took the usual oath for preserving the rights and liberties of the Church. None but the bishop of Carlisle could be prevailed with to officiate at the coronation. Archbishop Heath and the rest of that order stood off from this business. They were afraid the impressions of her Protestant education were not worn out. This suspicion was confirmed by her late forbidding a bishop to elevate the host for adoration. Her permitting some of the Church service in English was also much disliked. However, the queen, to give her her due, appeared very religious, came constantly to the closet or chapel at the hours of prayer, and behaved herself there with exemplary devotion. She wore black in Lent, and was very attentive at the sermon, though she used to say she had rather address God Almighty in prayer, and converse more immediately with him, than hear a learned and rhetorical discourse upon the divine attributes. She had honourable sentiments of the use of the cross, of the blessed Virgin and other saints, and never mentioned them without regard and reverence.

Jan. 14,
1558.
*The queen's
coronation.*

Ibid.

The reader may possibly be at a loss why the queen risked her being refused at the coronation by so many bishops of the Roman persuasion : for were not Barlow, Scory, and Coverdale living ? Were not these three prelates all hearty in the Reformation ? Why, then, was not the setting the crown on her head offered to one of these ? To this it may be answered, that these three bishops were then actually deprived ; and the process being not reversed, their character might be questionable. Besides, she had reason to believe these prelates would have scrupled the ceremonial ; and, to have altered it to their

approbation, might probably have drawn a blemish upon the solemnity, and represented her to disadvantage in foreign courts. And, after all, it is possible the old form might sit easy enough upon her mind, and her conscience give her leave to humour the juncture.

In December, this year, the privy council stopped the chief justice Saunders' attachment against Dr. Lewis, judge of the admiralty, brought the cause before the board, and undertook the deciding the controversy. It seems, they did not think it reasonable that either of the parties should overrule the other, or give sentence in their own cause.

Council
Book.
Strype's
Annals,
p. 31.

Upon the queen's accession to the throne, the English exiles at Geneva seemed willing to accommodate the old difference with their brethren, and moved towards a reconciliation.

Dec. 15,
A. D. 1558.

To this purpose they dispatched William Keth, one of their congregation, to the English at Arrow, Basil, Strasburg, Worms, Frankfort, &c. In their letter to those of Arrow and Frankfort, they express a strong inclination to recover a right understanding, and come up to a perfect harmony with the rest of the English. But then their proposals were somewhat narrow and reflecting: they called the ceremonies trifles; they proposed the best reformed Churches—that is, Calvin's congregation—for the measures of agreement. They are sensible that clashing would disserve the Reformation, and report them to disadvantage amongst the Papists: and thus they would gladly have an end put to their former disputes; but then the accommodation must be made upon their own terms.

This letter is subscribed, in the name of the whole Church, by Christopher Goodman, Miles Coverdale, John Knox, Anthony Gilby, William Whittingham, and six others.

The English Church at Frankfort, in their answer to this letter, declare themselves pleased with this friendly overture, but are sorry it came no sooner; for now almost all those of the congregation they contested with at Frankfort were removed. However, they did not question but that they would drop their resentment, and look upon them as brethren. As for ceremonies, the settling that point must neither be referred to the Churches of Frankfort nor Geneva. The divines in England, with the concurrence of the parliament, must put an end to that controversy. They hope the Reformation will recover, and not be clogged with an overweight of

ceremonies ; and, therefore, provided nothing immoral is imposed, they are resolved to acquiesce in the public establishment, and wish their brethren of Geneva may be equally resigning. And, since all the reformed abroad differ in rites and yet agree in doctrine, they see no reason why the English Church may not be allowed the same latitude. However, if any ceremonies really exceptionable shall happen to be put upon them, they promise at their return home to join with them in an address for removing this grievance.

ELIZABETH,

This letter was signed, in the name of the Church, by James Pilkington, Richard Beasley, Henry Knolles, Alexander Nowel, and seven others.

Troubles at Frankfort, 160, et deinceps.

And now the English at Geneva returned home, excepting some few who stayed behind to finish their translation of the Bible. They had already made a version of the Psalms, which they published by itself, and dedicated to the queen.

On the 25th, the parliament met at Westminster. Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper, opened the session with a speech. His discourse, suggesting to the houses the matter upon which they were to go, was ranged under three heads : religion ; redressing grievances ; and reforming the administration. And, lastly, they were to consider the state of the kingdom, the disadvantages lately happening to the crown, and consult about proper remedies. I shall waive the two latter branches, and only give the reader the sense of the first. And here the lord keeper acquainted the houses, “that the honour of God Almighty was the queen’s principal concern ; that this ought to have the preference in their debates ; that religion was the surest basis for the support of the commonwealth ; that the civil administration ought to take its measures from hence, and this world be governed upon the views of the other ; that a discharge of duty in this particular would derive success upon all the rest, but remissness and negligence here must have an unfortunate effect upon other provisions,—for, not being settled upon strength and clearness of principle, they must of course be exposed to question and change. Now, these are circumstances which bring discredit upon a public establishment, and ought to be particularly avoided in matters of faith and religion. For these things, as they are certain and settled in themselves, so we ought to be uniform and constant in our belief and practice.

The parliament meets.

The lord-keeper’s speech concerning religion.

413.

“ Her highness therefore,” continues the lord keeper, “ earnestly requires you, that in regard to the duty you owe to God and her majesty, the concern you have for your country and yourselves, you would recollect your thoughts, and exert your endeavours ; that you would spare no pains for the establishing that which after your utmost inquiry shall be judged most serviceable, and that in managing this debate, no considerations of superiority or power, of interest or pleasure, no ostentation of learning, no contest for victory, may prevail upon you ; and to this purpose, her majesty expects you should decline squabbling, heat of disputation, and scholastic arguing : that such niceties, and methods of contention, are below the dignity of the subject, and unbecoming a parliamentary assembly. Besides, there is a great deal of time unnecessarily spent this way, and when men harangue and wrangle to show their parts, they seldom agree in any serviceable resolves ; and as your own debates ought to be governed by temper, gravity, and good humour, so it is proper that some public provision should be made to check contention and contumelious behaviour without doors ; and that no party language, no terms of reproach, no provoking distinctions should be kept up in the kingdom ; that the names of heretic, schismatic, papist, and such like, should be laid aside and forgotten : for what do these discriminations tend to, unless it be to perpetuate divisions, to encourage faction, to inflame men’s spirits, and make them hate and do mischief to each other ?

“ In the management of this affair, touching religion, two extremes are to be carefully avoided ; on the one hand, there must be a guard against unlawful worship and superstition, and on the other, things must not be left under such a loose regulation, as to occasion indifference in religion, and contempt of holy things. The exemplary punishment of undue worship and superstition, and especially of atheism and immorality, is clear from the history of all ages, and needs not to be particularly recited, and the blessings of Providence are no less remarkable on the contrary practice. And, for your farther encouragement, I think I may affirm, that neither good king Hezekiah nor the noble queen Esther had a stronger zeal to discharge error, and reform what is amiss, than our sovereign lady has to recommend herself to the approbation of God Almighty. Let, therefore, the consideration of our duty to God, the terror of

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his judgments, the sense of his goodness, the love to our country and ourselves, and the encouragement of so inviting an example in the queen, put us upon our best endeavours for providing such laws as may tend to the honour of God, the settlement of his Church, and the repose of the kingdom."—And this was the close of the lord keeper's speech concerning religion.

The convocation met the next day after the parliament: after a mass of the Holy Ghost, Bonner, bishop of London, opened the meeting with a short discourse. For, in the vacancy of the see of Canterbury, the bishop of London was commonly president of the convocation.

Sir Simon D'Ewes' Journal of both Houses of Parliament, p. 12.

But this post was not annexed to the see of London by common right, but by the choice of the dean and chapter of Canterbury: in case a convocation meets when the see of Canterbury happens to be void, the prior and convent formerly, but since the Reformation the dean and chapter, direct a commission to some bishop to represent them; for, being beneath an episcopal character, they are unqualified to preside in person in the upper house: they commonly make the bishop of London their representative upon such occasions; they have the liberty, notwithstanding, of pitching upon any other; and thus, in the convocation held in the year 1532, when the see of Canterbury was void by the death of archbishop Warham, the prior and convent chose the bishop of St. Asaph for their commissioner, who, upon the strength of this representation, presided in the convocation. Farther, they are not tied to the nomination of a single bishop, but may join two or three in the instrument for this purpose: and thus it happened at present, the bishops of Worcester and Coventry being joined in commission with Bonner.

Journal of Convocation, fol. 53. 97.

This prelate told them, that notwithstanding a Latin sermon had been customary upon such occasions, yet now it was not to be expected. The chief reason was, because the council had forbidden any sermons in that church till farther order from her majesty. Nicholas Harpsfield, doctor of law, and archdeacon of Canterbury, was prolocutor.

By the way, this Harpsfield had been lately complained of to the council for mutinous behaviour and disaffection to the government: upon this the board wrote to sir Thomas Finch, and George May, alderman of Canterbury, to inquire into the

Feb. 11, 1588.

matter; acquainting them farther, that some of the college of Christ-church were reported to have thrown out menacing words, declaring religion should not be altered, and provided arms for that purpose. The truth of these reports Finch and May were required to examine, and commit such persons as they thought deserved it. But, since Harpsfield had his liberty, it may be the evidence was short, or the information over-flourished.

Council
Book.
Biblioth.
R. Harley
Armig.
Feb. 28,
1558.
*The lower
house of con-
vocation's
articles de-
livered to
the bishops.*
414.

To return: the only remarkable business done by this convention, was the drawing up certain articles in defence of the religion established. This paper was couched by way of address to the bishops, who were to lay it before the lords in parliament. The substance of it is to this effect:

They acquaint the bishops, that, being informed by public fame, that many points of religion, hitherto unanimously received by the whole Church, and handed down without interruption from the apostles, were now called in question, and particularly the articles under-written; for this reason, they thought themselves concerned to provide, in the best manner they could, for the salvation both of themselves, and the people committed to their charge. Therefore, being supported with the precedent of their predecessors upon a resembling occasion, they thought themselves obliged to publish the following articles, appealing to God in the most solemn manner for the sincerity of their declaration.

First, That in the sacrament of the altar, by virtue of the words of consecration duly pronounced by the priest, the natural body and blood of Christ, conceived of the blessed Virgin, are really present under the species of bread and wine.

Secondly, That after consecration the substance of bread and wine does not remain, nor any other substance, excepting that of God and man.

Thirdly, That the true or real body of Christ, and his real blood, is offered in the mass, as a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead.

*Verum
Christi cor-
pus et verus
ejusdem
sanguis.*
Journal of Convoca-
tion, fol. 99.

Fourthly, That the supreme power of feeding and governing the Church militant, and confirming their brethren, is given to the apostle St. Peter, and his lawful successors in the apostolic see, who represent our Saviour for this purpose.

Fifthly, That an authority for debating and settling those things which belong to faith, the sacraments, and discipline of

the Church, is a privilege which always has belonged, and ought to belong to the hierarchy, and not to the laity; the Holy Spirit ELIZABETH. having given a commission to the former for these functions.

These articles being put into bishop Bonner's hand, were presented by him to the lord keeper Bacon: and, in the next session, Bonner acquainted the lower house of convocation, that an instrument was sent up from both the universities, attested by a public notary, in which the articles were all subscribed, excepting the last.

All the effect this declaration had with the house of Lords and the queen, was the bringing on a disputation between the Roman Catholics and the Reformed. This conference was, by the queen's order, begun on the thirty-first of March, in the Abbey-church at Westminster. The archbishop of York, being one of the council, was required, in her majesty's name, to intimate her pleasure to some of the bishops: and to make choice of eight, nine, or ten, of their own party, to manage a dispute with an equal number of the other persuasion. Archbishop Heath, and the other bishops, consented to the motion, and the points proposed to be argued. Upon this, at the queen's instance, it was mutually agreed, that, to prevent wrangling, the debate should be managed in writing: that the bishops, being persons of the best quality, should give in their papers in the first place: and that the other party should return them their answer in writing the same day: that the papers which were mutually exchanged one day, should be reciprocally answered another. And that this method should be kept till they had gone through all the articles. And because the issue of this dispute might give some measures to the parliament, the lords desired the papers might be penned in English. This motion was likewise agreed by the bishops and the reformed. And thus the preliminaries being all settled, the conference began at the time and place above-mentioned; the privy-council, a great part of the nobility, and some of the house of Commons, being present.

The persons made choice of to engage in the controversy were these: for the Roman Catholics, White, bishop of Winchester; Bayn, bishop of Lichfield; Scott, bishop of Chester; Watson, bishop of Lincoln; Dr. Cole, dean of St. Paul's; Dr. Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury; Dr. Chadsey, prebendary of St. Paul's; and Dr. Langdale, archdeacon of Lewes.

Liber
Synod.
A. D. 1559.
Journal of
Convoca-
tion.
Ibid.
*A disputation between
the Papists
and Pro-
testants at
Westmin-
ster.*

Paper-office.
D'Ewe's
Journal.

Those for the Reformation were, Dr. Scory, late bishop of Chichester; Dr. Cox, late dean of Westminster; Mr. Horn, late dean of Durham; Mr. Elmer, late archdeacon of Stow; Mr. Whitehead, Mr. Grindal, Mr. Guest, and Mr. Jewel. The points to be argued were these three:

The questions.

“First, Whether it is against the word of God, and the custom of the ancient Church, to officiate and administer the sacraments in a language unknown to the people. Secondly, Whether every Church has authority to appoint, to change, or set aside, ceremonies and ecclesiastical rites, provided the same be done to edification. Thirdly, Whether it can be proved, by the word of God, that there is offered in the mass a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead.” The Papists were to defend the negative of the first, and the affirmative of the last question, and the Protestants were to make good the affirmative of the second.

And, that the disputation might be managed in form, and the order observed, the lord-keeper took the chair: not that he had any commission from the queen to determine between the parties, or over-rule any point in the controversy.

Notwithstanding things had been thus thoroughly adjusted, the bishops broke the method, and came unprovided with their paper; they pretended they had mistaken the agreement. However, they were prepared, they said, to argue the first proposition by word of mouth. The lord-keeper, after a reprimand for departing from their preliminaries, gave them liberty to proceed in their own way; they having promised to put their arguments in writing afterwards, and deliver them to the other party.

Dr. Cole argues for the bishops, &c.

Matters being thus far recovered, the Papists appointed Dr. Cole to represent them, and deliver their sense upon the first question. This doctor discharged his commission sometimes by speaking off hand, as it was pretended, sometimes by reading authorities out of a paper, and sometimes he spoke what was prompted by his party: but what he delivered does not appear. For it is plain, his argument upon the first question, preserved in Bennet's College library, was not his first discourse, but a reply to Horn's paper: this is evident from Cole's speech, introductive to his argument. His words are these:

“Most honourable,

“That whereas these men here present, have declared here

openly, that it is repugnant and contrary to the word of God, to have the common prayers and ministration of the sacraments in Latin here in England; and that all such common prayer and ministration ought to be, and remain in the English tongue; Ye shall understand, that to prove this their assertion, they have brought in as yet only one place of Scripture, taken out of St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians, chapter the fourteenth, with certain other places of the holy doctors, whereunto answer is not now to be made: but when the book which they read shall be delivered unto us, according to the appointment made in that behalf, then, God willing, we shall make answer, as well to the Scripture as other testimonies alleged by them, so all good men may evidently perceive and understand the same Scripture to be misconstrued, and drawn from the native and true sense."

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From hence he proceeds to reply to Horne's paper upon the first question; and here he asserts, first, that Divine service in an unknown tongue is no contradiction to any plain declaration of Scripture; and secondly, supposing there were any plain text against this usage, the constant practice of the Church ought not to be condemned. This bold proposition he endeavours to make good by the following arguments:—

First: he takes notice, that notwithstanding the keeping the Sabbath, or Saturday, was expressly commanded by God Almighty, yet the Church, without any warrant from written revelation, has changed the festival to Sunday. That this alteration having passed all along without scruple or contest, is a good reason to rely on the authority of the Church in other matters. He observes, farther, that when our Saviour washed his disciples' feet, he told them it was "for their example; that they should do as he had done." Notwithstanding which express words, the Church had, without breach of duty, omitted the imitation. And in the blessed sacrament of the altar, the practice of our Saviour mentioned in Scripture is not followed in every circumstance, for he celebrated this mystery after supper. Now, if a man should quarrel with the present usage, and insist upon the institution, he may receive an answer from St. Austin, who tells him; "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost, that in honour to so great a sacrament, the body of our Lord should be received before any other nourishment." From hence his inference is, that the Church is governed by the direction of

*His reasons
for justifying
the
Church
service in a
language not
understood
by the
people.*

John xiii.
15.

*In os Chris-
tiani homi-
nis prius
intret corpus
Dominicum
quam ateri
cibi.*

the Holy Spirit; and that, in virtue of this privilege, she is empowered to change a custom, even recommended by our Saviour himself; and that, by our Saviour's promise, the authority of the primitive is continued down to the present Church. And upon this ground the Church has barred the laity receiving under both kinds, and pronounced those guilty of heresy who affirm that whole Christ is not contained under either species.

He reinforces his reasoning from a text in the Acts, where the council of Jerusalem published their decree in these words:

Acts xv. 28. "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burthen than these necessary things: that ye abstain from meat offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication." Here is a plain precept from the apostles, and other persons unquestionably inspired, for abstaining from eating blood, no less than from other things, which are unalterably unlawful. And yet this branch of the decree has not been kept; the Church for many ages has dispensed with the command; neither is she blamed by the reformed for indulging this latitude. To this he adds another instance from the Acts of the Apostles, where it is said, "the Christians sold their estates, lodged the purchase money with the apostles, and had all things common." But this charitable precedent was never reckoned binding to succeeding ages. From all these instances his conclusion is, that supposing the Protestants had the Scripture on their side in the case contested,—supposing this, which he will not grant; yet since the Church is always under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, her decisions are no less to be regarded than those of the apostles. That this assertion is a plain consequence of our Saviour's promise, that the Holy Ghost "should teach his disciples all things, and guide them into all truth; and that himself would be with his Church to the world's end." To this purpose he cites a passage from St. Austin, where it is said, that, "though the Church tolerates a great many things, yet she neither approves, nor connives at, nor practises, any thing contrary to faith or moral duty."

Epist. ad
Januar.

After this attempt to establish the Catholic Church in this extent of authority, his next effort is to prove the see of Rome the seat of this authority, and the centre of unity; but for this he offers nothing but the testimony of Irenæus, where that

Church, or probably the city of Rome, is called "potentior principalitas."

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From hence he proceeds to show the danger of schism, that St. Paul conjures the Corinthians "that they all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions amongst them;" that neither knowledge, faith, good works, nor martyrdom itself will signify any thing to those who are out of the communion of the Church; for, as St. Austin speaks, "let a man's pretensions be what they will, whoever is separated from the Church of Christ, can be no Christian." From hence Cole argues, that the translating the Common Prayer into the mother-tongue is a breach upon the custom of the universal Church; and that such an alteration must of necessity be introductive of a horrible schism.

His next essay is, to prove that prayer in an unknown language has been all along the custom of the Western Church. And here, by a common mistake, he makes Dionysius the Areopagite the first preacher of Christianity in France; he mentions Martialis, and Austin the monk, for the conversion of the Spaniards and Saxons; he takes notice of the Britons and Germans being brought over to the belief of the Gospel; but when he comes to make out his point, that the service was performed in these Churches in a language not understood by the people, he offers nothing but the silence of historians. However, to give something of the face of an argument, he affirms the Protestants can never prove the Church service in the vulgar tongue was generally practised, either with respect to place or time. From hence he proceeds to argue from the permanency of the Latin, that the phrase and construction of this language keeps steady and fixed, whereas the rest spoken by the common people are strangely floating and uncertain; insomuch, that one age is scarcely intelligible to another. Now, if the Church liturgy should be always reformed to the modern style, and change as often as language wears and words grow out of fashion, such frequent alterations would lessen the veneration for holy things, strike off the advantage of antiquity, and disserve the majesty of religion.

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He endeavours to fortify his reasoning, that the laity amongst the Jews were not permitted to enter either the holy of holies, or the body of the temple: and yet the priests officiated in the latter, and the high priest in the former. That in the Greek

Church, the priest consecrates with the curtains drawn before the altar. "Cum vela videris retrahi," says St. Chrysostom, "tunc superne cœlum aperiri cogita." That the people, by not understanding the public prayer, have a better opportunity for their private devotion, which would be disturbed if they should nothing but attend to answer Amen: besides, in a great church it is impossible for every body to hear what the priest says.

His next effort is somewhat surprising. He affirms, that if it were necessary to officiate in the vulgar tongue, it would follow that nobody could be the better for any prayers, unless he understood them, and heard them when they were said: from whence the inference would be, that the Church's prayers for St. Peter in prison signified nothing: each of which consequences, as he argues, are no less than heresy¹.

His last topic is from the ill translation of the Bible. "If we should," says he, "consent to the English service, we must be obliged to king Edward's Common Prayer-book." Now this book consists of versions of the Psalms, and other parts of the Scripture, in which are several plain mistakes and deviations from the original. "Now this," continues he, "is downright depraving the Holy Scriptures: and if the Liturgy must be regulated upon this false translation, we may be said to serve God with lies."

We ought not therefore to alter the form of the Common-Prayer to that degree, as to lose the benefit of all devotion: and yet such must be the issue of this uncharitable contention, unless our adversaries think fit to acquiesce. "The Church of God," as St. Paul speaks, "has no such custom" as they would bring upon us. And therefore we may put the apostle's question to them, "What! came the word of God out from you? or came it to you only?" Has the whole Church of Christ been all along mistaken, and never seen the fourteenth chapter of St. Paul to the Corinthians? Has the Holy Ghost laid down his office, and discontinued his leading Christians into all truth, till now of late? St. Austin, in his letter to Julianus the Pelagian, who complained of hard usage in the Eastern Church, answers him thus: "In my opinion," says this Father, "you ought to have been determined by that part of the world in which our blessed Saviour crowned his chief

1 Cor. xi.

1 Cor. xiv.
26.

¹ The *petitio principii* and *non sequitur* are particularly palpable in this paragraph.

apostle with martyrdom;" and a little after, he tells him: "You had your first and second birth in the Western Church. What makes you endeavour to bring in foreign doctrine upon her? Or rather, why would you take away part of that faith, which you found in her at your baptism?"

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August.
lib. 1. contra
Julian.

Cole pretends, it was in their power to cite a great many more authorities, in which the ancients declare strongly against breaking the unity and disturbing the government of the Church. That this reasoning would affect their adversaries. However, he was willing to waive this advantage, for fear of being tedious to the audience.

Ex MSS.
Coll. Cor.
C. Cantab.

That this was Cole's second discourse, for the reading of which the bishops insisted so strongly at the second meeting for the conference, will appear farther by Horne's paper, which I shall now subjoin.

Fox, vol. 3.
p. 985.

This divine, by way of preface, declares a great regard for the authority of the Catholic Church: and that they professed an entire submission to all the articles of the Apostolical, Nicene, and Athanasian Creeds: that they are willing to refer the whole controversy to the Holy Scriptures and the Catholic Church. But then by the Catholic Church they do not understand the Church of Rome, but that body of Christians which can prove her title to Catholicism from the Scriptures, and is under the directions of the Holy Spirit: and that they have the warrant of St. Austin and other Fathers to restrain the Catholic Church to this notion¹.

Horne's
Paper for
the Re-
formed.

Fox, vol. 3.
p. 981.

From hence he proceeds to state the question: and first, that by the word of God the Protestants only mean the written Word, or canonical Scriptures. And secondly, by the custom of the primitive Church, they understand the general practice of the Church for the first five centuries.

His first undertaking is to prove Common Prayer in an unknown language contrary to the Word of God. And upon this head he argues at length, and with sufficient force from 1 Cor. xiv. But I shall omit the recital of his reasoning, and refer the reader to what I have offered already in defence of the English Liturgy. However, I shall mention one text cited by Horne from this chapter: "I will pray by the Spirit and I will pray with the understanding also." From hence he argues that Common Prayer, in the notion of it, imports the joint petitions of the congregation, declared by their language.

The Common Prayer in an unknown language contrary to the Scripture.

See reign of Edward 6.

DeMagistro, cap. 1.

¹ A most important fact, which should never be forgotten in ecclesiastical controversy.

That this definition is approved by St. Austin. "There would be no need," says he, "of forming our prayers into words, unless to discover the mind of the understanding to the people."

"The ministration," as he goes on, "of the Lord's supper and baptism, are, as it were, sermons upon the death and resurrection of Christ: but sermons, or representations, must be made in intelligible language, otherwise they are to no purpose. It is not lawful for a Christian to abuse the gifts of God: but he that prays in an unknown language is guilty of this mismanagement; for the use of speech is only to communicate thoughts, and discover the mind to the hearer. He fortifies his reasoning from the practice of the heathen, and the suggestions of natural light; and observes that the Pagans in all countries, though never so much uncultivated, though never so slenderly improved, put up their prayers to their deities, and perform their religious solemnities in the vulgar language."

The second part of his assertion is to prove prayers in an unknown tongue contrary to the custom of the primitive Church.

He begins with Justin Martyr's apology: where this Father, giving an account of the Christian worship to the Roman emperors, acquaints them that at their assemblies on Sundays, the writings of the apostles and prophets used to be read: that after sermon they all stood up and prayed: and that when the bishop officiated in the communion service, the people all answered Amen. From hence it is evident the Scriptures were read in the vulgar language: and that the Liturgy was understood by the people, otherwise which way, as the apostle argues, could they be qualified to say Amen?

This custom may be farther traced in St. Basil's and St. Chrysostom's liturgies, where the people have a share in the service. For instance, they answer, "Lord, have mercy upon us." "And with thy Spirit:" "We lift them up unto the Lord," &c. Now which way could they make these responses, or adjust them to the time, unless the public form was drawn up in the common language? Farther, St. Basil, in his letter to the clergy of Neo-Cæsarea, endeavours to take off some objections against the psalmody used in his Church: and having premised that their practice in this particular was uniform and general, takes notice, that the people at church, after having made their confession to God, threw themselves into two divisions, and sung the psalms alternately.

To these authorities he adds farther testimony from St. Am-

Nihil opus est locutione, nisi ut forte sacerdotes faciant significanda mentis causâ, ut populus intelligat.

August. de Doctrin. Christian. lib. 4. cap. 10. *Loquendi autem nulla est causa, si quod loquimur non intelligunt, propter quos, ut intelligant, loquimur.* And to the practice of the primitive Church. Justin Martyr, Apol. 1. 417.

1 Cor. xiv. 16.

Basil. Epist. 63.

brose, on the fourteenth of the first to the Corinthians; from St. Jerome on these words of the same chapter, "How shall he that occupies the room of the unlearned, say amen?" From the same father in the end of his comment on the Epistle to the Galatians; from St. Chrysostom on 1 Cor. xiv.; from Dionysius, from St. Cyprian, and St. Austin. To these the testimony of Justinian is subjoined, where the emperor commands all bishops and priests to pronounce the liturgic prayers, and the office of baptism, with a loud voice, that the people may hear, and be assisted in their devotions: which benefit they cannot have, as the emperor continues, unless they understand what is said: and here he founds himself upon the apostle's reasoning, and argues from the fourteenth of the Corinthians, already mentioned ¹.

ELIZABETH.

Verse 16.

Cyprian.
Serm. de
Oration.
Dominic.
August. in
Psalm. xviii.
et de Magistro.

When Horne had thus read through his paper, the audience seemed to discover their satisfaction, and give a preference to his argument. Upon which the bishops alleged they had more to offer upon the first question. This was contradicting their former answer; for when Cole had ended his first discourse, the privy council asking them if they had anything to say farther upon that head, they answered no. Notwithstanding, to take off all pretences of complaint, the conference was adjourned until the Monday following, and the bishops were ordered to bring in their paper to the second proposition, with a promise that what they had farther prepared upon the first question should likewise be heard: and to this both parties agreed. But when the day came, the bishops insisting upon their reading the supplemental paper to the first question, and refusing to abide by the last compromise, the conference after some squabble broke up. White and Watson, bishops of Winchester and Lincoln, showing more heat than the rest, and misbehaving themselves to a remarkable degree, were committed to the Tower, and fined. The rest were bound in a recognizance to appear before the council, where most of them were deeply fined.

Novell.
Constitut.
113.

Fox, p. 981,
et deinc.
*The bishops
refuse to
stand to the
order
agreed.*

Paper-office.

Fox, p. 985.

Paper-office.

The bishops thus declining to go on with the controversy, and falling off from their own appointment, looked like despairing of keeping their ground, and being conscious of an ill

¹ The Romanists seem to be now aware that this is one of the weakest of their points of discipline. It is not improbable that their vulgar translations will gradually be substituted for the Latin.

Which occasions the breaking off the conference.

cause. However, they pretended themselves straitened in time: that it was beneath their character to go through a disputation of this kind, where Bacon, a mere layman, was to sit as judge: that the points to be argued had been already determined by the Catholic Church, and therefore were not to be farther debated, without leave from the pope. These objections being made after the method of the conference was mutually settled, were accounted no better than trifling and evasion. Particularly, their exception against the presidency of the lord keeper, Bacon, seems to have little weight: for it was no uncustomary practice for the Christian emperors to appoint secular men of distinction to interpose so far in ecclesiastical synods as to keep good order in the debates, to hold the parties close to the question, and to prevent their flying out into cavilling and foreign discourse; and of this, to mention nothing more, we have instances in the general councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon. Sanders, in reporting this conference, commends some of the bishops for their magnanimity, and informs us of their resolution to excommunicate the queen, and the leading heretics. But it seems the other bishops were wiser, or more tame at least, than to venture on so rugged an expedient. They chose rather to refer the exercise of discipline to the pope, than exert such a censure upon their sovereign: they thought such extreme proceedings might be misinterpreted, and carried too far in the consequence: and over and above, they might exasperate the government this way, and draw a persecution upon their whole party. White and Watson were the warm prelates who threatened the queen with excommunication, which was the reason of their commitment to the Tower.

Sanders de Schism. Anglic. lib. 3.

As the reformed divines kept close to the conditions of the conference, and came off with advantage upon the first question, so they were likewise no less prepared for the second. I shall give the reader part of the substance of it. The proposition is this: "Every particular Church has authority to institute, change, or set aside rites and ceremonies, provided it is done to edification."

The paper drawn up by the reformed divines upon the second question of the conference.

Before they proceed to their proof, they settle the terms of the question. "And, first, by every particular Church, they mean every kingdom, province, or country which is formed into a distinct society. By rites and ceremonies of the Church,

they understand such rites and ceremonies as are neither expressly, nor by necessary consequence, forbidden by the Scriptures.

ELIZA-
BETH.

“ To make good their assertion, they observe, in the first place, that rites and ceremonies under the state last mentioned, are things which relate to order and decency. But matters of this nature are, by the apostle St. Paul, referred to the management of the particular Church of Corinth, and by consequence to all other particular churches; for the Corinthians had no pretensions to special privilege.

“ Secondly, those usages which were serviceable at the first institution, may afterwards grow dangerous and inconvenient. For this reason the meeting of men and women at the tombs of the martyrs, on the vigils, was forbidden and discontinued, though very much commended by St. Jerome.

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“ To stay for general councils for removing disorders, and bringing things to a proper regulation, is sometimes too slow a remedy. For instance, the Church was governed for near three hundred years before the first œcumenical synod at Nice, and since that time there have been long intermissions of such general assemblies. Now if particular Churches are not empowered to suppress superstition, and discharge such ceremonies as lead to unlawful practice, a great number of souls might miscarry before the bishops from all parts could be drawn together.

“ Thirdly, Aretus, bishop of Cæsarea, and Primacius, bishop of Utica, teach us that the seven churches in Asia, mentioned in the Revelations, represent all other particular churches in the rest of Christendom. From whence it follows, that the bishops and pastors of every kingdom and province were to have the same authority with those who presided in the seven Asiatic Churches. But the angels or bishops of these seven Churches had authority to reform what was amiss, as appears by the orders St. John was commanded to send them. Rev. i.

“ Fourthly, if a particular Church was tied down to immoral or ensnaring rights and ceremonies of human institution, and had no authority to set aside an ill custom, then such a Church would be obliged ‘to obey man rather than God, and not to do every thing to edification,’ which is a direct contradiction to the Holy Scriptures.

“ That when circumstances change, things decline from their

first condition, and customs suffer upon the progress, common sense suggests reformation, and directs to a stop of the mischief. To apply this reasoning, it is not likely a wicked ceremony should spread to an universal extent, and grow into a general abuse, all at once: now as the contagion is particular as to place, the cure ought to be so too. And if the corruption happens to grow general, St. Austin's rule must govern for the remedy. 'A good husbandman,' says this father, 'when he sees his corn choked with weeds, does not attempt the pulling them out all together, but begins first at one corner of the field.'

"If it is objected that the ceremonies of holy Church are privileged from danger and misapplication; to this it may be returned, that the institutions of men, like their nature, are subject to change and degeneracy.

"To give an instance of a ceremony which one would have thought had been fenced better than ordinary. The brazen serpent was set up by Moses for an antidote against poison. But even this was afterwards abused to idolatry, for which reason king Hezekiah beat it to powder. Thus ceremonies are sometimes honoured with excess of applications, and made essential to divine worship. And in such cases our Saviour pronounces, 'In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.'

"Sometimes they grow too bulky for use, and multiply to an intolerable number. St. Austin complains of this grievance. 'All,' says he, 'is overrun with human fancies.' The Jews, under the law, as this father goes on, were in a better condition than the Christians; for though they had none of the privileges of evangelic liberty, yet their servitude was more honourable: the burthen was laid upon them by God Almighty, and not by any human invention.

"Sometimes they are altogether idle and uninformative, and, as one may say, signs without signification. And this is the case of most of the ceremonies so warmly contested for at present. And sometimes they are contrived purely to make a penny of the people.

"Farther, the apostles' authority is derived upon after ages, and conveyed to the bishops, their successors. This must be granted by the Roman Catholics; with what colour else can they press obedience to the pope's decrees? Besides, St.

*Omnia sunt
plena huma-
nis præ-
sumptioni-
bus.*

Hier. ad
Evag.

Jerome is full for the point: and St. Cyprian makes no scruple to affirm that the apostles were all equal to St. Peter by their commission. From whence it follows, that all bishops have the same authority for ordering things to edification.

ELIZABETH.

Hoc utique, erant ceteri Apostoli quo fuit Petrus, pari consorcio præditi, et honoris et potestatis.
Cyprian. de Unitat. Eccles.

“And that particular Churches in the first ages of Christianity made use of this liberty touching ceremonies, is evident by variety of precedents. For instance, Irenæus, speaking of the Lenten fast, observes, that the Christians did not only differ about the time, but the manner: that notwithstanding this difference, the Churches kept a good correspondence with each other. Socrates has a remarkable discourse upon this subject. This historian affirms, that neither the apostles nor the Gospel obliged to uniformity in these matters. That the Eastern and Western Churches kept Easter on different days. That this diversity did not hinder St. Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, and Anicetus, bishop of Rome, from communicating together; that at Rome they fast three weeks before Easter, excepting Sunday; that in Greece, Illyricum, and Alexandria, they lengthen their abstinence to six weeks; and all of them, notwithstanding, call it a quadragesimal fast. The Churches differ likewise in other circumstances of the abstinence. For some refuse eating any animals, others make no scruple of fish diet; and a third sort take the liberty of feeding both upon fish and fowl, because they were created out of the same element. Some abstain from eggs, and all sorts of fruit; some eat nothing but dry bread, and some will not venture so far as that neither; and, in fine, some fast till three in the afternoon, and then refresh themselves with any sort of nourishment, without distinction. And since there is no positive precept to determine this point, it is plain the apostles have left every body to their own discretion; that their self-denial being thus at liberty might have more commendation in it. The historian proceeds to instance other different usages touching the administration of baptism and the holy eucharist, the marriage of the clergy, &c.

Euseb. Hist. Eccles.

Socrat. Hist. Eccles. lib. 5. cap. 22.

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“As to the point of fasting, St. Austin’s reasoning falls in with that of Socrates. He grants fasting is commanded in the New Testament; but, in regard the days on which we are to fast are not prescribed by our Saviour or the Apostles, he thinks it more convenient this matter should go at large. Theodoret’s comment upon these words, in the 14th to the

August. de Jejun. Sabbat. ad Casulan.

Romans, 'Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind,' is urged to the same purpose.

"Farther : a Church that has the liberty to receive a ceremony or not at first, has the same liberty to discharge it when it is found convenient. But every Church has this liberty : for, as St. Austin writes to Januarius, 'Whatever is neither repugnant to faith or good manners is to be looked on as an indifferent matter.' Now, if it lies at the choice of particular Churches to admit or reject an indifferent ceremony, it will be still more reasonable to grant them a power to throw it out when they find it blemished and grown out of kind.

"When it was objected to St. Cyprian, that no tradition ought to be altered, the martyr replied, 'Whence came this tradition at first? Does it stand upon any divine authority? Was it commanded by our Lord or his Apostles, and do we find it in the canon of the New Testament?' As much as to say, that, if it was no more than human constitution, it was not to be concluded unalterable ; and, elsewhere, he allows that changing things for the better is a very reasonable inconsistency.

Cyprian.
Epist. ad
Pompian.

"St. Austin has a remarkable passage to this purpose. 'It is not true,' says he, 'which some men pretend, that a thing once well done must by no means be altered : for, when the ground of any practice fails, and the circumstances of time are altered, we have all imaginable reason to alter the custom too.' "

August. ad
Marcell. in
cap. 5.

Having now supported their proposition from Scripture and the testimony of the ancients, they proceeded to precedents in the primitive Church. They allege St. Basil and St. Chrysostom's liturgies were received without the authority of a general council ; and, if it was lawful for single bishops to settle liturgic forms and differ from other Churches in ceremonies of the greatest weight in rites annexed to the most solemn part of religion, how unreasonable is it to deny the same latitude to a whole kingdom or province ! In St. Gregory's time there were three canons or forms for the administration of the holy eucharist : the canon of St. Ambrose ; the canon of Scholasticus ; and the canon of St. Gregory. At Rome, every Saturday was a fast ; but at Milan, the practice was otherwise. Now, when St. Austin and his mother lived at Milan, they governed themselves by St. Ambrose's custom, and kept no fast on Saturdays.

Farther: St. Ambrose brought in somewhat of the Alexandrian custom of psalmody into the Church of Milan, as St. Austin relates in his Confessions; and, as this celebrated bishop set up one usage, he put down another. There was a custom in Africa and Italy, to bring entertainments to the tombs of the martyrs when the Christians met there. This St. Ambrose looked on as a heathenish fancy; that it gave occasion to intemperance, and therefore suffered it to continue no longer. Thus Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople, suppressed the office of a public penitentiary; and, which is farther remarkable, this function was not revived by his successor St. Chrysostom.

They made good their assertion, farther, from the practice of our own country. For instance, in the reign of king Henry VIII. many superstitious doctrines and ceremonies, publicly countenanced and long continued, were thrown out: such as pilgrimages, stations, and pardons; to which may be added, many unaccountable opinions touching purgatory, holy water, "scala coeli," and masses for cattle. Many romantic miracles, and visionary relations in the saints' lives, were disbelieved and discharged. And yet these things were once established by pretended catholic authority, and are still kept up in other countries upon the same ground. However, at the return of popery in the late reign, these gross errors and corruptions in practice were not thought fit to be revived.

They proceed to argue from the frequency of provincial councils in the first ages of the Church. Now, such assemblies were convened to no purpose, unless they had a power for reforming what was amiss. They observe, that several heresies, relating to marriage, to restraints in diet, and the liberty of slaves, were condemned in the council at Gangra; that the heresy of Pelagius was likewise censured in several provincial synods before the cause was brought to a general council. Now, doctrine is matter of more importance than rites and ceremonies. If, therefore, provincial councils have authority to determine in the first case, they must, *à fortiori*, be allowed it in the latter. And thus, as was observed before, the Church for near three hundred years was well governed with this assistance, and had no public regulations but what were settled in provincial councils. They urge the Fathers of the sixth council of Carthage checked the encroachment of the

bishop of Rome. This synod complained of his attempt to draw a cause before them to his own jurisdiction. They told him the council of Nice had very wisely decreed, that all disputes should be determined where they commenced ; and that the assistance of the Holy Ghost would not be wanting to particular provinces.

These divines proceed to argue, that some diversity in ceremonies is more serviceable to the Church than a nice uniformity : for, by this means, the indifferency of things is best distinguished, and the Church preserved in her liberty ; and, over and above, by this latitude, the ceremonies will not be overvalued by the ignorant people, nor strained to an equality with what is commanded in Holy Writ.

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As for the uniformity now visible in the popish Churches, it is not of the highest antiquity. Making all things thus of one colour, was the policy of latter ages : it was a consequence of the pope's usurpation, and a stretch of his pretended supremacy ; and thus it is rather kept on for a badge of servitude, and a recognition of the Roman authority, than for any edification.

They are sensible the force of general councils may be objected against their proof ; but, the discussion of this question requiring a long discourse, they promise to consider it in their reply to their adversaries. And here they intend to disentangle the difficulties of the argument, and prove, by sufficient authority, in what points, and how far, Christians are bound to acquiesce in general councils.

And whereas the Roman Catholics insist upon length of time and immemorial possession, they should prove the matters contested defensible before they insist on their antiquity : for there is no prescribing against the Word of God : for, as St. Cyprian speaks, " custom, without truth, is no better than ancient error." And, lastly, as to their adversaries' pretence of possession, they think it foreign to the controversy, and no good plea : for, if they cannot make good the pope's universal pastorship from the Holy Scriptures, the authority of their Church signifies nothing ; and, by consequence, their possession sinks with it. These objections, and any others offered, they undertake to answer more at large when the papers of the other party shall be delivered.

MSS.
C. C. C. C.
Synodal.

I shall now go back to the parliament, and consider the

proceedings there with relation to the Church. As to the lords spiritual, none of them had summons but such as acted in the late reign. Those who were present were, Heath, archbishop of York; Bonner, bishop of London; White, of Winchester; Pate, of Worcester; Kitchen, of Landaff; Bayne, of Coventry and Lichfield; Turberville, of Exeter; Scot, of Chester; Oglethorpe, of Carlisle; and Fecknam, lord abbot of Westminster. The bishops of Durham, Peterborough, Ely (now ambassador), Bath and Wells, and St. David's, sent their proxies; the other sees were vacant by death.

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The first bill I shall mention was for the restitution of tenths, first-fruits, and parsonages, inappropriate to the crown, which queen Mary, out of her piety, had returned to the Church. The bill, as a motive to make it pass, sets forth the "huge, innumerable, and inestimable charges of the royal estate;" that the crown descended to her majesty very much encumbered, and lessened in the revenues; and that the statute of the 2nd and 3rd of Philip and Mary, for the extinguishing payment of tenths, &c., was made to the great disherison and decay of the estate royal. From this preamble, the statute goes on to repeal the 2nd and 3rd of Philip and Mary, cap. 4; and thus the acts for the payment of tenths, passed in the reign of king Henry VIII., were revived. By this act, vicarages, not exceeding the yearly value of ten pounds in the king's books, and parsonages not exceeding ten marks, are exempted from the payment of first-fruits. The grants, liberties, and immunities, made to the universities by any of the queen's predecessors, together with the grants and privileges belonging to the colleges of Eton, Winchester, and St. George's chapel at Windsor, are likewise saved. To which may be added, the revenues of hospitals and schools, which are also discharged from this burthen.

An act for the restitution of tenths, first-fruits, &c.

1 & 2 Philip & Mary, cap. 4.

1 Eliz. cap. 4.

The bishops all protested against this re-annexing the tenths, &c., to the crown; but the temporal lords went with the bill *namine contradicente*. This is somewhat strange, considering they were almost all of them the same members which made the act for returning these things to the Church in the late reign. However, the preamble of this statute complains the extinguishing the payment of tenths, first-fruits, &c., was a "great disherison and decay of the estate royal." From hence

2 & 3 Phil. & Mary, cap. 4.

the reader may observe the misfortune of some junctures, and how necessitous the court is at one time more than another. King Henry VIII. was the first who made this branch of the Church's revenue parcel of his own. And yet, as it happened, in the reigns of his predecessors, for many hundred years, the royal grandeur was kept up, the functions of government carried on, and the public charge supported, without this remarkable assistance.

March 22,
1558-9.
D'Ewe's
Journal.
*An act for
restoring
ecclesiastical
jurisdiction
to the crown.*

The next parliament business I shall mention, is, "the Supremacy bill, for restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical, and abolishing all foreign power repugnant to the same." By this act, "such jurisdictions, privileges, superiorities, and pre-eminences, spiritual and ecclesiastical, as by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or authority hath heretofore been, or may lawfully be exercised or used, for the visitation of the ecclesiastical state and persons, and for reformation, order, and correction of the same, and of all manner of errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, shall for ever, by authority of this present parliament, be united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm."

Then follows the clause for empowering the queen and her successors to erect the High Commission Court, for the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. And, by this branch, the queen and her successors are enabled to assign, by letters-patent under the great seal, such persons, and for so long time, as they shall think fit, (provided they are natural-born subjects,) for the exercising under the crown all manner of spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Particularly, by this act, the commissioners are empowered to "visit, reform, redress, order, correct, and amend all such errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities whatsoever, which by any manner of spiritual or ecclesiastical power, authority, or jurisdiction, can or may lawfully be reformed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended,

1 Eliz.cap.1. &c."

The comprehensive extent of this statute.

Nothing can be more comprehensive than the terms of this clause. The whole compass of Church discipline seems transferred upon the crown. And thus, by the queen's letters-patent, passed in the eighteenth year of her reign, her ecclesiastical commissioners are authorized to visit, reform, correct,

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as well in places exempt as not exempt, all errors, heresies, schisms, &c., by censures ecclesiastical, deprivation, or otherwise. And, which is particularly remarkable, notwithstanding the queen, and her successors king James and king Charles I., joined churchmen with others in the ecclesiastical commission, yet, by this branch of the statute, they are empowered to have made use, if they had so pleased, of none but laymen.

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Biblioth.
Cotton.
Clocop. 6.
F.2. fol.139.

For the better maintenance of this act, the oath of supremacy is annexed. And here the subject swears "to defend all jurisdictions, privileges, pre-eminences, and authorities, granted or belonging to the queen's highness, her heirs and successors, or united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm."

*Part of the
oath of su-
premacy.*

As to the penalties for refusing this oath, I shall refer the reader to the statute-book. It is farther enacted, "that, if any person shall, by writing or otherwise, maintain that any foreign prince or prelate has any spiritual jurisdiction within the queen's dominions, he is to forfeit all his goods and chattels for the first offence; and over and above, to suffer a year's imprisonment in case his goods do not amount to the value of twenty pounds." And if the person offending was a clergyman, he was to lose all his preferments. The second offence incurs the penalties of præmunire; and the third is made high treason.

*Penalties for
maintaining
any spiritual
jurisdiction.*

To proceed. By a proviso in this statute, "no manner of order, act, or determination, for any matter of religion, or cause ecclesiastical, had or made by the authority of this present parliament, shall be interpreted or adjudged to be any error, heresy, or schism."

And by the next proviso it is enacted, that "no person nor persons who shall be authorized by the queen, her heirs or successors, to execute any spiritual jurisdiction, shall have any authority or power to determine or judge any matter or cause to be heresy, but only such as heretofore had been determined, ordered, or adjudged to be heresy by the authority of the canonical Scriptures, or by the first four general councils, or any of them, or by any other general council, wherein the same was declared heresy by the plain and express words of the said canonical Scriptures, or such as hereafter shall be ordered, judged, or determined to be heresy by the high court of parliament of this realm, with the assent of the clergy in their convocation; any thing in this act to the contrary notwithstanding."

*The assent of
the convoca-
tion neces-
sary for the
determining
heresy.*

By this act the following statutes in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. are revived, viz.:—23 Hen. VIII. cap. 9., 24 Hen. VIII. cap. 12., 25 Hen. VIII. against the payment of annates to the see of Rome, 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 19., 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 21., 26 Hen. VIII. cap. 14., 28 Hen. VIII. cap. 16., 32 Hen. VIII. cap. 28., 2 Ed. VI. cap. 23., 37 Hen. VIII. cap. 17., 1 Ed. VI. cap. 1. Four statutes made or revived in the late reign are likewise repealed, viz.:—1 and 2 Phil. and Mar. cap. 6., 5 Rd. II. cap. 5., 2 Hen. IV. cap. 15., 2 Hen. V. cap. 7. All these statutes, either revived or repealed by this act, relate to ecclesiastical matters; but having been already mentioned in the first or second part of this work, the purport of them needs not be repeated. And here it may be observed, that, to make the act more inoffensive, the title of supreme head was changed into that of supreme governor.

At the third reading of this bill, the archbishop of York, the viscount Montague, the bishops of London, Ely, Worcester, Landaff, Coventry and Lichfield, Oxford, Chester, Carlisle, and the abbot of Westminster, dissented; and two of the bishops made speeches against it.

Fox, MSS.
and MSS.
Coll. C. C.
Cant. Syno-
dalia, fol. 75.
*Archbishop
Heath's
speech
against the
bill for the
queen's
supremacy.*

Heath, archbishop of York, delivered himself to this effect: "He intreats their lordships to consider whether the supremacy granted by this bill consisted in spiritual or temporal jurisdiction? If in the latter, he desires to be informed what new authority the houses can convey to her highness, since her sovereignty descends upon her by hereditary right, and not by the grant of the subject? But if this supremacy consists in spiritual government, the nature and extent of it ought to be considered. After this, the next thing to be debated will be, whether the house may lawfully grant, and her highness receive, such jurisdiction.

"The archbishop endeavours to maintain, but without any great strength of argument, that they could not quit the see of Rome without deserting the four first general councils; without renouncing the article in the Creed where they profess to believe the Holy Catholic Church: that the meaning of this article comprehends a profession of receiving the doctrine and sacraments of the Church, and living conformably to her laws. But these laws, as he infers, depend wholly upon the papal authority; for as a bill passed both houses has no force with-

out the royal assent, so neither are any ecclesiastical constitutions binding to the universal Church, unless confirmed by the apostolical see. ELIZABETH.

“Farther, by granting the queen this spiritual jurisdiction, we shall fall, says he, into a great singularity, and differ from all Christian princes, as well Protestant as Catholic; for none of these sovereigns, except king Henry VIII., ever assumed the style of an ecclesiastical supreme. If this spiritual supremacy belongs to the king *quatenus* king, as was lately affirmed in the house by a noble peer, then it must necessarily follow that king Herod was supreme head of the Church at Jerusalem, and Nero of that of Rome, notwithstanding they were both infidels. And if our Saviour Christ had not intrusted the apostles and their successors with the government of the Church, but left it in the hands of temporal princes, it would have been a very slender provision; for, by this reasoning, either the Church must have been without a head until the reign of Constantine the Great, which was near three hundred years; or else this society must have been all along under the spiritual supremacy of Pagan emperors, who were no members of her communion, and often made it their business to extinguish Christianity. From hence he proceeds to the instance of king Uzziah, who was struck with leprosy for invading the priests’ office.

“After this, he goes on to consider the branches of spiritual government, and whether the house can give, or the queen receive them. Spiritual government consists principally in these four particulars: The first is the power of binding and loosing, which was conveyed by our Saviour to the apostles, and chiefly to St. Peter (as the archbishop will have it). Now, he desires their lordships to consider, whether it is within their authority to grant her highness the keys of the kingdom of heaven? If they say yes, he would gladly know by what warrant, and desires an oyer of their commission in the holy Scriptures. If they say no, it is plainly evident they want sufficient authority to constitute her highness supreme head of the Church in this realm. The second branch of spiritual government may be collected from the last chapter of St. John’s Gospel, where our Saviour commands St. Peter to feed his sheep. Now, to justify their lordships’ conveyance of this function to their sovereign lady, it will be necessary for them to show the authority they act upon. And here the archbishop observes how, by

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St. Paul's doctrine, all women are entirely unqualified for spiritual functions; but this has been mentioned already upon another occasion. The third division of spiritual government may be inferred from the 22nd chapter of St. Luke, where our Saviour bids St. Peter strengthen his brethren; and under this head, preaching and administration of the sacraments may be comprised. But if a woman can do neither of these, which way can she commence a spiritual sovereign? The last branch consists in excommunication, and exerting the censures of the Church against those who misbehaved themselves. But this authority falls within the compass of retaining sins, and is settled by our Saviour upon the hierarchy."—And thus much of archbishop Heath. Scott of Chester was the other bishop who harangued in the house upon the same subject.

*The bishop
of Chester's
speech upon
the same
subject.*

This prelate argues with a great deal of zeal, but not much evidence, for the papal supremacy. He pretends the unity of the Church cannot be maintained without a supreme pastor for receiving appeals and determining controversies. And here he cites a great many texts of Scripture, wide of his purpose, to prove the pope this spiritual sovereign. After this he goes on to answer some objections. First, he takes notice it is alleged the pope's authority has been disclaimed by a provincial council of the English bishops and clergy. To this he answers, that "the resolutions of a provincial synod are no force against the counter decrees of the universal Church." He observes farther, that "those who renounced the apostolic see may be ranged under two divisions: either dead, or living. Those who are dead repented this freedom, and recanted their declaration; those who are living, and formerly pronounced against the pope's authority, are now returned to their first belief, and public champions for his holiness.

"And whereas it has been alleged by the Catholics, "that as a temporal prince who has no ecclesiastical jurisdiction assigned him by our Saviour cannot be head of the Church himself, so neither can he substitute any other persons to execute spiritual jurisdiction under him: the reason is, because no man can give that power to another which he has not himself." To this the Protestants answer, that "a prince may grant another an authority which he neither has nor can exercise himself. For instance," they say, "though a king is no judge, it is within his authority to commissionate others for this function." But

the bishop, not satisfied with this reasoning, replies, that "the authority of a judge is originally in the king, and that the administration of justice is described as part of the regal office in Scripture." To which he might have added, that several of our English kings have sat in their courts and tried causes. The rest of this bishop's speech, being either coincident with Heath's, or not much material, shall be omitted. Besides the opposition of the spiritual lords, the viscount Montague, who had been lately ambassador at Rome, dissented to the bill for the regal supremacy.

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See vol. 1 of this history, under king Alfred, and elsewhere. Fox, MSS. fol. 75.

The next remarkable transaction with reference to the Church is, "An Act giving authority to the queen's majesty upon avoidance of any archbishopric or bishopric to take into her hands certain of the temporal possessions thereof, recompensing the same with parsonages impropriate and tenths." The statute runs thus :—

An act for granting the crown manors, &c. belonging to bishoprics in exchange for impropriations and tenths. Biblioth. R. Harley Armig.

"The lords spiritual and temporal, and commons of this present parliament assembled, perceiving how necessary it is for the imperial crown of this realm to be repaired with restitution of revenue meet for the same; and having assented and fully accorded to restore to the same imperial crown the first fruits, and tenths, and parsonages impropriate for the increase of the revenue thereof, be also desirous to devise some good means whereby the said revenues of tenths and impropriate benefices might be in the governance and disposition of the clergy of this realm, being most apt for the same. In such sort, as yet thereby the said imperial crown shall not in any ways be diminished by the said restored revenue.

"And therefore beseech your majesty that it may be enacted by the authority of this present parliament, in manner and form hereafter following :

"That is to say, upon the vacation or avoidance of any archbishopric or bishopric within this your realm of England and Wales, and other your highness's dominions, it shall and may be lawful for your highness to elect, and choose, and take into your royal hands and royal possession as much and so many of the honours, castles, manors, lands, tenements, or other hereditaments, being parcel of the possessions of any such archbishopric or bishopric so being void, as the clear yearly value of all your majesty's parsonages appropriate, and yearly tenths, within any such archbishopric or bishopric shall yearly amount

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and extend unto; and for the trial of the very value of such honours, castles, manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, it shall and may be lawful for your highness, from time to time, to direct your letters of commission under your highness's great seal of England into any such archbishopric or bishopric, so being void, unto such persons as your majesty shall think meet and convenient, giving them authority thereby to survey such honours, castles, manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, being parcels of the possessions of the same archbishopric or bishopric, so being void, as shall by your majesty be thought meet and convenient, to be taken into your highness's hands and possession; and thereupon to certify the very clear yearly value thereof, over all charges and reprises into your highness's court of Exchequer, at such day and time as by the said commission shall be limited and appointed. And after such certificate into the said court of Exchequer of the clear yearly value of such honours, castles, manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments so had and made, it shall and may be lawful for your highness, by your letters-patent, to give and assure unto such archbishop or bishop, of such archbishopric or bishopric, so being void, so much and as many of your yearly tenths, tithes, and parsonages appropriate, being within the said archbishopric or bishopric, as shall be of as much or more yearly value as the said honours, castles, manors, lands, and tenements, or hereditaments, so certified into your said court of Exchequer, be certified unto.

“ And then immediately upon such gift and grant made by your highness, and the same by your majesty under your signet or sign manual signified unto your treasurer and barons of your said court of Exchequer, together with your pleasure for the retaining and keeping of the said honours, castles, manors, lands, tenements, or other hereditaments, so certified into your said court of Exchequer, in lieu and place of the said tenths, tithes, and parsonages, appropriate the same, and such honours, castles, manors, lands, tenements, or other hereditaments, as so shall then be certified into your said court of Exchequer, shall be adjudged, vested, and deemed by authority of this present parliament, actually and really in your highness, and your heirs and successors, and be from thenceforth united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm for ever. And from thenceforth shall be in the order, survey, rule, and govern-

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ance of your said court of Exchequer, in such like manner and form, as other your highness's possessions and hereditaments be at this present: provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that this act, nor anything therein contained, shall not extend nor give any liberty or authority to your highness to take from any such archbishopric or bishopric any of the mansion-houses commonly used for the habitation or dwelling of any such archbishop, or bishop, or any of the demesne lands commonly used or occupied with any such mansion, or dwelling-house or houses, or any of them, or to take any other lands or tenements, commonly used or kept in the manurance, tillage, or manual occupation of any such archbishop or bishop, for maintenance of hospitality or good house-keeping; anything in this act contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

"Saving to all and every person and persons, bodies politic and corporate, their heirs and successors, and the heirs and successors of either of them, other than the said archbishops and bishops, and their successors, all such estate, right, title, term, interest, rent, profit, offices, and commodities, as they or any of them have, should, might, or ought to have had in, or to, any honours, castles, manors, lands, tenements, or other hereditaments whatsoever, in such like manner, form, and condition to all intents and purposes, as if this act had never been had or made: any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding."

This bill, begun in the house of Lords, was on the sixth of April read the third time and passed: the archbishop of York, the bishops of London, Worcester, Coventry, Exeter, Chester, Carlisle, and the abbot of Westminster dissenting. The Commons were not so unanimous as the Lords. For at the third reading, the house dividing upon the question, there was a hundred and thirty-four with the bill, and ninety against it. Could I recover the names of those ninety gentlemen who dissented, I would do them the justice to transmit their memory to posterity. But they will suffer nothing by the silence of records. For if the rest of their lives answered this vote, they will always stand in a much better register of honour than history can give them.

By this statute the crown is obliged to return the same, or a greater yearly value to the bishoprics, as the rent of the honours, castles, &c. taken from them amounted to. But

D'Ewe's
Journal,
p. 27.

Remarks
upon the
exchange.

with submission, this exchange, considering the different condition of the estates, falls far short of an equivalent. On the one hand, there are honours, castles, lordships, &c., with woods, fines, suit and service, knights' fees, and a great deal of jurisdiction, profit, and noble incidents belonging to them. And in lieu of this, there is nothing but tenths and impropriations, estates upon rack-rents returned: and which, it may be, many of the tenants are in no condition to answer. And, which is somewhat remarkable, this supposed equivalent was perfectly left at discretion: it was referred to the conscience of the courtiers, and no clergyman ordered to be joined in commission with them. Whereas, in a resembling case, though the interest of the Church was less concerned, a parliament of the late reign provides the commissioners should be half of the spirituality and half of the temporality. From hence the reader may perceive, this queen Elizabeth's parliament was under no excesses of superstition, no manner of partialities to the Church.

2 & 3 Phil.
& Mary,
cap. 4.

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If this usage had been practised upon the queen's wards, as they fell; had there been a bill brought in to give the crown most of the manors of the temporal lands when they happened to die and leave their heir a minor; had such a bill been brought in, we need not question its having been thrown out at the first reading. For why should a minor be ousted of his inheritance, without any faults of his ancestors or his own? If when he sued his livery, the best part of his estate had been detained; if he had been forced upon an unequal exchange, and had nothing but a poor remainder of his birthright left him; had this been the point, the question is, whether he would not have thought the crown had overrated the trouble of being a guardian, and taken too much for protection? To tell him his estate is legally conveyed away, and his right transferred by act of parliament, would scarcely make him easy. Such an answer gives little relief. It only clinches the misfortune, and leaves the man without remedy. And therefore peradventure his thoughts might be so mutinous as to fancy he had hard measure. Where an estate is entailed, treason does not work so far as to affect the descent or disappoint the heir. And therefore to have the bulk of it conveyed off, without any forfeiting misbehaviour, looks unkindly at first sight. As to the parallel, I shall only observe, that the patrimony of the Church is set-

tled upon succession, and has the force of the strongest entail. Not to mention the holy revenues were given to maintain the honour and interest of religion, and are vested as it were in the Divine Majesty. To which may be added, that the queen had lately sworn to maintain the rights of the Church, at her coronation. It may be observed farther, that one remarkable consideration for granting the monasteries to king Henry VIII. was not thought necessary to this bill. For the thirty-first of Henry VIII., cap. 13, sets forth in the preamble, that the religious houses had been freely surrendered into the king's hands, without any manner of force, co-action, or compulsion. But here no such voluntary surrender is alleged. On the contrary, the bishops declared their dislike of such an exchange; remonstrated loudly against the bill, and charged the alienation with no less than sacrilege. But of this more afterwards.

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In the mean time, I cannot well omit one of our learned Church historian's remarks upon this act. He takes notice, "many had observed, that in Edward VI.'s time, under a pre-
Bp. Burnet, pt. 2. p. 394.

tence of giving some endowments to the crown, the courtiers got all the Church lands divided amongst themselves; so it was believed the use to be made of this statute would be the robbing the Church, without the enriching the crown."

To proceed: the bill for giving authority to thirty-two persons to revise the ecclesiastical laws, and digest them into a body, was read the second time in the house of Commons and not thrown out, but ordered to be engrossed. It passed at the third reading, but the house of Lords not being disposed for the revival of Church discipline, the bill came to nothing. Another intended provision relating to the Church, which miscarried this session, was the bill that the queen by commission might restore such spiritual persons as have been unlawfully deprived, either for being married, or non-conformity in religion. This bill the learned historian last-mentioned affirms, did not pass the house of Commons. His reason is, that the queen ordered it to be laid aside. Had this been matter of fact, it would have looked like a stretch of the prerogative, and a pressure on the privileges of parliament: but this author is somewhat mistaken, for the bill was thrice read, passed the house, and was sent up to the Lords by Mr. Sadler and others.

A bill for revising the ecclesiastical laws by thirty-two persons sunk in the house of Lords.
Bp. Burnet, pt. 2. p. 396.
 D'Ewe's Journal, p. 49.
 Strype's Annals, p. 59.

Bp. Burnet, pt. 2. p. 395.

D'Ewe's
Journal,
p. 55.

It is true the bill failed, and either sunk in the house of Lords, or missed the royal assent.

The best of it was, there was now no statute in force against the marriage of the clergy. It is true, queen Mary had repealed her brother king Edward's laws, by which it was allowed: but then the acts of king Henry VIII., which put the married clergy under penalties, were repealed by the first of Edward VI., cap. 12. Now the branch of this statute relating to this matter, stands unrepealed by the first and second Philip and Mary, cap. 8. And thus there was nothing but the canon law which stood in the way: and that in all likelihood would be overlooked by the reformed bishops; who, till farther provision, may well be supposed to govern their courts by the thirty-first article, set forth in the year 1552.

*New erected
religious
houses dis-
solved and
granted to
the crown.
May 5,
1559.
D'Ewe's
Journal,
p. 35.*

A bill for annexing abbeys, priories, nunneries, hospitals, and chantries, passed both houses, and was no doubt signed by the queen, though the journal of the Lords does not mention what public acts had the royal assent. In the upper house all the lords spiritual, and the viscount Montague, dissented. The bill for uniformity of Common Prayer in the Church was brought into the house of Commons April the 18th, and April the 20th it passed the third reading. From this dispatch we may collect the house was strongly inclined to restore the reformed establishment. This bill did not pass the house of Lords without something of struggle. For instance, Scott, bishop of Chester, and Fecknam, abbot of Westminster, made speeches against it.

*Dr. Feck-
nam's speech
against the
bill for uni-
formity of
Common
Prayer.
Biblioth.
Cotton.
Vespasian.
D. 18. fol. 8.*

Fecknam spoke to this sense. In the beginning he takes notice, "that two different religions being the subject of their inquiry, he looked upon it as a point of the last importance to resolve on the right side of the question. And particularly he conceived himself bound in duty to God, the queen, and their lordships, to deliver his opinion upon the case. And in order to set their lordships upon a sure bottom, he lays down three rules to form their judgment upon. First, to distinguish the true religion from that which is counterfeit, we must consider which of them has the best claim to antiquity, and has been most universally received, both as to time and place. Secondly, which of them has been most constant and uniform with itself. Thirdly, whether of the two religions is most productive of

morality and virtue : and in which communion the people are most exemplary for their piety towards God, and their obedience to the civil magistrate.

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“ In speaking to the first point, the abbot pretends, the reformed religion was altogether modern and novel, and never received till the latter end of the reign of king Edward VI. ; whereas the Roman Catholic faith and worship, professed at present in this realm, had been the religion of the island for no less than fourteen hundred years. And here he proceeds to mention the conversion of the British king Lucius, by Damianus and Faganus, sent hither by pope Eleutherius at that prince’s instance. Before he parts with this authority, he cites a counterfeit passage in Gildas, to prove the Church service in Latin. He likewise takes it for granted, that the articles and worship of the Christian religion, when first planted here, were the same with the present belief and practice of the Church of Rome ; and that all parts of Christendom were agreed in these matters.

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“ From hence he proceeds to his second rule, or test of the two communions. And here they were to inquire, whether the new or old religion (as he calls them) was most constant and consistent with itself. The new religion (as he goes on) set forth in the articles and liturgic books of the English reformers, he charges with inconstancy and different appearance. That these reformers floated in their opinion, quitted their first plan, and refined upon themselves : and yet always pretended to publish and decree nothing but the sincere word of God. He proceeds to maintain an inconsistency between the first and second Liturgy in the reign of king Edward VI. That in one book they own the seven sacraments, and the real presence of Christ’s body in the eucharist, which they denied in the other. That, at first, they allowed the receiving of the sacrament in one kind, and ordered the bread should be unleavened ; but in their latter ecclesiastical constitutions, the holy eucharist is ordered to be received in both kinds, and in common bread. And here, likewise, it was decreed, that no reverence should be paid to the consecrated elements, but only to the body of Christ in heaven. The abbot continues to acquaint the lords, that it was no wonder to find such diversity in the religious system of the Reformed, since the men that composed it, could neither agree with each other nor with

themselves. To make out this charge, he pretends our English reformers took their measures, and were governed in their resolutions by the divines of Germany, such as Carolostadius, Melancthon, Luther, and Zuinglius. And, touching the doctrine of the holy eucharist, the abbot gives an instance of their disagreement. As for Carolostadius, he interprets the words of the holy eucharist thus: 'Accepit panem, benedixit, fregit, deditque, discipulis suis dicens, Accipite et comedite, hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis tradetur, monstrans corpus visibile suum;' *i. e.* according to Carolostadius's divinity, our Saviour pointed to his visible body, and said, 'This is my body which shall be betrayed for you.' This exposition was condemned by Luther, who expounded the words of the institution to a sense of consubstantiation. Zuinglius makes the words 'my body' signify no more than the figure of my body. Peter Martyr, in his late disputations at Oxford, differed from these three, and would have us to understand by 'This is my body,' that our Saviour's body, received by faith, shall be 'pro pane vel instar panis,' *i. e.* instead of bread to the communicants. From these German divines, he proceeds to charge archbishop Cranmer with self-contradiction, and fluctuating in his belief. His instance is, that in one year he published a Catechism in English, and dedicated it to king Edward VI., in which he asserts the real presence of Christ's body in the holy eucharist; but soon after he printed another book, in which he plainly maintained the contrary doctrine. Dr. Ridley, whom this abbot styles the most learned of the English Reformers, fell into the same inconsistency. For at St. Paul's Cross, in the hearing of this abbot, (as he pretends) the said bishop Ridley asserted the real presence of Christ's body in very strong expressions, and such as reach in a manner to transubstantiation. He told the audience, that 'the devil believed the Son of God was able to make the stones bread, and we English people, who confess that Jesus Christ is the very Son of God, will not believe that he did make of bread his very body, flesh and blood; therefore we are worse than the devils, seeing that our Saviour Christ, by express words, did most plainly affirm the same.' But afterwards, in the last book, published by archbishop Cranmer, with the assistance of Ridley, the sense of our Saviour's words was very much encumbered and perplexed with their interpretation. From hence he

infers, that since both the English and German Reformers are so inconsistent with themselves, their lordships have great reason to question their belief, and refuse their scheme, till they are better agreed.

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“ He comes now to his third rule, or characteristic of the true religion, *i. e.* Whether the Roman Catholic or the Reformed Communion affords the best people, both with respect to piety and civil life. And here he is so hardy, as to appeal to matter of fact, and desire their lordships to consider how much the subject was changed for the worse since the death of queen Mary: which declension in virtue he lays to the charge of the new preachers. In her late majesty’s reign, (saith he) your lordships may remember how quiet and governable the people were: it was not then their custom to prescribe to authority, to run before the laws, nor disobey the proclamations of their sovereign. There was then no sacrilegious rapine, no plundering of churches, no blasphemous outrage, and trampling the holy sacraments under their feet. It was none of their way to tear down the pix, and hang up the knave of clubs in the place. They did not hack and hew the crucifix in those times. They were better observers of discipline than to eat flesh openly, and fill their shambles with butcher’s meat, in the solemnity of Lent. In the late reign, the generality of the people, and particularly the nobility, and those of the privy council, were exemplary for their public devotion: it being the custom to go to a church or chapel, to beg the protection of God, before they entered upon the business of the day. But now the face of things is quite otherwise. The new preachers and the stage, by rallying and running down the old religion, have raised a turbulent humour in the people, brought on a dissolution of manners, and a contempt of religious appointments. Though, to do justice to the queen, her majesty has endeavoured, both by her example and proclamations, to restrain such intemperate sallies. He goes on his declamation, and complains that virtue has in a manner taken her leave of the kingdom. That humility, obedience, submission, and a governable temper, regularity and a good behaviour, are hardly to be met with. For now, as though the reins were laid upon their necks, and they had a dispensation from heaven, all sorts and degrees fly out into liberty and disorder. Children degenerate from the sobriety of their fathers, servants fly in the

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face of their masters, and subjects make no scruple of being disobedient to their superiors, both in Church and State.

“ From this declension in piety and good manners, (which he takes for granted) he solicits the lords to expel the Reformation, and adhere to the ancient belief. And, to make the deeper impression, he puts them in mind it is settled by the constitution, and that they are now in possession of it.

“ In the close of his speech he suggests four things, which, as he observes, settled St. Augustin in the communion of the Catholic Church, and kept him steady to the doctrines received. The first was, ‘ Auctoritas ecclesiæ Christi, miraculis inchoata, spe nutrita, charitate aucta, vetustate firmata,’ *i. e.* The authority of the Church of Christ, founded upon miracles, subsisted with the hopes of immortality, increased by benevolent principle and practice, and strengthened by length of time. The second thing was ‘ Populi consensus et unitas,’ *i. e.* The general consent, union, and good correspondence of the Christian society. The third was, ‘ Perpetua sacerdotum successio in sede Petri,’ *i. e.* An uninterrupted succession of bishops in St. Peter’s see. The fourth was, ‘ Ipsum Catholicæ nomen,’ *i. e.* The name or distinction of Catholic. These four considerations,” continues the abbot, “ kept St. Augustine firm to his principles.” All which motives he ventures to apply to the present occasion, and supposes they lie all on the side of the Roman Catholic communion.

But here Fecknam, to remark nothing farther on his speech, misreports Cranmer and Ridley on the subject of the holy eucharist. For neither of these bishops had contradicted their prints or sermons in king Edward’s reign. No : they explained themselves to a sense of consistency, and refuted the calumnies thrown upon them.

After the third reading of the Uniformity Bill, Scott, bishop of Chester, delivered himself against it, to this effect :

“ My lords, this bill, though it has been thrice read, yet in my opinion ought neither to have been mentioned, nor regarded in this honourable house. The design of this bill being to expose those things to question, which ought to be received without farther inquiry : to speak particularly, the business of this bill is to bring on a change in religion, or more properly a total suppression of what has been anciently professed. As to religion, it consists partly in circumstances or externals,

Memor. of
Cranmer,
p. 160.
Fox, Annal.
1553.
*Scott, bishop
of Chester,
his speech
against
the said bill.*
Cotton. Lib.
Vespasian.
D. 18.
fol. 114.

and partly of things which relate to the substance, and are essential to practice. As for those matters which are more essential, they may be reduced to faith, hope, and charity; and touching the externals, the Liturgy and the administration of the sacraments may be ranged under this head. Now, with reference to these latter, they are clearly sunk and extinguished by this bill. And as for the former, the efficacy of them is much weakened. For, first, by breaking the unity of the Church, charity is lost; for ‘*nunquam relinquent unitatem, qui non prius amittunt charitatem.*’ And St. Paul tells us, that ‘*charity is the bond of perfectness.*’ And when charity is once departed, there is nothing left to cement a Christian society. And thus we split into sects and factions, which is the calamity of the present age. And as for faith, several of the articles and mysteries of this theological virtue are not only questioned but denied. Though this contradiction is not openly avowed in every point. Now, when faith and charity have thus taken their leave, hope must either be in a solitary condition, or (which is most likely) presumption set above it; which disorder commonly ends in despair. From what I have already observed, we ought rather to pay a regard to our holy religion, than dispute upon it. For as a learned author suggests, ‘*quæ patefacta sunt, quærere; quæ perfecta sunt, retractare; et quæ definita sunt, convellere; quid aliud est quam de adeptis gratiam non referre?*’ *i. e.* ‘To moot upon points clearly discovered, to touch over things which are well finished, and to unsettle matters which have passed the test, what is it less than ingratitude for the blessings we have received?’ And to the same purpose, St. Athanasius argues, ‘*quæ nunc a tot et talibus episcopis probata sunt, et decreta, clareque demonstrata, supervacuum est denuò revocare in judicium;*’ *i. e.* ‘It is a very unnecessary business (to speak softly) to bring the cause to a rehearing, which has been thoroughly examined and settled by so many bishops of character.’ He means the prelates that assisted at the council of Nice; for, as St. Athanasius goes on, if their decisions must be re-examined, this liberty is the way to keep us under perpetual uncertainty, and hinder the controversy from ever coming to an end. For, as we are told, ‘*si quotidie licebit fidem in quæstionem vocare, de fide nunquam constabit;*’ *i. e.* ‘if matters of faith may be every day discussed, there will be no possibility of knowing when

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we are in the right.' Now, if St. Athanasius thought it unreasonable to question the decisions of the council of Nice, where there were but three hundred and eighteen bishops present; how much more unaccountable must it be in us to question the belief and practice of the whole Catholic Church, where, instead of three hundred, we have three hundred thousand bishops to vouch for authority. And as for the grounds and articles of faith, than which nothing ought to be better fixed and more certain, these things, I say, must be very floating and precarious, if they hang upon an act of parliament. In earnest, this is but a weak support for so great a weight: and here I desire your lordships to understand me rightly. I have no intention to say any thing to lessen the authority of parliament. I own the acts of this honourable court are not to be contested, when passed upon matters within your jurisdiction. But as to religion, I humbly conceive that is a subject altogether foreign to the business of parliament. For faith, as I have observed before, ought to have a firm basis, to be unalterable as the laws of the Medes and Persians, and not stand liable to amendments and repeals, and all other casualties of the statute-book. We ought not to waver and be at uncertainties in our belief; for, as St. James speaks, 'he that doubts or wavers, is like a wave of the sea,' always rolling from one figure to another. This man, as the apostle goes on, 'is unstable in all his ways.' Besides, the body of the parliament consists mostly of the temporal nobility, and the commons, which, though persons of great judgment and learning in civil matters, yet divinity is none of their profession. The exposition of the Scriptures, the reading of the ancients, has been none of their employment. These things considered, they cannot be supposed to be rightly qualified to pronounce upon the doctrines and practice of the Church. Neither, indeed, do these things belong to their function, or lie within their character. And for this, my lords, I appeal to a late instance. I remember this parliament there was a nobleman's son put under an arrest and committed. This confinement was resented by your lordships, and the honour of the house was thought to suffer by it. Upon this resolution the young gentleman, the bailiff, and the person at whose suit he was arrested, were all ordered to appear before your lordships; but before they were brought into the house, it was thought proper

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to debate the matter over again, for fear the house might concern themselves in things without their cognizance. And here the case was found to contain three points. The first was a debt, and that your lordships thought proper to remit to the common law. The second point was upon inquiry found an encroachment upon the court of Chancery. The third was the arrest and commitment, in which the house thought themselves concerned. Upon the whole, if by your lordship's resolution the parliament has no authority to check the courts of common law and Chancery, which relate only to civil justice, and turn upon matters which lie open to human reason; then, by all force of consequence, your pretensions must be still lower in matters of faith,—in matters of faith and religion, which so far exceed the extent of reason. The subject of this bill being of this sublime nature, there are three things principally to be considered. First, the importance of the matter; secondly, the obscurity of the case, and the difficulty of trying the truth; and thirdly, the danger of mistaking the point, and coming to a wrong resolution. As to the first, the importance of the matter, nothing can be greater. It is no temporal interest, no money business, no branch of property: no, it is of a much higher consideration. The fate of eternity, life and death, heaven and hell, are concerned in it. For now, as the Scripture speaks, 'Life and death, fire and water, are set before us:' now, to judge rightly in a concern of this consequence is neither every body's talent, nor every body's business. Farther, we should be especially careful, not to pass a rash censure upon the judgment and practice of our forefathers. Now, that system of belief, that form of religion, which is to be set aside by this bill, is the same which was professed by our ancestors for a thousand years and upwards. And, which is more, it was likewise received by the universal Church from the times of the apostles:" and here, by way of opposition, he insists upon the novelty of the Reformation. To go on with the bishop. "A noble member of this house was lately pleased to say, that our forefathers lived in the dark, and therefore we have great reason to lament their ignorance. To this we may answer, that if our forefathers were within the hearing of this imputation, we have reason to believe they would reply as our Saviour did to the women that lamented for him, 'Weep not for us, but for yourselves:' do not trouble yourselves for our ignorance,

but for your own presumption ; for being so hardy to justify your innovation, and condemn the ages before you.

“Secondly. And as the subject is of the last importance, so the matter is perplexed, and not to be disentangled without difficulty and penetration. The question to be resolved relates to the mass book and the new Common Prayer. The first by the bill is to be suppressed, as unorthodox and indefensible. The other to be established as agreeable to the holy Scriptures. Now, the commendation of the one, and the dislike of the other, relates to the same matter, *i. e.*, a right administration of the sacraments, pursuant to the institution of our Saviour Christ ; in which administration we are to consider three things ; first, the institution of our blessed Saviour, which comprehends the matter and substance of the sacraments ; secondly, the regulations of the apostles, from which the form of the sacraments may be said to emerge ; to which, in the third place, we may put the additions of the holy Fathers for the perfecting, and farther advantage in the administration. These three things, as they are necessary, so they are duly observed in the mass book, or old service. But the other book, which is so much magnified, not only strikes two of them clear out of practice, but makes the third in a manner insignificant. For first, as touching the traditions of the ancients in the mass, as the ‘Confiteatur,’ the ‘Misereatur,’ ‘Κύριε ἐλέησον sequentes Preces,’ ‘Sanctus,’ ‘Agnus Dei,’ &c. To which we may add the rites prescribed by the apostles, as benedictions, and the use of the cross ; and in the administration of several of the sacraments, ‘exsufflations, exorcisms, anointing, praying towards the east, invocation of saints, and prayers for the dead,’ &c. These rites and usages, I say, are either maimed, or clear taken away by the new book. Notwithstanding which omissions, the compilers pretend it exactly agreeable to our Saviour’s institution, and the custom of the primitive Church. But to waive the insisting upon apostolical regulations and primitive tradition, though these may justly challenge our regard ; however, let us pass over these things at present, and come to the institution of our blessed Saviour ; and examine which of these two books comes up closest to this standard. And to clear the controversy the better, we will take the mass, or, as they call it, the Lord’s Supper, for an instance. And here, as all the Fathers collect from the Scriptures, our Saviour instituted

three things. These he commanded to be continued in remembrance of his passion until his coming again. 'Do this,' &c. The first is the consecration of the blessed body and blood of our Saviour Christ; the second consists in the offering up the same to God the Father; the third we may call the communion, *i. e.*, the eating and drinking the said blessed body and blood under the form of bread and wine." As to the first two, he cites a passage from St. Chrysostom, to prove the consecration in the mass, and the oblation of the body and blood of our Saviour, as a sacrifice to God the Father. Now to speak in the bishop's person.

"These two things are taken away in the New Service Book. This (saith he) the compilers of that book are willing to acknowledge. They declaim against the doctrine which asserts Christ's being offered more than once. Though, on the other side, the holy fathers unanimously maintain, that Christ is still offered in an unbloody manner. Now, if these men would consider the consequences of their tenets, this reflection might be serviceable to recover them. For, if there is no external sacrifice, then there is no priesthood: for the function of a priest (as St. Paul informs us) is to offer gifts and sacrifices for sin. Now, if there is no priesthood under the New Testament, the next inference is, that we have no religion; and thus 'we are without God in this world.' For these, like the links of a chain, have a close connexion with each other. Farther, I desire your lordships to consider, that the consecration likewise fails in this modern liturgy. These men talk of nothing but the holy communion, but fall short of the meaning of that expression. For the things which should make it holy, *i. e.* the body and blood of Christ, are not there. It is true, when the administration is duly performed, the communion may well be called holy; for then we receive our Saviour's blessed body and blood into our bodies; and thus we are united with him like two pieces of wax, which are melted into each other. This similitude St. Cyril and St. Chrysostom make use of upon this occasion: and, as St. Paul speaks, 'We are made flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone.' But this great advantage cannot be expected from the new book: for, by the ministration prescribed, Christ's body is not truly there. For, where there is no consecration, there can be no real presence. But this is the case of the new service. For these

men neither observe the form prescribed by Christ, nor the custom of the Church. The evangelist informs us, that our Saviour 'took bread, blessed, brake, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take and eat, this is my body; do this in remembrance of me.' By these words we are commanded to take the bread in our hands, 'to bless it and break it;' but by the order of this book all this is omitted.

"For the priest neither takes the bread in his hands, nor blesses it, nor breaks it. And as for the words, 'this is my body,' by the pronouncing of which, as St. Chrysostom teaches us, the consecration is performed,—their priests, I say, when they pronounce these words of our Saviour, have no regard to the sacramental solemnity, or the force of the expression, or the effect upon the bread, but make no more of the words than if they were telling a story. To proceed, the doctors of the Church affirm, that an intention to do that which Christ did, *i. e.* to 'consecrate his body and blood,' is a circumstance of absolute necessity. For this purpose, the Church has appointed certain prayers in the canon of the mass to be said before the consecration; the words are these, '*Ut fiat nobis corpus et sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi,*' *i. e.* that the elements may be made unto us the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. Thus the intention of the Church, and of the priest officiating, is plainly declared: but in this new book there is neither any such intention declared, or any petition put up to God for that purpose. The contrary does rather appear, by these words in their office, 'that we, receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine, may,' &c.; which words declare they intend nothing of consecration. And if so, let them value themselves as much as they please upon their communion, it is to no manner of purpose, in regard the body of Christ is not there, which, as I have already observed, is the thing which should be communicated.

"Yesterday a noble peer was pleased to say he believed Christ was received in the communion prescribed by the new service, but upon being asked whether he worshipped him there, he answered, no, nor never intended it. Now this is a strange opinion, that Christ should not be worshipped wherever he is owned to be present. I grant they tell us, they worship our Saviour no less than we do, but then they distinguish and affirm it is with respect to his being in heaven, and not as he

is present in the sacrament ; which is just as if a man should say, that he is willing to pay a civil worship to his prince, when he sits under a state, and has his robes on, but if he comes abroad under a disguise, or in a plain habit, they desire to be excused ; and yet, by their favour, he is as much a sovereign in a frieze coat in the streets as when he sits upon the throne in gold tissue. And thus he that sits on the right hand of God, in the appearance of a glorified body, is the same Christ which is concealed in the sacrament, under the forms of bread and wine.

ELIZA-
BETH.

“ The Scripture, as St. Austin expounds it, commands us to worship our Saviour’s body in the sacrament. The text runs thus ‘ Adorate scabellum ejus,’ &c., *i. e.* Worship his footstool, for it is holy. Upon this place St. Augustin’s comment is, that Christ assumed flesh of the blessed Virgin, his mother, in the same flesh he conversed upon earth, and the same flesh he gave us to eat, but no man will presume to eat before he worships it. And in this sense, we may be said to worship his footstool. And we shall not only not sin in worshipping, but we shall sin in not worshipping. Thus far St. Austin.

429.

“ Upon a farther consideration of this matter, we shall have great reason to admire the gracious conduct of Almighty God in this matter. For by this merciful dispensation he has provided for the conversion even of heretics, and brought them towards an acknowledgment of the truth. For the Lutherans, in their disputes with the Zuinglians, prove the natural body of our Saviour in the holy eucharist. Upon this the Zuinglians turn their adversaries’ argument upon them, and infer, that then it will be necessary to worship him there. And thus, by the contest of these two parties, like the collision of hard bodies, the sparkles of truth fly out. And therefore, in my opinion, to affirm that Christ is in the sacrament, and yet not to be worshipped, is a mispersuasion more without colour, than to affirm he is not there at all. For either they hold no more than an imaginary presence, or else they believe his body is present, abstracted from his divinity ; and thus they fall into the wicked heresy of Nestorius.

“ And now, my lords, I beg you would please to consider the subject of the present controversy, and whether your lordships are sufficiently qualified to examine the points, and pronounce upon the case, *i. e.* whether your lordships are furnished

so far with ecclesiastical learning as to give a judgment whether the body of Christ is consecrated, offered, adored, and truly communicated by the order of this new book. Whether these acts and circumstances are made essential by the institution of our Saviour; and whether this new book follows the direction of that infallible rule. These things, as I observe to your lordships, are weighty and perplexed: and it is no easy matter not to fall into an error. And then your lordships may likewise consider the condition of the other sacraments; and that these are either perfectly sunk, or mangled after the same rate, by this new book.

“Thirdly, your lordships may please to remember the great danger you draw upon yourselves by undertaking to judge in the cause, especially if you should happen to make a wrong decision. For then, besides the misfortune of your own persons, you will prove the unhappy occasion of misleading others. King Jeroboam has this mark set upon him, as an aggravation of his misbehaviour, that besides his personal miscarriage, he made Israel to sin. My lords, I entreat you would be very careful to prevent the application of this text. To speak freely, in my judgment, if you pass this bill, you will not only err yourselves, but be instrumental in misleading the nation, for which you must expect to give an account to Almighty God.

“Those who are well read in ecclesiastical history, and acquainted with the methods of the Church, in debating religious controversy, can easily inform your lordships, that these matters have been all along decided by the clergy, and not by the laity. The Arian heresy, in the reign of Constantine the Great, was canvassed and condemned in the council of Nice. The heresy of Macedonius, in the first council of Constantinople, in the time of Theodosius the Great. The heresy of Nestorius in that of Ephesus, in the reign of Theodosius the Younger. The heresy of Eutyches in the council of Calcedon, under Martin (he means Marcian). But here we are to observe, that none of these religious emperors ever convened their temporal nobility, or commons, to advise or determine in these controversies. They did not refer the case to the majority of the laity, nor go to the poll to discover truth.

“And to come nearer home, to the third council of Toledo, in Spain, in the time of king Herre, (as he calls him,) and to a

French council in the reign of Charles the Great: in both these councils, I say, the customary usage of the Church was observed; the prelates had the pope's leave to meet, and then reformed the abuses, and decided the matters in question. And here these princes above-mentioned brought none of the laity to intermeddle in the affair; neither did they themselves offer to debate the matter, but left the controversies entirely to the management of the clergy: neither need we wonder at this conduct in Catholic princes, for even heretical emperors declined bringing the laity to interpose in religious disputes.

ELIZA-
BETH.

"Thus Constantius and Valens, who drew several synods together, left the decision to the body of the clergy: and the emperor Zeno, who was a favourer of the Eutychians, managed by the same rule. And to this purpose I might give many more instances. Nay, in the Acts of the Apostles the infidels refused to concern themselves this way. For when St. Paul was brought before Gallio, and charged with teaching the people to worship God contrary to the laws of the country, this magistrate replied, 'If it were any matter of wickedness, O ye Jews, I might well bear with you: but if it be concerning any questions and doubts in the law,' *i.e.* if it be a charge concerning your religion, 'I will be no judge in these matters.' I beseech your lordships to recollect, that all princes and magistrates, Catholic, heretic, and infidel, have all along refused to put themselves in a post which your lordships are now going to challenge. But I shall distress your lordships' patience no longer, and conclude with the mention of two instances.

"The first is in the emperor Theodosius the Great, who makes no scruple to confess, that '*Illicitum est qui non sit ex ordine sanctorum episcoporum, ecclesiasticis se immiscere tractatibus;*' *i.e.* It is not lawful for a man who has not the episcopal character, to interpose in religious affairs. The other is a saying of the emperor Valentinian, '*Mihi quidem qui in sorte plebis sum, fas non est ista curiosius scrutari: sacerdotes quibus ista curæ sunt, inter seipsos, quocunque loco voluerint, convenient;*' *i.e.* It is not lawful for me, saith the emperor, who am but a layman, to enter into any curious inquiry upon these matters: this is the bishops' business, and therefore let them meet about it where they please. Now if

these emperors had nothing to do in such debates, I must crave leave to say your lordships have as little."

430. And thus desiring their lordships to consider what was offered, and interpret him favourably, he concludes his speech.

The design of this work not being controversy, I shall not examine the reasoning, nor detect the mistakes. Most readers, I conceive, may be in a condition to disentangle the matter: it being no difficult undertaking to show the principles laid down, the authorities produced, and the consequences drawn, will not bear in the application. The advantage gained by the reformed, at the late conference in Westminster-abbey, smoothed the passage for the Uniformity Bill, and brought over a majority of the houses; and thus the rhetoric and learning of Scott and Fecknam were disappointed, though it must be said they argued with something of colour, and made a bold push for their persuasion. The reason why we have no answers to these speeches is, because there were no reformed bishops then sitting in the upper house: and the controversy was too much embarrassed with ecclesiastical learning to be managed by the temporal nobility. When the bill passed, the archbishop of York, the bishops of Ely, London, Worcester, Llandaff, Coventry and Lichfield, Exeter, Chester, and Carlisle; and nine temporal lords, the marquess of Winchester, the earl of Shrewsbury, the viscount Montague, and the lords Morley, Stafford, Dudley, Wharton, Rich, and North, dissented.

D'Ewe's
Journal.
*The English
Common
Prayer-
book com-
piled by the
clergy.*

And here it may not be improper to observe, that though the use of the English Common Prayer was enjoined by the parliament, yet the book was not drawn up either by the council board, or any lay committee of the two houses. What bishops and clergymen of eminence composed the Liturgy used in the reign of Edward VI. has been already related. The same method was now taken under queen Elizabeth: and a committee of divines ordered to bring the whole service under a review. They were all men of character: some of them had been exiles, and adhered to the English establishment at Frankfort, against Knox and Calvin's party. Their names are these: Mr. Whitehead, Dr. Parker, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury; Dr. Grindal, Dr. Cox, Dr. Pilkington, Dr. Mar, Dr. Bill; to these sir Thomas Smith, a person of learning,

and doctor of civil law, was joined in the commission, to bring them together, and expedite the affair. These divines entered upon the review in December previously, but did not finish the performance till some time in April. The draught laid before the parliament was passed, as far as it appears, without any alteration. It is not found that the lords and commons had any conference upon this subject in the painted chamber, or that they appointed any committees to examine the book. They concluded this regulation was properly the business of the clergy; and therefore, relying upon the judgment of the divines above-mentioned, passed the service in the form it was delivered: passed it, I say, without any amendments, excepting in one circumstance. In the draught laid before the houses by the committee of divines, it was left at the people's liberty to receive the communion either kneeling or standing. This posture, it is probable, was restrained to kneeling by the parliament: and if so, they did no more than follow the direction of the Church, and settle the matter by the rubric of the old book. That kneeling or standing was left indifferent by the committee of divines, seems very probable by Dr. Guest's papers in answer to some queries put to him by secretary Cecil. By the way, this Guest was made one of the committee. By the questions put, it is not improbable that the secretary, and it may be the queen, were not unwilling the first service-book set forth in the reign of king Edward should be laid before the parliament; but this motion, if made, was overruled by Guest, and the other divines. As to their resolution, I shall object nothing: but some of the answers returned by Guest, seem short of satisfaction.

ELIZABETH.

Coll. Cor.
Christ. Cant.
Synodal.
fol. 84.

The penalty for depraving the Common Prayer, for the third offence, is the forfeiture of all the criminal's goods and chattels, and imprisonment during life. This clause did not pass without a guard for the honour and privileges of the lords: for it is expressly provided, that all and singular lords of the parliament shall be tried by their peers. And thus in the late reign it was enacted, that all lords of parliament having place and voice in parliament, are to be tried by their peers, in case of petty treasons, murder, and felony. Now sir Edward Coke makes no scruple to affirm, that the bishops are lords of parliament. His reasons are undeniable. "They hold of the king," says he, "by barony, and are called by writ to parlia-

4 & 5 Phil.
& Mary,
cap. 4.

Coke's Institut. pt. 1. fol. 97.

ment." From hence it follows, that by the statutes of queen Mary and queen Elizabeth, last-mentioned, the bishops have a right to be tried by their peers no less than the temporal nobility.

The differences between this book and the second set forth in the reign of Edward 6. See Records, num. 77.

The service-book having passed the parliament, was printed soon after. How far it differed from the second book set forth in the reign of king Edward, the reader may see in the records.

Besides the statute already mentioned for authorising the queen to take bishops' lands into her hands upon a vacancy, there were other private acts for the alienation of church estates. For instance, an act for the assurance of certain lands, parcel of the bishopric of London, to the lord Wentworth, the lord Rich, and the lord Darcy; and an act for assuring lands, parcel of the bishopric of Winchester, to king Edward's patentees.

D'Ewe's Journal.

There was another act which affected the patrimony of the Church to a greater extent, though at first appearance it carried a friendly aspect. By this statute the bishops were barred making any grants of their farms or manors for more than one-and-twenty years, or three lives at farthest, unless it were to the queen, her heirs, and successors. But this exception left the breach open. For the courtiers, as Cambden observes, abusing the queen's goodness, and practising upon some mercenary clergy, got some of the best estates of the bishoprics conveyed to them. Thus, for instance, Crediton was gained from the see of Exeter, and Sherborne from Salisbury; not to mention the alienation of a great many other wealthy manors from Winchester, Ely, and other bishoprics.

Cambden, Eliz. Heylin's Hist. Ref.

431.

During this session, a peace was concluded at Castle Cambray with the French and Scots. By the French treaty, Calais was to be restored to the queen, with the dependencies, after the term of eight years.

Cambden, Eliz. *The parliament dissolved.*

On the 8th of May the parliament was dissolved; and, on the 24th of June following, the act for the English Common Prayer-book enured. And now the oath of supremacy was tendered to the bishops and clergy. It was refused by all the bishops, excepting Kitchin of Landaff, whom Cambden calls "the calamity of his see." I shall give the reader their names, together with part of the character given them by this learned historian:—Nicholas Heath, archbishop of York, who resigned the broad seal, spent the remainder of his time in study and

Bishops, &c. turned out for refusing the oath of supremacy.

retirement at Cobham in Surrey, and had sometimes the honour of a visit from the queen; Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, who had gone through several embassies, but lost himself by his prosecuting temper and harsh management; Cuthbert Tunstal, bishop of Durham, a prelate thoroughly accomplished in the polite part of learning; Thomas Thirleby, bishop of Ely, the queen's ambassador at Cambray, where he managed the treaty to great commendation; Gilbert Bourn, bishop of Bath and Wells, who took care of the interest of his see; John Christopherson, of Chichester, a good Grecian, as appears by what he has translated of Eusebius and Philo Judeus. But, by the way, this prelate did not live long enough to refuse the oath. He died within six weeks after queen Mary: for the dean and chapter of Canterbury seized the spiritualties of the see of Chichester, vacant by the death of Christopherson, January 2nd, 1559. And here, to make the observation bear, the learned Harmer takes it for granted, the Canterbury register begins its computation either on Christmas-day or the 1st of January. To go on with Cambden's list of ejected bishops: John White, bishop of Winchester, a tolerable scholar, and, as the times went, no ill poet; Thomas Watson, of Lincoln, a good school divine, but of a sour and unsociable humour; Ralph Bayne, of Coventry and Lichfield, who revived the Hebrew learning, and was regius professor of that language at Paris under Francis I.; Owen Oglethorpe, of Carlisle; James Turberville, of Exeter; and David Pool, of Peterborough. These ejected bishops were imprisoned at first; but, soon after, their confinement was made more easy, and they were either put into their friends' hands, or the custody of the reformed bishops. It is true, the bishops of Lincoln and Winchester, who had been most troublesome, and threatened to excommunicate the queen, had no share in this favour; but as for Cuthbert Scott, bishop of Chester, Richard Pate of Worcester, and Thomas Goldwell of St. Asaph, they had the liberty of retiring beyond sea, which they made their choice. When these bishops were turned out, may be accounted for, as far as the province of Canterbury, by inspecting the dates when the spiritualties of their respective sees were seized by the dean and chapter of Canterbury: for, during the vacancy of this metropolitical see, the archiepiscopal jurisdiction was in the hands of the dean and chapter. Now, the spiritualties

ELIZA-
BETH.

Cambden,
Eliz. p. 37.
Bp. Burnet,
pt. 2. p. 396.

Regist. Cant.
Harmer's
Specimen.

Cambden,
Eliz.

Regist. Cant.
Harmer's
Specimen,
&c.
Regist. Ebor.

of the see of London, void by Bonner's deprivation, were thus seized June 2nd, 1559: the spiritualties of Lichfield, June 24th; the spiritualties of Worcester, June 30th; the spiritualties of Lincoln, July 2nd; the spiritualties of St. Asaph, July 16th; the spiritualties of Winchester, July 18th; the spiritualties of Peterborough, November 11th; those of Exeter, November 16th; and those of Ely, November 23rd:—all the same year. As for the see of York, the dean and chapter there exercised the spiritual jurisdiction belonging to that archbishopric on the 3rd of February, 1559-60.

Strypo's
Annals.

Farther: on the 21st of June, this year, the bishops of Carlisle and Chester were deprived by the queen's commissioners; and the deprivation of the bishop of Durham followed about three months after. In short, they were all deprived by the queen's commission; and, it seems, Heath, Bonner, and Thirleby, were afterwards excommunicated.

*The number
of the re-
jected clergy,
religious, &c.*

The whole number of the clergy deprived at this time stands thus: fourteen bishops, already mentioned; three bishops elect; one abbot, four priors, and one abbess; twelve deans, fourteen archdeacons, sixty canons or prebendaries, one hundred priests, well preferred; fifteen heads of colleges in Oxford and Cambridge; to which may be added, about twenty doctors in several faculties. But then, considering there are about nine thousand four hundred spiritual promotions in England, this was no surprising number upon so great a revolution in the Church. As to the bishops, they had most of them sworn the regale in the reign of king Henry VIII.,—not to mention their compliance with the Reformation under Edward VI.;—but since they had now made their submission to the see of Rome, and gone all the religious lengths of queen Mary's reign, they were resolved to make a stand, and adhere to their last change. And, in regard they threw up their preferments and ventured the penalties of the act, it is most likely they went off upon motives of conscience.

Cambden,
Harmer's
Specimen,
&c.
Biblioth.
Cotton.
Titus, C. 10.

To be somewhat more particular: soon after the dissolution of the parliament, the fourteen bishops, together with some others of the clergy, were ordered to attend the queen. At their coming, she put them in mind of the act of supremacy, recommended the affairs of the Church, pressed them to uniformity, and suggested the discharging the superstitious worship of the Roman communion.

*The bishops
ordered to
attend the
queen.*

ELIZA-
BETH.

Upon this, the archbishop of York replied, "that the dean and chapter of Canterbury, with several bishops of both provinces, had desired him to move her majesty that she would please to recollect the late queen her sister's zeal to the apostolic see; that the engagements of that princess to his holiness were binding to herself and successors; and that, unless these articles were made good, and heresy suppressed, the kingdom must lie under perpetual ignominy and censure." The queen told him, "that, as Joshua declared, 'I and my house will serve the Lord,' so herself and her subjects were resolved to be governed by that resolution; that she had called her parliament and the clergy together, in imitation of Josiah, 'to make a covenant with God,' and not with the bishop of Rome; that it was not in her sister's power to bind her successors to an usurped authority; that her crown being wholly independent, she would own no sovereign excepting Christ Jesus the King of kings; that the pope's usurpation over princes was intolerable; and that she should look upon all her subjects, both clergy and lay, as enemies to God and the crown, who should from henceforth abet his pretensions¹."

*The queen's
answer to
the arch-
bishop of
York.*

432.

About this time, Jewel, afterwards bishop of Salisbury, wrote to Zurich, and gave Bullinger an account of the state of religion in England.

Sydney,
Memoir.
Annal.
Queen
Elizabeth.

"He returns this divine thanks for his favours in Germany, and for the letters he had lately written to encourage them to stand firm for the truth; that arguments for resolution were very necessary at the present juncture; that the reformed in England had not only their old antagonists, but their late friends, to encounter; that these latter had deserted the cause, joined the enemy, and made a more vigorous and obstinate resistance than any of the rest; and, which gives us," says he, "most trouble, we have the remainder of the Spanish vices—luxury, pride, and libertinism—to contest with. As yet our fortunes are unrestored, and we are little the better for returning to our country; but we hope our affairs will mend shortly: for the queen is a prudent and religious princess, and inclined to favour us. Religion is recovered to the same foot on which it stood in the reign of king Edward VI.; and, I am satisfied, the letters sent hither

*Jewel's letter
to Bullinger.
May 22,
1559.*

¹ A noble declaration of the prerogative of the British crown.

by yourself and your republic had a considerable weight in this matter. The queen will not endure the style of 'Head of the Church of England.' She is altogether of opinion that title is too sublime for any mortal, and ought to be given to none but our blessed Saviour. And, besides, it has been so horribly abused by the pope, that it is scarcely consistent with a good conscience for any person to make use of it.

"The Scottish Presbyterians called this distinction a 'blasphemous title,' when used either by popes or princes. Their argument is this: 'The Church,' say they, 'is the Spouse of Christ: no spouse can be said to have any other head but him whose spouse she is. Now, if the Church should acknowledge herself to be the spouse of any other but of Christ, she were a professed whore and adulteress.'

Reformation
of the Ch.
of Scotland.
Preface.

"To return: our universities," continues Jewel, "are in a lamentable condition, and almost quite lost to all sense of orthodoxy. There are not above two in Oxford of our sentiment; and those so far dispirited as to be good for nothing. Thus friar Soto and another Spanish monk have entirely destroyed Peter Martyr's plantation, and made a mere wilderness of the Lord's vineyard. You can scarcely imagine so great a ravage and desolation of principles could have happened in so short a time; and, though I should be glad to see anything from Zurich in England, yet I would not advise you to send any young travellers hither at present, unless you would have them come home with less learning and a worse belief."

The rest of the letter relates either to private persons or business of state.

Biblioth.
Tigurin.
p. 134.

Some time after the dissolution of the parliament, there was a consultation at Greenwich, whether it was advisable for the queen to receive Martinegoe, the pope's nuncio. It was carried in the negative. The reasons alleged were, that, by the statutes of the realm, no person with a public character from Rome was permitted to come into the kingdom; that, at the present juncture, it would be dangerous to entertain an agent from his holiness; that the countenance of a nuncio would encourage the malcontents, and hinder their compliance with the late establishment.

Biblioth.
Cotton.
Julius. F. 6.
Annal. Eliz.
Append.
num. 20.

The pope was all along advertised of the progress of the Reformation. When the queen came first to the crown, he was extravagantly haughty. He pretended England was a fee

of the apostolic see ; and that the queen ought to submit her title to his decision. Thus he continued impolitically stiff and untractable, till things were past remedy. At last, perceiving his gasconades made him only ridiculous, he grew more moderate in his demands, dropped his civil sovereignty, and only insisted there might be no innovation in religion. Sir Edward Carne, the queen's ambassador, told him, he had no instructions to answer upon that head, and that the way for his holiness to receive satisfaction, would be, to declare for the lawfulness of the marriage between king Henry and Anne Bullen. This was a shocking request to the pope and conclave, and could not be complied with without putting a disgrace upon the former proceedings of that court. They chose rather to risk the issue than run upon this rock : and when, by farther advices from England, his holiness understood a revolution in the Church was coming forward, he commanded Carne not to depart Rome without leave, and, in the mean time, undertook the government of the English hospital there. The pope's aim, in putting this restraint upon Carne, was to prevent his giving intelligence of the practice carried on by the French and the court of Rome against the queen. But Carne had sent some advices of this intrigue already ; and the design was quickly no secret, nor needed any agent to discover it : for now the queen of Scots, swayed either by the ambition of the dauphin her husband, the pope's incitement, or the advice of the French king, put up a claim to the British sovereignty, assumed the title and quartered the arms of England. She founded her right upon descent, and pretended herself heir to the late queen Mary. These pretensions could not be supported without a blemish upon queen Elizabeth's birth, and plainly declaring her illegitimate. This was a severe provocation, gave our queen a lasting aversion to that princess, and was attended with a very tragical event.

ELIZA-
BETH.

The pope orders the queen's ambassador to continue at Rome.

Cambden,
Eliz.

The queen of Scots puts up her claim to the crown of England.
Heylin,
Hist. Ref.
Lesley, de
Reb. Gest.
Scot. p. 503

The queen, thus alarmed with a competition, provided for her defence ; and, it may be, went on with greater vigour in the Reformation.

To this purpose, a body of injunctions was set forth. The import of them was mostly the same with those of king Edward. However, the resemblance admits of some difference. There is a singular article relating to the marriage of the clergy. It is very mysteriously couched ; and, had it not the face of so solemn an authority, would look like banter and

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Moral
Essays upon
Pride.

Queen
Elizabeth's
injunctions.

burlesque. But, having taken notice of this provision elsewhere, I shall say nothing farther¹. The other new regulations in these injunctions are much more intelligible.

The first is concerning the use of singing, which the queen would have kept up, to preserve the science and advantage of music; that therefore all maintenances settled for the service of the choirs should be continued. There is likewise care taken that an affectation of skill should not be carried so far as to make the use of the Church service less significant; and that the Common Prayer should be sung in so plain and distinct a manner, that the pronunciation might be altogether as well understood as if it had been read. However, for the satisfaction of those that were particularly pleased with music, a religious anthem was allowed at the beginning or end of the service. Pursuant to this order, the Psalms were sung in plain song in most parish churches, and in the queen's chapel, in cathedrals, and colleges. The hymns were sung in a more awakening and improved manner. And to make the performance farther entertaining and solemn, organs and other instrumental music were made use of.

To proceed: the customary reverences in churches are ordered to be continued. For instance, when the name of Jesus was pronounced, all persons were to bow, or shew some other suitable mark of respect.

Farther: there are directions given for placing the communion table. The article sets forth, that no altar should be taken down but under the inspection of the curate or churchwardens, and that the holy table was to stand in the place of the altar.

The form for bidding prayers in the congregation is almost literally the same with that prescribed in the fifty-fifth canon of 1603.

The sense in
which the
queen was
willing to
receive the
oath of su-
premacy.

And because the oath of supremacy had been misconstrued by several persons, as if the kings or queens of this realm had challenged "an authority and power of ministry of Divine service in the Church," the queen disclaims the supremacy in this sense; and that her majesty neither does, nor ever will challenge such authority; and that she intends to stretch the regale no farther than it was carried by king Henry VIII. and king Edward VI., "and was of ancient time due to the impe-

¹ The provision was, that no clergyman should marry without the advice and allowance of certain neighbouring clergymen and justices of the peace, and the approbation of parents, guardians, &c.

rial crown of this realm." And how far this reached, the admonition proceeds to explain: and that is, "under God to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within these realms, dominions, and countries, either ecclesiastical or temporal, so as no foreign power ought to have any superiority over them." And here the queen professes herself willing to accept the oath of supremacy sworn in this sense. Had this admonition, as it is called, been passed into an act of parliament, or the same explanation, at least, been made by succeeding princes, it might possibly have not been unserviceable.

ELIZABETH.

At the end of the injunctions there is an order for removing the altars, though not without the oversight of the curate, and one of the churchwardens. The order takes notice, that in some places the altars were not removed; and then subjoins, that, "saving for an uniformity, it seems no matter of great moment, so that the sacrament be duly and reverently ministered."

Some divines perceiving, it is probable, the queen had some inclination to continue the old custom, and let the altars stand, they drew up a paper in which they endeavoured to show the inconveniency of administering the holy eucharist at an altar. I shall give the reader the reasons, omitting that part of them which has been already mentioned in the reign of king Edward VI.

They argue first, that "The Holy Ghost in the New Testament makes mention of a table (1 Cor. x.), but no where calls it an altar."

This observation seems to go upon a mistake. See Matt. v. 23. and Heb. iii. 10.

Secondly. "The ancients frequently used the name of a table, and for this they cite the council of Nice, St. Austin, and St. Chrysostom. They grant these Fathers call it an altar sometimes; but then, as they argue, those places are not to be interpreted to the letter. For, as the Fathers, when they call the Lord's Supper a sacrifice, mean no more, as they explain themselves, than the commemoration or resemblance of a sacrifice; so by parity of reason, when they term the place where the elements are consecrated, an altar, yet they mean no more than a representation or remembrance, and not the form of a material altar."

Chrysost. 13. Heb. August. 23.

Thirdly. "An altar is a term of relation, and supposes a sacrifice; from whence it follows, that, if we allow the first, we must grant the second."

Now, this was more than these divines were willing to allow, which is a sign they had no great regard for the language of antiquity.

Fourthly. "It is pretended, if the communion should be administered at an altar, the minister could not be heard, and, by consequence, the English Common Prayer would be as insignificant as the Latin.

"And granting there was no direct unlawfulness in the practice, the continuance of altars, considering the juncture, would be attended with great inconveniences. For, first: their adversaries would charge them with inconstancy, and departing from the order settled in the reign of king Edward VI. Secondly: the greatest part of the reformed preachers in England have frequently delivered themselves in the pulpits against the use of altars, and therefore cannot recommend them now without self-contradiction, and owning themselves in a fault; for, as St. Paul speaks, 'If I build again those things which I destroy, I make myself a transgressor.' Fourthly; they urge the people were generally prepossessed against altars; that the keeping them on would end in clashing and schism; that this issue was more likely to be expected, in regard the altars in many places were removed already. Fifthly: since her majesty has declared herself very unwilling to set aside any ecclesiastical laws confirmed by parliament, her subjects will be much surprised if any order should be issued out for the replacing of altars, considering the rubric of the Common Prayer, which stands upon a parliamentary authority, supposes a table for the administration of the holy eucharist, and gives directions about it. Sixthly: that bishop Ridley justified the king's letter for the removing of altars, and that Day, bishop of Chichester, was committed for noncompliance in this matter. Seventhly: they desire the queen to remember that Oecolampadius, Zuinglius, Bullinger, Calvin, Martyr, Alasco, Hedio, Capito, and a great many other eminent divines, had made the taking away the altars part of the Reformation; and that this was the practice of the Protestants in Savoy and Switzerland, and particularly at Basil and Geneva, at Strasburg, Worms, Frankfort, and other places. That, amongst the reformed, none but the Lutherans made use of altars; but that their Churches had more imperfections, as they call them, still remaining, such as the gilding of images, the Common Prayer,

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half Latin and half high Dutch, and the elevation of the sacrament of the altar. Eighthly: they repeat part of their sixth reason, and argue from the authority of those eminent English divines who suffered in the late reign. They mention Cranmer and Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, Bradley, with an &c.; that these men of character had approved the second Common Prayer-book, published in the reign of king Edward VI., and particularly declared themselves for the preference of a table; so that by setting altars up again, it will look as if we condemned some part of the doctrine of these good men, and concurred with their adversaries that burnt them. And lastly: they put her majesty in mind, that, if the opinion of the preachers and learned men of this realm were laid before her, they believe her highness would find them unanimous in this point."

ELIZABETH.

This address, the reader may perceive, was prior to the setting forth the injunctions. The application had its effect, as appears by the article for removing the altars already mentioned.

MSS. Petiti.
Styroe's
Annals.
Eliz.

As to the time of these injunctions, they were certainly published before the 17th of November. For the print tells us they were set forth in the first year of her reign; and by the first article it may be probably collected, they came out in the interval of the two religions, between the turning out the old bishops and making the new; for in the first article there is no mention of any bishops, where it might have been expected, the orders being only directed to deans, archdeacons, and so downwards. Who formed these injunctions is somewhat uncertain. By a passage of Dr. Cox's letter, to a friend of his at Worms, it is not improbable he might be employed in this affair; for there he acquaints his correspondent, they were pulling up the pope's fences and cultivating the lord's vineyard. That these directions were reviewed, and touched over by secretary Cecil, is pretty plain, as appears by a passage of archbishop Parker's letter, written some years after, to this minister; where the archbishop tells him, that whatever the queen's ecclesiastical prerogative may be, he is afraid it is not so large as his lordship's pen had made it in the injunctions.

Sparrow's
Collections.

Styroe's
Annals.
Append.
num. 21.
The injunctions are
reviewed by
secretary
Cecil.
This letter
is dated
April 11,
1575.

The next thing I shall relate is, a regal visitation managed by commissioners assigned to several circuits. They proceeded

A visitation.

upon the plan of the injunctions; and had, over and above, a book of articles printed for that purpose.

Heylin,
Hist. Re-
form.
*Images
removed,
and paint-
ings defaced
and burnt.*

By these directions, all carved images, paintings of counterfeit miracles, and other superstitious remains, were removed out of churches and defaced. They inquired likewise into the preaching, morals, and management of the clergy. In London the commissioners were sir Richard Sackville, Dr. Huick, Mr. Horne (afterwards bishop of Winchester), and one Salvage. These gentlemen, calling such persons of every parish before them as they thought fit, gave them an oath to present upon the articles delivered. And here some people's ignorant zeal carried them too far; for not only images were destroyed, but copes, altar-carpets, prayer-books, other church furniture, and even crucifixes, were burnt together. There is an odd bantering letter written from London into the country upon this occasion; the words are these:

August 29,
1559.

Biblioth.
R. Harley,
Armig.

"Since the day before our Bartholomew-fair, we have had such a bonfire, as passes all the blazes that were made for the winning of St. Quintin's; for all our Church patrons, Marys, Johns, roodes, all the rabblement of the pope's ornaments, were sent to terra sancta in this fiery sacrifice."

To worship images is pushing regard much too far; it is without doubt a criminal excess, unpractised and condemned by the primitive Church. But then, on the other hand, to treat them coarsely, and burn them, looks like an affront to those they represent, and is altogether unbecoming Christians. To burn the figure of the cross, and especially that of our Saviour, is, to speak softly, a horrid profanation; and, if we may reason from such indignities done to men, must be superlatively wicked. The reader, therefore, is to suppose, that all this disorder was without commission, and nothing but mob-execution; for it is evident the practice of the queen and court was quite different, and therefore would give no countenance to such singular extremes.

The queen was the more disposed to give way to the removal of images, upon the score of an imposturous practice lately discovered. At the arrival of the earl of Sussex, the queen's lieutenant in Ireland, the Litany was sung in English at Christ-church, Dublin. Some bigoted Papists were much disturbed at this way of worship, and endeavoured to retrieve their old

service by counterfeiting a miracle. To this purpose a marble figure of our Saviour, standing in the cathedral with a reed in his hand, and a crown of thorns on his head, was observed to bleed through the thorns upon the face of the crucifix. This wonderful appearance happened in service-time, when the lord lieutenant, the archbishop, and the rest of the privy council were at church. When this was perceived by the people, they were strangely affected, especially when one privy to the contrivance told them, that "our Saviour could not choose but sweat blood, when heresy was come into the Church." In short, all the audience being not of the same mind, the miracle occasioned a confusion, and the congregation broke up. Several of the people, however, stayed behind, fell on their knees, and prayed before the image.

ELIZA-
BETH.
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The archbishop of Dublin, suspecting some foul play, ordered the sexton to wash and examine the image. This being done, the man perceived a sponge soaked in blood within the hollow of the head. This sponge one Lee, formerly a monk of the cathedral, had put within the head that Sunday morning, and, being loaded with blood, it was strained through the cracks of the marble, and fell down in drops upon the face. The cheat being thus discovered, the archbishop preached in the church upon that subject the next Sunday. And, to make the more serviceable impression, Lee, with his assistants, were planted upon a table before the pulpit, with their hands and legs tied, and their crime in paper upon their breast. In this equipage they appeared three Sundays, were imprisoned for some time, and afterwards banished the realm. A detail of this imposture was transmitted in a letter, by archbishop Curwin, to Parker, elect of Canterbury. Parker brought it to the queen, gave a turn to her inclination, and prevailed with her so far as to gain her consent for the removing images out of churches: however, all his learning and zeal could not persuade the queen to part with the crucifix and lighted tapers in her own closet: she thought, it is likely, that the arguing against the use, from the abuse, was short of exact reasoning.

Cecil's
Memoirs.

On Midsummer-day, this year, the queen signed commissions for a royal visitation all over England. One of them, for the archbishopric and province of York, is directed to Francis, earl of Shrewsbury; Edward, earl of Derby; Thomas, earl of Northumberland; William, lord Evers; sir Henry Percy, sir

Thomas Gargrave, sir James Crofts, and sir Henry Gates, knights: to these are joined Edwyn Sandys, doctor in divinity; Henry Harvey, doctor of law; Richard Bows, George Brown, Richard Kingsmale, and Christopher Escot, esquires.

The instrument sets forth in the beginning, "that the queen could not faithfully discharge the business of her station without making a provision for the worship of God Almighty, and the propagating the true religion." From hence she proceeds to declare her royal power absolute, with respect both to Church and State: "*Nos igitur regalis et absolutæ potestatis nostræ, nobis, in hoc regno nostro commisse, respectu, quoniam utrumque regni nostri statum tam ecclesiasticum, quam laicum visitare, et certas pietatis ac virtutis regulas illis præscribere constituimus, præfatum Franciscum comitem Salop.*" &c.

Among these fourteen commissioners, there is never a clergyman, excepting Sandys, unless Harvey, doctor in law, was in orders, which is somewhat unlikely. Notwithstanding this, any two of them are authorised to visit all cathedrals, collegiate, and parochial churches; and all degrees of the clergy, the bishops not excepted. They are empowered to examine them upon the articles of their belief, the qualifications of their learning, and their behaviour as to morals: and, in case they find them defective, heterodox, or irregular, they are to proceed against them by imprisonment, and ecclesiastical censures. Farther, their commission empowers them to deliver new injunctions, to declare spiritual promotions void, to allow competent pensions to those who quit their livings; to examine letters of orders, to give institution and induction, to convene synods, and receive synodals; and to excommunicate those who refuse to pay: to give licences to preach to those they judge qualified; to discharge persons committed to prison upon the score of religion: to try the causes of deprivation, and restore such as have been illegally displaced: in short, their commission takes in the whole compass of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and reaches to every part of the episcopal function, excepting ordination, consecrating of churches, and officiating in Divine service. And, which is still more singular, Sandys, the clergyman, is not constituted one of the quorum; but any two of the lay-commissioners are authorised to transact all this extraordinary business, and to exert the highest censures of the Church. This, one of our learned historians observes, was

Bp. Burnet,
pt. 2.
Records,
book 3.
num. 7.

more than some people understood, and seemed a great stretch of the queen's supremacy. But the author appears inclined to justify the commission, for he subjoins, "It was thought that the queen might do that, as well as the late chancellor did it in the ecclesiastical courts;" so that one abuse was the excuse for another. But it is to be feared this plea will not hold; for the imitation of an ill precedent is no sufficient defence: besides, lay-chancellors, though they sometimes judge what crimes deserve excommunication, yet they never pronounce the sentence: that solemn part is always performed by a priest. But these commissioners were not tied to the rules of ecclesiastical courts: their jurisdiction was unconfined and paramount: and therefore, as far as it appears, they might have pronounced sentence of excommunication, without exceeding the bounds of their deputation. And, lastly, the chancellors act in the bishop's name, and by virtue of his commission; of the bishop, I say, who has undoubtedly a right to admit to the communion of the Church, and exclude from it. But these fourteen commissioners managed purely upon the strength of the regale. They had no authority but what they received from the queen, who was without question a lay person, and by consequence could make out no claim to any share of the sacerdotal character, nor produce any warrant from our Saviour for the exercise of the keys¹.

ELIZABETH.

Id. pt. 2.
p. 401.

The case of the popish bishops, lately turned out, was not neglected abroad. The queen was solicited by the emperor, and other Roman Catholic princes, to deal favourably with them: and to allow the Papists some churches in cities and great towns. To this her majesty replied: "That notwithstanding those bishops had disobeyed the laws, and disturbed the quiet of the kingdom; though they refused compliance with that doctrine, which, in the reigns of her father and brother, they had publicly recommended and maintained: notwithstanding this inconsistency and misbehaviour; yet, in regard to those princes, she was willing to treat them gently; though this could not be done without disgusting the rest of her subjects. But to grant them churches, to officiate in their worship, and keep up a distinct communion, were things which the public interest, her own honour and conscience, could not allow; neither was there any reason for such an indulgence: for there was no new faith

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*Foreign
princes
solicit the
queen for
the ejected
bishops.
Her answer.*

¹ Collier has elsewhere asserted, that the divine prerogative of our monarchs includes ecclesiastical as well as laical powers.

propagated in England : no religion set up, but that which was commanded by our Saviour, practised by the primitive Church, and unanimously approved by the fathers of the best antiquity. Besides, to assign churches to different ceremonies and persuasions, is the direct way to perplex good people, and make them unresolved ; to encourage faction, to break religion into sects and parties, and embroil both Church and State. Now such a toleration would be both unwarrantable in itself, and pernicious in the precedent : and, which is more, would be neither convenient, nor safe, for those who should enjoy it. And therefore, though out of her own clemency, and especially at the request of crowned heads, she was willing to connive a little, in order to reclaim these prelates to better temper, yet she was resolved not to be so kind as to feed their disease, and cherish their obstinacy."

Cambden,
Eliz. p. 41.

The popish bishops, and other clergy of character, quitting their employments, was not without something of inconvenience. This turn disfurnished the Church in several places : for there was not a sufficient number of qualified persons to succeed them in the charge. And thus not a few mechanics, altogether as unlearned as the most objectionable of those ejected, were preferred to dignities and livings. However, the greatest part of the Roman Catholic clergy thought it most advisable to swear the supremacy, renounce the pope, and conform to the Reformation. They ventured upon this latitude out of a politic reserve. It was to keep the Protestants out of the Churches, and put themselves in a condition to support their abdicated friends. They seemed to applaud this prudential conduct, and hoped the pope would dispense with the whole length of their compliance.

1d.

The review of the Common Prayer, the throwing out the petition against the pope in the Litany, and restoring some part of king Edward's first book in the Communion-office, the decency of the sacerdotal habits, the music and solemnity of the service, reconciled a great part of the Roman Catholic laity to our communion. And thus, for the first ten years of queen Elizabeth, they came frequently to church. This sir Edward Coke declared in his charge at Norwich assizes, and in his speech against Garnet, and other conspirators, in the Powder Plot. And this he affirmed upon his own certain knowledge, and gave an instance in Beddenfield, Cornwallis, and several others of the Roman Catholic persuasion. And, to

*The Papists
frequent the
English
service for
several
years.*

fortify Coke's evidence, the same thing is averred by the queen herself, in her instructions to sir Francis Walsingham: here, with reference to the principal persons of that party, it is expressly affirmed, that they "did ordinarily resort from the beginning of her reign, in all open places to the churches, and to Divine services in the church, without contradiction, or show of misliking." Now, if the best distinguished of the party were thus conformable, we may imagine their precedent was not without effect upon those of more private condition ¹.

ELIZABETH.

The letter is dated August 11, 1570.

However, this compliance was not universally approved. Some Roman Catholics stood off from our communion from the beginning, and endeavoured to propagate their sentiment, as appears by a paper written against the Common Prayer in the beginning of this reign. This paper, privately dispersed, was afterwards answered in print, by Pilkington, bishop of Durham. To give the reader some part of it.

Heylin's Reformation Justified. General Preface.

See Records, num. 78.

Whereas the paper objects that this English Common Prayer-book was set forth by the mere authority of the laity, the bishops and the whole clergy of England disagreeing to this alteration. To this Pilkington answers, that in this respect the proceedings in the present reign were no otherwise than in the last. That queen Mary, in her parliaments, stifled one religion and revived another, which was the weight of the exception in the present case: that the dissenting bishops in parliament could not reasonably be said to comprehend the whole clergy: that many in the universities, and elsewhere in the country, had openly officiated in this service before it was imposed by act of parliament, and, which was more, her majesty's late parliament did by no means introduce a new, but only restored an old religion: a religion reformed and settled by the clergy and parliament in the reign of king Edward VI.; and afterwards suppressed by violence and persecution in the next succession.

437.

The sees, excepting Llandaff, being now all vacant, either by death or deprivation, the reader may expect to find them filled: but this provision was not made with that expedition the Church seemed to require. It is true Dr. Matthew Parker was elected to the see of Canterbury on the first of August; and some others were thus far preferred about the same time; but then there were no consecrations till the middle

¹ It is to be wished that this spirit of conformity had been more durable and more universal.

of December following. Why the completing the episcopal character, and furnishing the districts with spiritual governors, was thus long deferred, is variously conjectured. Some will have it that the queen made this pause to gain time for a regal visitation, and that the commissioners were to make preparatory alterations before the bishops entered upon their charge. Others fancy her majesty charmed with the lustre of the regale : that she was resolved to exercise the privilege, and take the satisfaction when it was least encumbered. It is not impossible but both these considerations might have some weight, but the main reason of this conduct must be farther looked for.

The act for empowering the queen for taking what castles, manors, &c. her majesty thought fit, was not to inure until after the sessions. Besides, the act could reach no sees but during the vacancy. Now the Popish bishops being turned out for non-conformity, the court thought it necessary to postpone the consecrations of the reformed till the queen had time to issue out her commission, and carry a survey through all the bishoprics. Now the church lands, as has been observed, were certified into the exchequer upon the old rents, without any consideration of fines, or other casual profits ; whereas the compensation was made up of poor estates, rated at the utmost extent. In short, this was Glaucus's change, excepting its being involuntary on the Church's part.

Parker, and some other bishops elect, foreseeing how lamentably the Church would be impoverished, endeavoured to prevail with the queen to drop this seeming advantage. Their application, it is confessed, could not be too early ; for soon after the dissolution of the parliament, her majesty appointed commissioners to survey the vacant bishoprics, and send their returns into the exchequer. And, over and above, there was a special commission directed to the lord treasurer, sir Richard Sackville, sir Walter Mildmay, and Mr. Keilway, a common lawyer. These four, or any three, or two of them, are authorised to examine the certificates of all bishops' lands returned into the exchequer, and to deliver their opinions what quantity of them it was proper to annex to the crown, and what proportion, in impropriations and tenths, should be given back in exchange. The Church's patrimony being referred to so few hands, and put upon so nice an issue, the bishops elect thought it highly seasonable to exert themselves. To this purpose,

Sept. 13,
1559.

they addressed the queen to stop the progress of these seizures, for the commissioners had made no ordinary dispatch. And here, amongst other things, they entreated her majesty the new sees erected by king Henry might be continued; and that the bishops promoted thither might have the common privileges of disposing of the prebends; that Cliff might be annexed to the see of Rochester, and the benefice lately laid to the see of Chester not taken away. And, to come to the main business, Cox, afterwards bishop of Ely, applied himself particularly to the queen, and put a paper into her hands to dissuade the taking away the temporalities of the bishops upon such an unequal exchange.

ELIZABETH.

The bishops elect address the queen against seizing the temporalities of the sees, upon an exchange mentioned in a late act. Strype's Annals.

And here he puts her in mind "how happily she has been instructed in the best religion; that he had heard her say she was not afraid of dying, but ready to resign at the first summons of Providence; that from hence it would necessarily follow, her majesty must act upon the motives of conscience, the fear of God, and the considerations of another world. From hence he goes on to an humble request that her commissioners may proceed no farther; that her majesty's putting a stop to this affair would be a noble instance of goodness." The reasons of his petition should come next, but here the record fails. However, there is another paper of the same tendency under Cox's hands, and addressed to the queen in his own name, and the other bishops elect: and here the queen is solicited with variety of arguments.

They suggest to her majesty, "that when, by Joseph's advice, the Egyptians conveyed their estates to Pharaoh, to support themselves under the famine, the priests lost none of their property, nor felt the weight of the common burthen. That when king Artaxerxes furnished money and materials for building the temple at Jerusalem, and commanded the Jews to contribute to the structure, there was an exception in this order to exempt the priests and Levites from all toll, tribute, and custom; that these precedents were recorded by the Holy Ghost for the instruction of posterity; and that this was done to put princes in mind of extending their bounty to the ministers of God; and not sink them to a worse condition, and treat them with distinguishing hardships. That the common blessings of Providence were withdrawn and blasted, because the Jews were negligent in building the temple. If, therefore,

Gen. xlvii.

438.

Ezra vii.

Haggai i.

those who build the Christian Church shall have the pains discouraged, and their salaries lessened, can God be pleased with such usage? God was angry with his people for offering, and his priests for receiving, the blind and the lame in sacrifice; therefore, if the best of the Church's patrimony is wrested from her, and a lean consideration returned, both those that take it away, and the clergy that consent to the alienation, will incur the displeasure of the Divine Majesty. The apostle St. Paul does not allow the will of a testator should be altered in any particular. This reasoning must evidently hold where things are settled for pious and beneficial uses; and since men of conscience and quality have conveyed lands for the support of the clergy, and the service of the Christian religion, with what justice can their wills be broken through, and their godly settlements defeated? God declares that the whole Jewish nation were cursed with poverty, because they failed in paying their tithes and first-fruits; and if the holy revenues are thus lessened, have we not reason to apprehend somewhat of a resembling calamity?

Mal. i.

Mal. iii.

"That it was foretold in Isaiah, that kings should be nursing fathers, and queens nursing mothers (not spoilers and step-dames, to use the words of the paper,) to his Church. In obedience to the prophecy, great princes have not only regulated their conduct by the laws and discipline of the Christian religion, but endowed the hierarchy, and supported them in their function. And, to be particular, the kings and queens of this realm, though slenderly instructed in the Christian faith, if compared to her majesty, have all along been benefactors to the Church, and improved her patrimony. God forbid, say they, your grace should be disinclined to so honourable a bounty, and act counter to the piety of your noble progenitors. Such surprising measures would be acceptable news to your enemies, dishearten the honest and orthodox clergy, and give an undoubted occasion to censure and unserviceable reports.

"Your majesty's father and brother, though they dissolved the religious houses, and took their estates which had been abused, yet they never laid their hands on the endowments of the secular clergy. And therefore when the university colleges were granted them by act of parliament, in order to an exchange, they would by no means make use of the advantage.

*This is a
mistake.*

ELIZA-
BETH.

And since the present case is a resembling instance, and has no worse plea, they humbly beseech her majesty to manage by this precedent. And since she has given such proofs of a holy zeal, and a hearty regard to the true religion, they hope her highness will support the interest of the clergy, and countenance those who carry our Saviour's commission.

"As to the impropriations, they should look upon it as a great misfortune to part with their lands upon such an exchange; for supposing the return should amount to an equivalent, they could not reconcile themselves to it, because their conscience tells them this revenue ought to revert to the parochial clergy, for otherwise the original settlement is defeated, and the ends of the endowment not answered.

"As to the forwardness of the parliament for relieving her grace's necessity, they have nothing to object: though, by the way, it is to be feared the force of the expedient will be spent in a short time. But waving that conjecture, they think themselves bound in conscience to lay the matter before her majesty, and to suggest the tendency of this new provision, and that her majesty would please to act with such reserve, as may be consistent with the fear of God, and a regard to his word and sacraments; and to make this remonstrance the better received, they promise to assist her majesty with a considerable sum, to be paid yearly out of the revenues of their bishoprics; hoping that when the state recovered, and the exigency of the juncture was over, the money advanced would be returned." On the back side of the address, several of the sees and sums are mentioned, which, without question, would have been an effectual precedent to the rest. "For instance, Canterbury offered 200*l.*, Ely as much, London 100*l.*, Hereford and Chichester one hundred marks each."

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At the close of the paper, they make a solemn appeal to God, "that no mercenary view, no indirect motives, put them upon this application, but that it was purely the interest of religion and learning, and a dutiful regard for her majesty's honour, which governed them in this affair."

Petit's MSS.
num. 64.

There was another paper under Cox's hand, to be offered to the queen for a farther dissuasive. It is called "Considerations why Bishops' Temporalities should not be taken away."

The paper suggests, "that bishops have formerly brought up a great many scholars at the universities, founded colleges,

and promoted learning to a very serviceable degree, that by this exchange they would be wholly disabled for such noble purposes. That men will always be swayed in some measure by temporal advantage; and when they perceive the encouragements of study withdrawn, they will take care not to educate their children to a lean profession, and make learned beggars of them. Thus knowledge, especially with respect to divinity, must lose ground lamentably in the kingdom, Christ Jesus be in a manner forgotten, and truth as much, or more eclipsed, as in the times of popery.

“Queen Mary returned those lands to the bishoprics, which had been taken away in her brother’s reign, and looked upon such seizures as downright sacrilege. Now, with submission, it may reasonably be expected, a reformed church should not be treated with abatement of favour.

“Such rigours upon the clergy, will be blazoned to disadvantage, and carry an ill sound through all Christendom. For indeed the usage is without precedent, there is no parallel in Germany. In short such an exchange will tarnish the Reformation, and draw a blemish upon the Gospel. For all people will say, reforming religion is nothing but pretence, nothing but a colour for seizing the church lands, and impoverishing the bishops. Besides, when the bishops have lost their lands, the crown will never have such a prospect of present supply upon occasion.”—The rest of their arguments are coincident with the first paper, excepting that they conclude with a terrible example in Belshazzar: “that when this prince had revelled in the consecrated plate, he was frightened with an apparition, struck with immediate vengeance, and lost his kingdom and his life the same day.”

MSS. Petit.
ibid.

And thus the bishops elect plied her majesty with arguments from justice and good nature, from religion and interest, from credit in this world and safety in the other. How they missed reaching her conscience, and which way she broke through all this reasoning, is somewhat difficult to discover. The best way to relieve her memory is to suppose this remonstrance was only prepared, but not laid before her. But this will be an unpardonable omission in the bishops who drew it up, and convict them of want of courage under their own hands. Besides, when they were thus well furnished, it is not likely they could be guilty of so great a failure. But which way soever the

matter of fact stands, it is certain the queen was resolved to take the benefit of the act, and enrich herself, for some little time at least, at the lamentable disadvantage of the clergy: and thus the courtiers had another plentiful church harvest. It is granted truth and primitive practice can never be bought too dear. However, by the conduct of this reign especially, it appears some people were resolved to hold the bargain upon high terms; and make the clergy pay for their orthodoxy, if they would have it¹.

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To what degree the bishoprics were stripped by this exchange I cannot wholly discover. By the fortune of the large and wealthy see of Lincoln, where there was but one manor left, the reader may give something of a guess how far the rest suffered. But how much soever the Church might lose, the crown was no lasting gainer by this expedient. This may be partly collected from a remonstrance to the queen not long after. Where, waving what had been conveyed to the subject by way of gift, the paper sets forth, that the profits of the abbey and church lands, for four reigns together, had been intercepted by the courtiers; that the crown had been extremely impoverished by indirect management: and that none of these corrupt officers were called to any account.

See Records,
num. 79.

To proceed: the Papists, to discredit the English Reformation, charged the Protestant clergy with novelty and heresy, with inconsistency and seditious principles. To show the injustice of this charge, the divines concerned in the late conference at Westminster, and in preparing the Common Prayer for the view of the two houses, drew up a confession of their faith, which they intended to publish at the recess of the parliament. Dr. Sandys, one of the divines, acquainted Dr. Parker with this design, and requested him to subscribe with the rest. But afterwards, it seems, upon recollection, they found no necessity of making this declaration public. But the instrument is still preserved amongst archbishop Parker's papers in Bennet College library in Cambridge.

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And here the articles of their belief are not couched in the same terms with those concluded in convocation in the year 1552; the sense is delivered in a more diffuse and paraphrastical manner. However, they expressly declare, that though

Vol. Syn-
odal.

¹ The wit of many of these passages is worthy of Fuller and South.

they do not precisely observe the words and order, yet they disagree in no particular, but own an entire assent to the whole body of those articles.

And to take off the imputation of disloyalty thrown upon them by the Papists, they renounce the rebellious tenets published at Geneva by Christopher Goodman and John Knox.

As for Goodman, he afterwards retracted somewhat of his principles before the lords of the council. He is contented to own, that "good and godly women" may lawfully sit at the helm, and govern kingdoms: and that he heartily recognized the queen's authority. That he never meant to affirm that any private person might lawfully have taken off queen Mary: nor that the people have any original inherent authority to punish wicked magistrates; or, that ordinarily God gives the people a commission to promote his service by forcible expedients; or puts the sword in their hands to carry on a reformation

MSS. Petit. in Church or State.

By the way, this is a lame recantation; for Goodman founds the queen's title upon her moral, not upon her civil qualifications. "Godly women," he says, may lawfully govern: but by this doctrine, where there is no virtue, there can be no claim to authority: and when their godliness is at an end, their government must be so too. This is directly founding dominion in grace. And when the prince has so precarious a title, and the subjects made judges of the forfeiture, peace and public order must be slenderly established. The next part of his recantation is not one jot better: for by only denying that private people may execute their princes, he seems to allow magistrates and parliaments may fairly do it. And by saying that God does not ordinarily put the sword in the people's hands, what can be inferred, but that in some cases it is lawful for the people to rise upon their sovereign, and reform the Church and State at discretion! This is some of the Geneva doctrine, which has more than once been put in practice, embroiled kingdoms, and set the world on fire, to the scandal and confusion of Christendom.

Calvin.
Institut.
lib. 4.
sect. 31.
*Austin-
friars
in London
granted to
the Dutch
and Ger-
mans.*

The settlement of the Reformation in England encouraged some of John Alasco's congregation to return hither, and petition for their church in Austin-friars, granted them by king Edward VI. Utenhovius, a man of learning and condition, who had formerly been a member of this congregation, came

over with recommendatory letters from Bullinger to the queen. This Utenhovius, with one Peter de Loene, a minister, joined themselves at first to Adrian Hampstedius's congregation. Hampstedius was a learned preacher, who came hither from Zealand; and had the pulpit for his congregation at Christ Church, and elsewhere in London. As for Utenhovius, the granting him a new patent with the old privileges was at first refused. The bishops suggested to the queen that the making a foreigner superintendent could not be done without maiming the jurisdiction of the diocesan. To take off this objection, they chose Grindal, bishop of London, for their superintendent. The French Protestants, though formerly incorporated with the Low Dutch and Germans, in king Edward's patent, made no attempt to recover their former privileges. However, they had the use of a church in Threadneedle-street, belonging to the dean and chapter of Windsor. It was part of St. Anthony's Hospital, and still continues for the use of that nation.

ELIZABETH.

MSS. Eccles. Belgic. Lond. Per. Sim. Ruytinch. Strype's Annals.

The Reformation was now advanced beyond Tweed, and gained ground through the whole island. The turn in England gave the Scots a prospect of the same success. But here the scheme and the pursuit had a different complexion: and both the form and the manner was less intelligible. John Knox signalized himself upon this occasion, and did his utmost to encourage the undertaking. This divine made unusual room in the conscience, and laid down loose and over-indulgent maxims. In his letter to the Scotch nobility, who were concerting a public reformation, he acquaints them, he had the concurrence of the most pious and learned people in Europe to warrant their consciences, and engage in the enterprise. By these men of piety and learning Knox meant Calvin and other eminent ministers at Geneva. The doctrine maintained by these divines, which was the ground of the Scottish undertaking, was this: "That if kings and princes refused to reform religion, inferior magistrates and the people, being directed and instructed in the truth before by their preachers, may lawfully reform within their own bounds themselves: and if all, or the far greatest part, be enlightened by the truth, they may make a public reformation." This principle was afterwards maintained at large in a book called, "Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos," supposed to be written by Gentiletus. The tract, "De Jure Magistratuum in subditos," of which some make Beza the

From Dieppe. A. D. 1557. Knox addresses the Scotch nobility to proceed to a reformation.

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Some of his tenets and character.

Life and Death of John Knox, p. 10.

author, and Paræus's Comment upon the Romans, are full for the same purpose.

To proceed: when the Scotch nobility began to repent the steps they had taken and recover themselves, Knox wrote them another letter from Dieppe, to bring them back to their former resolution. He made no scruple to tell them, they must be lost, both in this world and the other, unless they had the courage to maintain their religion in the field; unless they defended their cause against their sovereign, if need be, and exerted themselves to the utmost stretch of violence. He addressed the lords in this remarkable language: "No less cause have ye to enter into your former enterprise than Moses had to go to the presence of Pharaoh: for your vassals—yea, your brethren—are oppressed; their bodies and souls holden in bondage; and God speaks to your consciences, unless ye be dead with the blind world, that ye ought to hazard your own lives, be it against kings or emperors, for their deliverance. For only for that cause are ye called princes of the people; and ye receive of your brethren honour, tribute, and homage, at God's commandment, not by reason of your birth and progeny, as the most part of men do falsely suppose, but by reason of your office and duty, which is to vindicate and deliver your subjects and brethren from all violence and oppression, to the uttermost of your power."

And here he refers them to a former letter upon the same subject, directed to all the nobility, putting them in mind, "that their consciences shall be one day compelled to acknowledge, that the reformation of religion and of public enormities appertains to more than the clergy, or chief rulers, called kings."

Hist. Ref.
of Religion
in Scotland,
p. 110, 111.

Page 60.
*His libel
against
Mary, queen
of England.*

This Knox had formerly, at Frankfort, given a public proof of his regard to crowned heads of a different communion. Something of this has been already mentioned with reference to the emperor. His satire against queen Mary, in his "Admonition to England," runs thus: "First, if Mary and her counsellors had been dead before these days, then should not her iniquity and cruelty so manifestly have appeared to the world; secondly, Jezebel never erected half so many gallows in all Israel, as mischievous Mary hath done in London alone; thirdly, would any one of you have confessed, two years ago, that Mary, your mirror, had been false, dissembling, incon-

stant, proud, and a breaker of promises, except such promises as she has made to your god the pope, to the great shame and dishonour of her noble father ; fourthly, the love of her native country could not move that wicked woman's heart to pity ; fifthly, she declareth herself an open traitress to the realm of England contrary to the just laws of the same, to bring in a stranger, and to make a proud stranger king, to the destruction of the nobility and subversion of the realm ; sixthly, God, for our scourge, suffered her and her cruel council to come to authority ; seventhly, under an English name, she hath a Spaniard's heart ; eighthly, much trouble in England for establishing that unhappy and wicked woman's authority,—I mean of her that now reigneth in God's wrath."

ELIZABETH.

And, after having railed against the queen, the ministry, and the bishops, in the coarsest manner, he subjoins a prayer, where he points directly upon them. This prayer he recommends to the English, where, by misapplying the text, and teaching the subjects to curse the higher powers, he uses the Bible as ill as he had used the government before. I shall give the reader some of the expressions. "Repress the pride of those blood-thirsty tyrants: consume them in thy wrath: pour forth thy vengeance upon them." "O let the vengeance of thy servants' blood, that is shed, be openly showed upon them in our sight. Delay not thy vengeance, O Lord, but let death devour them in haste, and let the earth swallow them, and let them go down quick to the hells: for there is no hope of their amendment: the fear and reverence of thy holy name is quite banished from their hearts. And therefore yet again, O Lord, consume them: consume them in thine anger, and let them never bring their wicked counsels to effect; but, according to the godly powers, let them be taken in the snare which they have prepared for thine elect."

Psal. lvii.
lxxix.

Jer. x. 11.

These are the effects of blind and intemperate zeal. Thus Knox wrested the Scriptures to mislead the subjects from their duty, and "turned his prayer unto sin." We are charged, in the Scripture, to honour the king, and not to curse him so much as in thought: and the higher powers, though then heathen, are called the "ministers of God." We are commanded to lay aside all evil speaking; to love our enemies, and pray for them; to bless, and not to curse them. Notwithstanding all this, and a great deal more to the same purpose,

Knox's Admonition to the Professors of Truth in England, p. 78.

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Matt. v.
Rom. xii.
Rom. xiii.
1 Pet. ii.

Knox made no scruple to speak "evil of dignities," and prescribed a prayer for the English, to treat their governors in much harsher language than St. Michael thought fit to use against the devil.

Jude.

*His "Blast
against the
Government
of Women."*

For this seditious and treasonable doctrine, Knox was obliged to quit Frankfort, and retire to Geneva. During his stay there, he wrote a warning to London, Newcastle, and Berwick; an appeal to the nobility of Scotland; and the "First Blast of the Trumpet against the Government of Women." This book was written on purpose to throw Mary queen of England, and Mary of Lorraine, regent of Scotland, out of the seat. Knox designed to have sounded this trumpet of rebellion thrice; but the death of queen Mary of England made him halt a little. Besides, he understood there would be an answer published to his "First Blast," and therefore he delayed his second till he had a farther view of the strength of his adversaries. However, he had made some progress in his "Second Blast," of which I shall give the reader some passages in his own words. "First. It is not birth only, nor propinquity of blood, that maketh a king lawfully to reign above a people professing Christ Jesus and his eternal verity; but in his election, the ordinance which God hath established in the election of inferior judges must be observed. Secondly. No manifest idolater, nor notorious transgressor of God's holy precepts, ought to be promoted to any public regiment, honour, or dignity, in any realm, province, or city, that hath subjected itself to Christ Jesus and his blessed Evangel. Thirdly. Neither can oath nor promise bind any such people to obey and maintain tyrants against God, and against his truth known. Fourthly. But if rashly they have promoted any manifest wicked person, or yet ignorantly have chosen such an one as after declareth himself unworthy of regiment above the people of God,—and such be all idolaters and cruel persecutors, —most justly may the same men depose and punish him that unadvisedly before they did nominate, appoint, and elect."

*Life and
Death of
Knox.
Admonition
to Gilby's
England.*

*His scandalous
censure
of the Eng-
lish Common
Prayer.*

To give a farther view of the temper and complexion of this man: when he lay at Dieppe, in order to embark for Scotland, he wrote a letter to one Mrs. Locke, in which he passes the following censure upon the English Common Prayer-book. His words are these: "Our Captain, Christ Jesus, and Satan, his adversary, are now at plain defiance. Their banners are

displayed, and the trumpets blow on either side for assembling of their armies. Our Master calleth upon his own, and that with vehemency, that they may depart from Babylon. Yea, severely he threateneth death and damnation to such as, either in their forehead or hand, bear the mark of the beast. And a portion of his mark are all these dregs of papistry which are left in your great book of England,—viz. crossing in baptism, kneeling at the Lord's table, mumbling or singing of the Litany, 'a fulgure et tempestate, a subitanea et improvisa morte,'—any one jot of which diabolical inventions will I never counsel any man to use. The whole order of your book appeareth rather to be devised for upholding of massing-priests, than for any good instruction which the simple people can receive thereof. Your sacraments were ministered, for the most part, without the soul, and by those who to Christ Jesus are no true ministers,—and God grant that so yet they be not! Without the soul, I say, they were ministered, because they were ministered without the Word truly and openly preached; and your ministers before, for the most part, were none of Christ's ministers, but mass-monging priests." And, towards the latter end of his letter, he dissuades the gentlewoman from countenancing such superstitious priests in their corrupt liturgical services, affirming, with great vehemence, "that all things should be judged abominable, yea execrable and accursed, which God by his Word has not sanctified in his religion."

ELIZABETH.

From lightning and tempest, and from sudden death.

Id.

Upon this occasion it may not be improper to observe, that Dr. Bancroft, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, affirmed that the first liturgy, set forth in the beginning of king Edward's reign, was carefully compiled, and confirmed by a synod; but, soon after, to use Fox's words, "through the obstinate and dissembling malice of many," objections were raised against it. These unnecessary cavils brought on Bucer's review. Thus the second book was published: and this, archbishop Cranmer offered to defend against the Papists, as hath been already related. And when Dr. Grindal wrote from Frankfort to Ridley, then in prison, and acquainted him with Knox's opposition to the English service, the bishop lamented Knox's litigious humour, and justified the liturgy.

Bancroft's Sermon, preached at Paul's-cross, Feb. 1588.

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Knox's "Blast," as he called it, "against the monstrous Regiment and Empire of Women, was not without its effect. This

hot pamphlet excited some of the English, filled them with treasonable scruples, and made them stagger in their allegiance. Queen Elizabeth, as she had reason, was highly displeased, and the Geneva exiles coldly received at their return. However, Knox was resolved to give up no part of his book, nor make any abatement. For, in a letter to secretary Cecil, he tells this minister he no more questioned the truth of his main proposition than he questioned the text in Genesis being the voice of God, where it is said, "In sorrow shalt thou bring forth children." And here he boldly declared himself ready to defend his tract against any portion that should undertake it. But, after all, this peremptoriness was not without something of art: for he recurs to a nice distinction in favour of queen Elizabeth. He believed her raised to that station by extraordinary providence: "That God had promoted her for his miraculous work, comforting his afflicted by an infirm vessel. But this was a particular exception in the divine oeconomy: it was contrary to nature, and God's most perfect establishment. And therefore he charged the secretary, in the name of the eternal God, to acquaint the queen, that if she would found her right upon miraculous bounty, upon extraordinary dispensation with the laws of God and nature, upon a privilege no other person of her sex could pretend to; if she would confess she stood upon this bottom, none would be more willing than himself to maintain her authority. But if she insisted upon human constitution, legal title, and proximity of blood, he was then well assured such foolish presumption would be highly offensive to Almighty God; and was very much afraid her ingratitude would not go long unpunished." He had the courage to write to the queen in the same strains of whimsy and arrogance. He told her, "that if she began to brag of her birth, and found her authority upon the laws of the kingdom, her happiness would be short lived:" and thus, according to his customary manner, he pretends to a certainty in future events, and delivers his extravagance with an air of prophecy.

From this introductory character of Knox, I shall pass on to the Church alterations in Scotland. In this kingdom the queen-regent had been petitioned for reformation of religion.

In their first petition, they requested the bishops might be chosen by the temporal lords and gentlemen.

Hist. of the
Reformation
of Scotland,
p. 226.

*His distinction
in
favour of
queen Elizabeth.*

Id. p. 23.

July 28,
1559.

Lesley,
p. 504.

The second petition stands at length in Knox's History. Here, after an introductory complaint against the clergy, they proceed to the particulars of their request. The reader shall have them in the words of the Scottish historian :—

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Hist. Ref.
Scot. p. 130.

“ First, humbly we ask, that as we have by the laws of this realm, after long debate, obtained to read the holy books of the Old and New Testament in our vulgar tongue, as spiritual food to our souls: so from henceforth it may be lawful that we may meet publicly or privately to our common prayers in our vulgar tongue, to the end that we may increase and grow in knowledge, and be induced by fervent and frequent prayer, to commend to God the holy universal Church, the queen our sovereign, her honourable and gracious husband, the ability of their succession, your majesty regent, the nobility, and whole state of this realm.

“ Secondly, if it shall happen in our said meetings any hard place of Scripture shall be read, of which, without explanation, hardly can arise any profit to the hearers, that it shall be lawful to any qualified persons in knowledge, being present, to interpret and open up the said hard places to God's glory, and to the profit of the auditory. And if any think that this liberty should be occasion of confusion, debate, or heresy, we are content that it be provided, that the said interpretation shall underlie the judgment of the godly, and most learned within the realm at this time.

“ Thirdly, that the holy sacrament of baptism may be used in the vulgar tongue, that the godfathers and witnesses may not only understand the points of the league and contract made betwixt God and the infant, but also that the Church then assembled, more gravely may be informed and instructed of their duties, which at all times they owe to God, according to that promise made unto him, when they were received into his household by the laver of spiritual regeneration.

“ Fourthly, we desire that the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper, or of his blessed body and blood, may likewise be ministered to us in the vulgar tongue, and in both kinds, according to the plain institution of our Saviour Christ Jesus.

“ And, lastly, we most humbly require, that the wicked, slanderous, and detestable lives of prelates, and of the state ecclesiastical, may be reformed; that the people by them have not occasion (as many days they have had) to condemn their

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ministry, and the preaching, whereof they should be messengers. And if they suspect that we, rather envying their honours, or coveting their riches and possessions, than zealously desiring their amendment and salvation, do travel and labour for this Reformation, we are content that not only the rules and precepts of the New Testament, but also the writings of the ancient Fathers, and the godly and approved laws of Justinian the emperor, decide the controversy betwixt us and them. And if it shall be found that, either malevolently or ignorantly, we ask more than these three forenamed have required, and continually do require, of able and true ministers in Christ's Church, we refuse not correction, as your majesty with right judgment shall think need. But if all the forenamed shall condemn that which we condemn, and approve that which we require, then we most earnestly beseech your majesty, that notwithstanding the long custom which they have had to live at their lust, that they be compelled either to desist from ecclesiastical administration, or to discharge their duties as becometh true ministers: so that, the grave and godly face of the primitive Church reduced, ignorance may be expelled; true doctrine and good manners may once again appear in the Church of this realm. These things we, as most obedient subjects, require of your majesty, in the name of the eternal God, and of his Son, Christ Jesus, in presence of whose throne judicial, ye and all other that here in earth bear authority, shall give account of your temporal regiment. The Spirit of the Lord Jesus move your majesty's heart to justice and equity."

Id. p. 130.

It must be said they laid down good rules for a Reformation, if they had practised up to them. The historian does not tell us who they were that presented this petition; he only says, in general, they were Protestants. That they were persons not much distinguished, appears by their preamble; however, they seem to have been pushed forward, and countenanced underhand by men of figure. For this address not meeting with success, some noblemen and barons formed an association, engaged by oaths, and subscribed an instrument to assist each other, and venture their lives and fortunes for that purpose.

An. 1558.

The principals in this engagement were, Archibald, earl of Argyle; Alexander, earl of Glencairn; James, earl of Mor-ton; Archibald, lord Lorne; sir James Sandilands, of Calder;

John Erskine, of Dun ; and William Maitland, of Lethington, the Younger. These covenanting lords and gentlemen, after some debate, came to this resolution :—" That all the curates of parishes should be obliged to read the prayers and lessons of the Old and New Testament on Sundays and other festivals, pursuant to the form set forth in the Book of Common Prayer ; and in case they refuse to comply, that then those of the parishioners who were best qualified, should perform that office. But as for preaching and expounding the Scriptures, that should be done only in private houses, until God should dispose the queen to give farther liberty." This order was executed within the jurisdiction of the association ; and more than that, the precedent of these great men brought several towns and parishes to an imitation. The clergy were very much alarmed, and complained of these proceedings to the queen-regent. She told them the present juncture was no proper time for redress, but that it would not be long before an opportunity would offer. The clergy, apprehending delays might prove dangerous, went forward to a remedy themselves. For this purpose a provincial council met at Edinburgh. And here they pretended to reform several abuses, and revived some old constitutions for better discipline.

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Some noblemen and barons in Scotland engage to reform religion, though in opposition to the government.

At this synod several persons were condemned for heresy. The sentence against them went no farther than enjoining a recantation in the market-place on St. Giles's festival. This saint being reputed the guardian of Edinburgh, there was a solemn procession on the anniversary. When the day came, the mob rising in favour of those who were to recant, disturbed the procession, broke St. Giles's figure, and rescued their friends.

Hist. Ref. of Religion in Scotland. Spotswood's Hist.

A tumult at Edinburgh.

Spotswood. Lesley. Sept. 1, 1558.

As for the queen-regent, reasons of state had for some time clogged her zeal, and made her less disposed to gratify the clergy, than otherwise she would have been. It is granted the prelates had concurred with her in breaking the contract of marriage with England, and transporting her daughter, the young queen, to France. But not long after, the archbishop of St. Andrew's began to cross the queen's measures, and entertain a project in favour of his family. He considered that if the young queen died without issue, the earl of Arran, his nephew, might probably gain the crown : the duke, his father, being then governor of the realm. Upon this view, he opposed

Melvil's Memoirs, p. 24.

the queen's marriage with the dauphin. This archbishop having the ascendant over the governor, his brother, and a great interest in the country, brought most of the clergy into his sentiment. This being a very unacceptable scheme to the queen-dowager, it is no wonder if she endeavoured to break it. But to put herself into the better capacity for this purpose, she was obliged to court the nobility and barons, to forbear prosecuting the preachers and connive at the progress of their Reformation. For it was by the assistance of the Protestant lords, that she prevailed with the duke of Chatelherault to resign the regency into her hands. The queen-regent having these motives to indulge the Protestants, made them in a short time an overbalance to the other side.

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And now those who were carrying on a revolution in the Church, endeavoured to strengthen their party, and procure more hands to the association. This motion was well entertained, and great numbers gave in to the design. Some engaged out of zeal, some out of levity, and some to be relieved from the discipline and jurisdiction of the clergy: and how far interest and a prospect of the Church revenues might prevail was best known to those concerned. That the enterprise was not carried on without secular views, may fairly be conjectured by the issue. When the subscriptions were returned, when the reformers had computed upon their strength, and found themselves rise up to a balance, they opened the scene and went vigorously on. And to give the undertaking the better complexion, they presented an address to the queen-regent and council. The heads were these:

The congregation address the queen-regent for a reformation.

"First, that public service and administration of the sacraments might be performed in the vulgar language. Secondly, that the sacrament of the Lord's supper might be given the people in both kinds. Thirdly, that for the future the nobility and gentry of each diocese might vote at the election of a bishop: and that the parish curates should be chosen by a majority of the parishioners: and that those concerned in the election should examine the qualifications of the candidate, and inspect the behaviour and learning of the clergy. And this they called the primitive custom. Fourthly, that those who were unqualified for the pastoral function should be dismissed, and a preaching ministry put in their places. And in short, that none either exceptionable in their lives, or defective

in their learning, should be permitted to administer the sacraments, or execute any part of the sacerdotal office."

ELIZABETH.

These were unacceptable requests to the regent: however, since the session of the parliament drew near, where the matrimonial crown for the dauphin, and the naturalization of the French, were to pass, the party was kept in hopes, and a smooth answer returned. The queen-regent allowed them their service in the vulgar tongue, upon condition they held no public meetings in Edinburgh or Leith.

The regent allows them prayer in the vulgar tongue.

This indulgence shocked the bishops, and when the articles were brought to them, they refused to give their consent. As to the election of bishops and parish priests, they insisted upon ancient custom, and the regulations of the canon law. To this they added, that the crown and the pope had an interest in the choice of bishops; and that to innovate in these matters during the queen's minority, would be an encroachment upon the prerogative royal. As to the article concerning the management of the clergy, they were willing to be governed by ancient usage and the decrees of the council of Trent: and that all bishops, religious, and clergy, however dignified or distinguished, that within six months did not in person discharge their respective duties, should lose their preferments. But this concession was too narrow, and gave no satisfaction. Upon this the bishops

made a farther overture, and offered a conference upon the points in question. Those of the congregation (for so they called the reformers) agreed to the motion upon two conditions. One was, that the Scriptures might be the rule for deciding the controversy: the other, that such of their brethren that were either banished, or lay under other censures, might assist at the dispute, and have a safe-conduct for that purpose. The bishops and clergy refused to comply with either of these terms: they would try the cause by no other records than councils and canon law, neither would they relax any ecclesiastical censure. Some of them, however, were more pliable, and came farther towards an accommodation. They told the congregation, that if the customary reverence to the mass might be continued; if they would own purgatory, invocation of saints, and prayers for the dead, they should be allowed to pray and administer the sacraments in the language of the country. These were looked on as extravagant demands, and rejected without farther answer.

A conference proposed by the bishops.

But rejected.

Articles touching religion presented to the regent.

At the meeting of the parliament the following articles were presented to the queen-regent by the congregation.

“First, They desired that all such acts of parliament as empowered churchmen to proceed against heretics, might be repealed : or at least suspended and dispensed with, till the controversies between the Papists and Protestants should be determined in a lawful general council.

“Secondly, That heresy and misbelief might be tried by the temporal judges : and that prelates and their officers might only be allowed to prosecute.

446.

“Thirdly, That legal exception against the evidence and all other fair methods of defence might be granted the parties accused.

“Fourthly, That the declaration of the person charged with heresy should be believed before the counter testimony of any other witness whatsoever.

“Fifthly, That none should be condemned for heresy, unless that crime could be proved upon them by the Holy Scriptures.”

The queen dismissed the addressers with a general answer, which looked favourably enough. She told them, it was necessary to keep on the reserve at present : that if she should discover her mind, the bishops and religious would cross her measures, and disappoint her business in parliament. But when the public affairs were finished, they should be sensible how well she stood affected.

The congregation by this answer understood their articles would never pass the royal assent, and for this reason they declined presenting them to the parliament. However, resolving to push the matter as far as it would go, they made a protestation, part of which I shall lay before the reader.

The congregation's protestation.

“First, They protested, that since they could not procure a reformation agreeable to God's word, it might be lawful for them to be governed by their own conduct, and follow the direction of their conscience, till such time as their adversaries could maintain their character, prove their commission from Christ, and purge themselves from such crimes as were now laid to their charge ; and which the reformed were ready to make good, as soon as the government would please to hear them.

“Secondly, They protest that neither themselves, nor any

of the godly, that think to join with them in the profession of the true faith, grounded on the word of God, shall incur any forfeiture of life or lands, or any other civil penalties : that no such persons shall be liable to any damage or danger of this kind, for not keeping such acts, as have formerly been made in favour of their adversaries, or for disusing any ceremonies of human invention.

ELIZABETH.

“ Thirdly, They protest that if any insurrection or tumult shall happen upon the score of difference in religion, or if any abuses are suppressed by dint of force, they desire the imputation may not lie upon them who now humbly entreat for a regular remedy, but that whatever inconvenience follows for want of seasonable redress, the consequences may be charged upon those who now refuse to give way to their petition for reformation.

“ And, lastly, They protest their application proceeds purely from motives of conscience, and that they have no other design but reforming abuses in religion : they humbly desire therefore the sacred authority to look on them as loyal subjects, and protect them against tyranny and oppression.”

Spotswood.

This protestation made before the parliament, they desired might be entered on record. But this motion was gently refused by the queen, who told them she would remember the contents, and take care to bring things to a good issue.

Lesley reports, that some of the looser religious, who were either weary of the cloister, or wanted learning to support their character and credit, deserted to the congregation, and declared strongly against the Church of Rome. As for the queen, she continued firm to the old ecclesiastical constitution : and therefore, after she had carried her point in the parliament, and the session was ended, she discovered her inclination, and resolved to declare for the clergy. And some disorders having been committed in the clashing about religion, she thought it necessary to check these sallies in the beginning, and call some of those to an account who had raised the ferment, and given the signal to fall on : for instance, Knox, Willock, John Dowglass, and Paul Methyn, all congregation ministers, were summoned to appear at Stirling, to answer to such misdemeanors as should be charged upon them.

De Reb.
Gest. Scot.

*Some of the
ministers
summoned to
appear at
Stirling.
May 10,
1559.*

The earl of Glencairn, and sir Hugh Campbell, sheriff of Ayr, were sent by the congregation to solicit the queen-regent not to put any hardship upon the ministers, unless they could

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be convicted of false doctrine, or seditious behaviour. The queen was disgusted with their application, returned a harsh answer, and declared those preachers should be all banished. The noblemen, somewhat surprised to find her thus disconcerted, desired her to recollect the promises she had made of kinder usage. Her passion growing warmer upon this suggestion, she told them princes' promises were not to be strained beyond convenience. To this they replied, that if her majesty was resolved not to keep her word with her subjects, the relation between them was discharged, and that they should own her authority no longer. This formal renouncing their allegiance frightened the queen, and prevailed to soften her language. And thus, after a short pause, she let them know she would think farther, and apply to gentle expedients.

But news being presently brought of a Reformation begun at Perth, she was much disturbed, and ordered the lord Ruthven to put a stop to these novelties. This lord answered, he could make himself master of their bodies and estates; but as for their consciences, no power could reach them. When the time drew nigh for the ministers' appearing at Stirling, great numbers of their persuasion made ready to go along with them. The queen receiving advice the people were drawing together from all parts, sent Erskine, of Dun, to order them to disperse, promising the court at Stirling should break up, and nothing be done to the disadvantage of the ministers. The principals of the congregation, suspecting the ministers might suffer by not obeying the summons, sent home the commons. As for themselves, with the barons and gentlemen, they continued at Perth with the preachers. Notwithstanding the regent's promise, the ministers were proclaimed rebels for not appearing at Stirling.

*Knox
preaches
against
images, &c.*

Knox, who was now at Perth with the lords of the congregation, declaimed strongly in a sermon against the worship of images; and maintained that such marks of idolatry and superstition ought to be pulled down. After sermon, a priest, going to say mass, opened a case and showed several fine figures of the saints; for which, being reprimanded by a little boy, he returned him a correction. The boy receiving a box of the ear, threw a stone at the priest, and broke one of the figures. Upon this the mob rose, insulted the priest, broke the images, and defaced the church. And now their numbers increasing, they attacked the monasteries, pulled down the building,

and made prize and plunder of what they found. Thus the Franciscans, the Dominicans, and Carthusians, were undone at a heat. The prior of the order last mentioned had some favour, being allowed as much gold and silver plate as he could carry off. All this booty was given to the poor; for the wealthy, it seems, were so scrupulous as not to take their share in the adventure. But after all, did not this largess to the mob look something like a retaining fee? Was it not like impress-money, to list them in the cause, and flesh them for farther enterprise? Their zeal was surprisingly expeditious in carrying off the remains of superstition; for the Charter-house, a noble structure both for curiosity and largeness, was demolished to that degree, that in less than two days there was nothing of the materials left. When the news of this success came to Coupar¹, in Fife, they carried on the undertaking with the same warmth and fury, rushed into the church, destroyed the ornaments, and broke the images and altars.

ELIZABETH.

The monasteries pulled down at Perth. Hist. of the Reform. in Scotland.

And at Coupar.

The queen-regent was highly displeased with this riot at Perth, and sent to the duke of Chatelherault, the earls of Argyle and Athol, to come immediately to court. The French forces were likewise ordered to march. The burghers of Perth, being sensible of what might follow, dispatched their agents to all parts of the kingdom. Upon this alarm they were quickly reinforced with a considerable body. Those of the best quality were the earl of Glencairn, the lords of Boyde and Ochiltree, the sheriff of Ayr, the lairds of Craigie, Seanock, Carnal, Bar, and Garthgirth.

The queen, understanding the earl of Glencairn was at the head of the malcontents, and that there were seven thousand stout gentlemen, besides townsmen, in Perth; her majesty having intelligence of this formidable preparation, sent the earl of Argyle, and lord James, prior of St. Andrew's, to demand the reason of their drawing together, and move for an accommodation.—By the way, this lord James was natural son to king James V., and bred a religious; but, having no fancy for a monastic profession, he desired the queen to make him earl of Murray. The queen, by the advice of the regent, her mother, endeavoured to persuade him to go on in the course of his education, and maintain that choice the king his father had made for him. And for his encouragement, she promised to

The burghers of Perth assisted by great numbers of the nobility and gentry.

Lealey.

¹ Cowpar, *alias* Cupar.

prefer him to the best post of wealth and honour a churchman could expect. But all this prospect of favour was slighted by the prior. By being denied the earldom, he was disobliged to the highest degree, and made it his business to play his revenge upon the regent ever after.

To return: the earl of Glencairn and the laird of Dun, being appointed to treat with the earl of Argyle and lord James, told them, in answer to their first question, "that their troops marched to Perth to protect their friends and preserve the town." And, as to the accommodation proposed by the queen's commissioners, they declared, "that, provided her majesty would forbear disturbing the professors of the true religion, and suffer the Reformation to proceed, they were ready to obey her commands in all other things."

448,
or
456¹.

May 29,
1559.
*A treaty
signed be-
tween the
regent and
the congre-
gation.*

The character of these commissioners not being unacceptable to the forces in Perth, made the proposals the better received: especially since they engaged, that, if either the queen rejected reasonable terms, or made the least infraction upon the accommodation, they would then immediately join the congregation, and run the same risk with them. And thus, at the instance of these two noblemen, the following articles were signed: "First, that both the armies should be disbanded, and the town left open for the queen. Secondly, that none of the burghers should be called to an account, or any way disturbed for the late alterations in religion. Thirdly, that no French should enter the town, nor march within three miles of it. Fourthly, that all other differences should be referred to the next parliament, or the meeting of the estates."

As soon as the forces were disbanded, the queen-regent marched into the town with some Scotch troops in French pay. These were construed French forces, and complained of as a breach of the articles. Besides, some of the burghers were fined, and others banished; the magistracy was displaced, a garrison left in the town, and orders given that none but the Roman Catholic religion should be allowed.

When this unexpected usage was complained of, she replied, as Spotswood reports, "that promises were not to be kept with heretics; and that princes should not be pressed too close upon their words." She is likewise said to have dropped some very hard expressions against those of the congregation; and

¹ By an error in the pagination of the folio edition, page 456 is thus anticipated; for convenience of reference, it is reprinted as it stands.

thus, by indulging her passion, by straining her honour, and discovering her disaffection, she lost her interest, and made her authority little considered.

ELIZABETH.

Hist. Ref. of Scotland, p. 161.

The congregation, suspecting the queen might forget the capitulation, renewed the covenant or confederacy at Perth. And here the congregations of Fife, Perth, Dundee, Angus, Mearns, and Montrose, entered into a solemn engagement to assist each other, in "doing all things required of God in his Scripture, that may be to his glory; and, with their whole powers, to destroy and put away all things that do dishonour to his name: so that God may be truly and purely worshipped." And, in case any person of the congregation should receive any trouble or damage in prosecuting the business above-mentioned, that then the whole body should stand by him with their lives and fortunes, against all persons whatsoever, that should disturb them in the exercise of religion, or anything relating to that affair. This "Second Covenant," as they call it, is, in the name of the whole congregation, subscribed by two earls, the prior of St. Andrew's, two lords, and a gentleman of condition.

The second covenant at Perth.

Ibid.

The queen failing in the articles, the earl of Argyle and lord James left her, and went over to the congregation; and now, things growing towards a rupture, there was a rendezvous of the party appointed at St. Andrew's. In the mean time, some of the principal noblemen went to Craile, where they were joined with considerable numbers. And here Knox played his rhetoric in the pulpit, and endeavoured to raise their spirits for a contest with the government. He put them in mind how he had told them at Perth, "that there was no clear dealing to be expected from the queen, and that the treaty would not be made good; that, since this prediction was now matter of fact, he exhorted them not to rely upon delusive promises any longer; that, where there was no regard to good faith, it was in vain to expect any solid peace; that, till the foreigners were expelled the kingdom, and one of the parties had crushed the other, there was no likelihood of public repose; that there was nothing, therefore, left but to prepare for extremities, to exert themselves like men, and resolve either to die or conquer."

Knox preaches up resistance against the government in defence of religion.

Spotswood.

This discourse worked so strongly upon the audience, that they fell immediately to pulling down altars and images, and

proceeding with their reformation in the same tumultuous manner they had done before. From Craile they marched to Anstruther, and from thence to St. Andrew's. Here Knox mounted the pulpit; and, preaching upon the text of our Saviour's purging the temple, he applied the corruption in the Jewish Church to the present case; and from thence went on to dilate upon the duty of those to whom God had given authority; taking it for granted, that those who headed the congregation were a legal magistracy, and had their commission from heaven. And thus, by begging the question, and arguing from false premises, the conclusion passed. The people, being thus prepared and preached into a ferment, immediately took the signal, ravaged the churches, levelled the monasteries, and, in short, reformed like the Goths and Vandals at the sacking of Rome.

457. The queen-regent, receiving advice of what was done, ordered the French troops to march towards St. Andrew's, and issued her proclamation to her liege subjects to equip themselves for the field, and attend her at Cowpar.

The lords of the congregation endeavoured to seize some passes, and prevent the regent in her rendezvous. And now the two armies faced each other at Cowpar-moor, and nothing but a small river was between. The French part of the regent's army was commanded by monsieur D'Osell, and her Scotch troops by the duke of Chatelherault. The queen, distrusting the affection of her forces, offered a peace, but that being not accepted upon the conditions proposed, a truce was agreed to for eight days, during which time, commissioners were to be sent to St. Andrew's with sufficient powers for a full accommodation. The queen not sending the commissioners to St. Andrew's within the time expected, she was desired to withdraw the garrison from Perth, pursuant to the late treaty; but returning no answer to the lords of the congregation, they sat down before the town and obliged the garrison to surrender. From hence they advanced to Scone, demolished the monastery, and burnt the church. And receiving intelligence the queen intended to put a French garrison in Stirling, to secure that pass, and cut off their communication with their friends in the southern parts, they made a night-march thither; and here, according to their customary zeal, they razed the monasteries, and defaced the churches. From thence they

June 13,
1559.

Idem.

moved forward to Linlithgow, which they entertained with the same usage. From Linlithgow they came on Edinburgh; but before they arrived there, the reforming mob rose upon the magistracy, plundered all the monasteries, and then pulled them down. ELIZABETH.

The queen-regent, being too weak to arrest this motion, published a proclamation to this effect:—

She declares, “that a seditious party of the lieges, calling themselves the congregation, had raised an army, and covered their proceedings with religion; that to make all people easy in matters of conscience, and to compose the present differences, she had offered to call a parliament in January next, or sooner; that their religion was to be settled by the advice of the estates; and that, in the mean time, every one had the liberty of enjoying his persuasion. That these overtures were granted by the advice of the lords of the privy council. But that all this lenity and these fair proposals had been disregarded by the congregation. It was plain, therefore, religion was none of their business; but that subverting the government, and seizing the crown, was what they aimed at. She commands, therefore, the congregation to live like subjects, and disperse immediately, under the penalties of high treason.” *The queen-regent's proclamation.*

Against this charge in the proclamation, the lords of the congregation make a lame defence. They declare their intention was only to extirpate idolatry, countenance the true religion, and protect those that preached it; and that, provided liberty of conscience was allowed them, they were ready to continue in all duty towards their sovereign, and her mother, the regent. That is, in other language, unless they could pull down monasteries, disfurnish churches, and set up what religion they pleased, and enjoy it without disturbance, they were resolved to take the field, and defy the government. But here it is somewhat surprising that Knox, and the other preachers who insisted so much upon Scripture, should forget to put their audience in mind of the apostle's command, “Let every soul be subject to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God; whosoever, therefore, resists the power, resists the ordinance of God; and they that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation.” And as for the pretence of extirpating idolatry, what precedent have they in Scripture that this was ever done by the Jewish mob, or by any other direction than *The defence of the lords of the congregation.*

Idem.

Rom. xiii.

The methods of their reformation unwarrantable.

1 Kings xxv.
2 Kings
xxiii.

that of the supreme magistrate? The brazen serpent stood, the groves were not cut down, nor the idols destroyed, till the kings gave order about it. Besides, how criminal soever the worship of images, and the adoration of the host may be, it certainly falls far short of the malignity of the Pagan idolatry; for the heathens addressed scandalous beings, and worshipped devils; their religious rites were savage and licentious, they sacrificed their children to their pretended deities, and impurity and debauch were part of their religion. Now, since nothing of this kind can be objected to the Papists, they ought not to be blackened beyond equity and truth, ranged with heathen idolators, and made as bad as the Canaanites in the Old Testament.

To proceed: not long after the lords' defence, a truce was concluded upon these articles.

*Another
treaty con-
cluded.*

"First, That all the forces of the congregation should immediately quit Edinburgh; but as to the burghers, they might either stay or remove at pleasure.

"Secondly, That the congregation shall surrender the palace of Edinburgh, restore the furniture, and return the mint into the queen's hand.

"Thirdly, That the lords, and all other members of the congregation, should live in obedience to the government, and submit to the regent's authority.

"Fourthly, That the congregation should not distress any of the clergy, in their persons or estates.

"Fifthly, That the congregation should not insult any religious houses, pull down churches, nor rife them.

"Sixthly, That the burghers of Edinburgh should profess what religion they pleased till the 10th of January next.

"Seventhly, And that, in the mean time, neither the queen-regent, the magistracy, nor the bishops, were to give any manner of disturbance to the preachers, or to their audience, upon the score of religion."

Spotswood.
Lealey.

After the signing these articles, the French troops marched into Leith, and the lords of the congregation retired towards the western counties.

The queen-regent, though inclined to make good the treaty, was willing to re-establish the Catholic worship as far as the case would bear. To this purpose she sent the duke of Chatelherault, the earl of Huntley, and lord Seton, to acquaint the

magistracy and common council of Edinburgh, that she desired St. Giles's church for the exercise of her religion, and that the minister, John Willock, might preach in some other parish. The magistrates answered, that St. Giles's church was secured them by an article in the truce, and that they could not part with it: the earl of Huntley replied, that the queen did not insist on this matter as a right, but requested it as a favour. And then going lower in his application, he desired, that if they would not quit the pulpit at St. Giles's, they would permit, at least, that mass might be said, either before or after sermon in that church. Their answer was, they were now in possession of that church, and would never consent to the return of idolatry: concluding with a menacing expression, that in case any violence was offered, they would apply to the next remedy.

ELIZABETH.

458.

The queen-regent refused St. Giles's church Edinburgh, for the exercise of her religion.

The French officers thought the magistrates of Edinburgh much too stiff and uncourtly with the queen: and being resolved to take some revenge for this affront, they came into St. Giles's in sermon time, and talked so loud that the preacher could not be heard. The behaviour of these foreign troops was no less disagreeable at Leith, for here they cut the preacher's pulpit in pieces, set up the mass, and suppressed the reformed Common Prayer. This Common Prayer, as the learned Heylin observes, was the service used in England. For the Scots, to recommend themselves to queen Elizabeth's protection, had received the English Liturgy with the rubric annexed; and for some time the Kirk of Scotland used no other form.

The English Common Prayer used in Scotland.

About this time, monsieur Crook, a French gentleman, was dispatched from the king and queen of France, to acquaint the regent that a farther supply of men and money would quickly arrive. By the way, Henry II. king of France, being lately killed at tilting, he was succeeded by his son Francis, who married the queen of Scots. The agent, Crook, brought letters from these two princes to lord James, prior of St. Andrew's. I shall only mention that from the queen.

Heylin's Hist. Reformation p. 127. Idem. Reformation Justified. General Preface. Buchanan, Hist. Scot. lib. 19.

" COUSIN,

" I am extremely surprised that a person so nearly related, and so much obliged, should discover such ill-temper and presumption as at the same time to dishonour the Divine Majesty,

The queen of Scots' letter to the lord James.

and break in upon my authority, and that of the king, my husband. For it is an astonishing thing to consider that you, who had formerly charged the duke of Chatelherault, and several other persons of quality, with encroachments upon my prerogative, should now appear at the head of a faction yourself, and give the last instances of disregard and disloyalty. I am extremely afflicted to find my expectation thus lamentably disappointed, and could sooner have supposed such misbehaviour in any of my subjects than in you. Indeed, I am willing rather to question my intelligence than believe you so far lost to principle and sense as to fall into such hideous misconduct.

"Nobody is more willing to make the best construction than myself. I pray God enlighten your mind that you may recover your wrong steps, alter your management, and prove yourself a man of honour and loyalty. I earnestly desire you to make what satisfaction you can for your former misbehaviour. This is your only expedient to abate our just displeasure; for without recollection and speedy return, you will certainly find a very sensible correction: I should be extremely sorry the king and myself should be forced upon this method. I pray God protect you from all danger.

Lealey.

"Your good Cousin,

"July 24th, 1559."

"MARY.

His apology. The lord James, instead of asking pardon, made a bold justification of his conduct. "He told monsieur Crook, he was not the least conscious of failing in his duty to his sovereign. He owned his joining the reforming nobility; but this he was far from reckoning a fault. That the late enterprise had no secular view: nothing was intended but the advancement of God's honour, and the purity of religion. That to desist from promoting such worthy ends was, in effect, to renounce his Saviour. That with reservation of liberty as to this point, himself and the rest charged with rebellion would give the utmost obedience to their majesties' commands." This answer he delivered in writing to monsieur Crook, who showed it to the queen-regent. The regent returned it with this censure: "That such a proud and rebellious answer was never given to a king and queen."

Spotswood,
p. 131.

John Knox, and the rest of his fraternity, had instructed

lord James in this conditional loyalty, and furnished the congregation with principles to turn faith into faction, and fly in the face of the government. To give the reader some of their doctrine in the words of their own historian. They make no scruple to declare "the authority of princes to be of God, and that they ought to be honoured and obeyed, even for conscience sake, provided they command nothing expressly repugnant to God's commandment and plainly revealed will." But, "that if wicked persons move princes to command things manifestly wicked;" in this case they affirm, "that such as can and do bridle those inordinate appetites of such misled princes, cannot be accused as resistaries of the authority which is God's good ordinance: to bridle the rage and fury of misled princes in free kingdoms and realms, appertains to the nobility, and also to the barons and people, whose votes and consent are to be required in all great and weighty matters of the commonwealth; which if they do not, they declare themselves criminal with their misled princes, and so subject to the same vengeance of God which they deserve, for that they pollute the seat of justice, and do, as it were, make God the author of iniquity."

ELIZABETH.

The opinion of the Scotch ministers touching obedience to magistrates.

By this doctrine, the nobility and people have a liberty to resist upon the score of mal-administration; and when that happens, themselves are the only judges: so that, in short, they are to be governed no longer than they think fit. But this is not the hardest of the case, for if the prince falls into mal-administration, if he presses upon property, or countenances a religion the people do not like, they are then under a necessity of embroiling the government, of fighting their sovereign, and redressing their grievances by force. If the nobility and persons of condition do not head the peasantry, and go all this length, they are said to have a share in their prince's guilt, they are false to their trust, they "pollute the seat of justice, and make God, as it were, the author of iniquity."

Hist. Ref. of Religion in Scotland, p. 184.

The regent's receiving a small reinforcement from France, and fortifying the port of Isith, gave disgust to the lords of the congregation, who sent her a remonstrating letter upon this occasion. It was subscribed by the duke of Chatelherault, and the earl of Arran, his eldest son, &c. I mention these two noblemen because they had lately quitted the court, and come into the association.

459. The queen-regent, to lessen the credit of the confederate lords, put out another proclamation. Here, amongst other things, she declared, that rebellion was the meaning, and religion only the cover of their enterprise: that this was plain by their taking Broughtre Castle, and discharging the governor; by the duke of Chatelherault's slighting her offer, with reference to an accommodation; by that duke's dispatching orders to the free boroughs to choose such magistrates as the congregation thought serviceable to their cause: and farther, by their stopping the conveyance of provision to her court. She likewise charged them with corresponding with England, and making the earl of Arran a promise of the crown.

Spotswood.

The lords endeavoured to purge themselves by a declaration, and, drawing their forces together, marched to Edinburgh; and at the same time the queen, with the French troops and some of the Scotch nobility, entered Leith.

The lords of the congregation consult about deposing the queen-regent.

The differences being kept on foot, and growing wider, the lords of the congregation, with a considerable number of barons and burgesses, met in council to consider upon farther measures. And here the lord president Ruthven suggested, that since the queen-regent had refused their petition; since there was no likelihood the foreign troops would be sent home, and the garrison of Leith evacuated; since this was the case, they were now to apply to another expedient. The regard for the regent's authority was somewhat of a restraint at first, and kept many of the council from declaring their opinion. After some pause, they got over this difficulty, and began to propose the displacing her majesty. This lively motion carried something of danger in it for want of precedents. They granted such a method had sometimes been used, but then it was always recommended with the colour of authority, and done in the name of the sovereign. But that the nobility and estates should venture thus far without, and which is more, against the prince's consent, was altogether new, and would never pass without censure. Others were of opinion, that since she was only regent, she might have a stop put to her administration, and not be suffered to use the king and queen's name, to the ruin of the kingdom. The board being thus divided, it was thought proper to consult the preachers: and John Willock and John Knox being sent for, gave in their opinions to this effect:—

Willock told them, that “notwithstanding magistracy was God’s ordinance, and that governors have their commission from the Divine Majesty, yet their power is not altogether absolute and without reserve. Their authority is conveyed with restrictions, and has its limitations in the word of God. It is granted, God has made magistrates his vicegerents, done them the honour of his own title, and called them gods. But notwithstanding this privilege, he has never so unalterably fixed any in their stations, as not to allow their being set aside when justice requires. For as subjects are commanded to obey their magistrates, so magistrates are not without restraints and obligations on their part: and the duties both of one and the other are marked in Scripture. In deposing princes, God does not always exert his omnipotency, and act by immediate power, but sometimes makes use of human means for this purpose. Thus by Asah he removed Maacha, that prince’s mother, from that post of honour and authority she had some time held: by Jehu God destroyed Jehoram and all Ahab’s family: and by several others he deposed even those princes who had been placed in the throne by his special appointment.

ELIZABETH.

Willock and Knox’s opinion upon the question.

“From these precedents he inferred, that since the queen-regent had mismanaged her character, and failed in the main of her duty, since she had not performed the functions of justice, since she had not protected her subjects from foreign invasion, and refused to suffer the word of God to have its free course: in short, since she countenanced superstition, and disregarded the advice of the nobility, he thought they might justly set her aside, and cancel her authority.”

John Knox being desired to speak next, after he had approved his brother Willock’s opinion in every part, thought fit to throw in a sentence or two, by way of moderation: “The iniquity of the queen-regent,” says he, “ought not to alienate the affection of the subjects, or make them withdraw their obedience due to their sovereign. He likewise wished there might be a reservation of favour in the sentence against the regent: and that when she recollected her mistakes, altered her management, and resigned to good council, she might be re-admitted to the administration of which she was now justly deprived.”

Upon this resolution of Knox and Willock the learned archbishop Spotswood makes the following remark: First, he taxes

Spotswood's
Hist. p. 137.

them with want of discretion, for declaring themselves at all upon the question. Secondly, he pronounces their opinion faulty and unwarrantable. It is true, the supreme magistrate's power is not without limitation: they have rules set them by God Almighty, and they may sometimes fall into great mismanagement: but, granting all this, as he continues, subjects are no where permitted to rise upon their sovereigns, and call them to an account. His reason is, because God has reserved the punishment of princes to himself.

Ibid.

And as for their precedents, they are nothing to the purpose; for Asah was king of Judah, and supreme magistrate; and though Maacha was his mother, she was his subject at the same time: what should hinder, therefore, but that the king, her son, might lawfully recal his favour, and remove her from that post of authority in which she had so remarkably misbehaved herself? As to the instance of Jehu, it is no less wide of the point: for Jehu was anointed king by a prophet, and had an express order to set up against Jehoram, and destroy Ahab's family: and though God, who gives kingdoms, may take them away at his pleasure; yet, to use the archbishop's words, "no man hath this power, and they that presume otherwise, go expressly against the commandment of God, and the duty of Christian profession."

The lords of the congregation publish an ordinance to discharge the regent's authority.

Octob. 23,
1559.
Spotswood.

Notwithstanding the false reasoning upon which Willock and Knox formed their resolution, the council approved their casuistry: for the question being put to the vote, all the lords, barons, and burgesses declared unanimously for the regent's deprivation. Thus an instrument was drawn up, in which, making use of the king and queen's name, they suspended her commission, and discharged her authority till the next parliament should be summoned by their advice. This ordinance, ordered to be published in all the great towns of the kingdom, was signed in this form: "By us, the nobility and commons of the Protestants of the Church of Scotland."

460.

The lords of the congregation sent a herald to acquaint the queen-regent with what was done, desire her to quit Leith, and command the French garrison to march out. The regent refusing to comply, the lords resolved to sit down before the town, and attempt to carry it by scalado; but, finding some of their party go off, their secrets discovered to the regent, and their troops mutiny for want of pay, they grew jealous of each

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other, and dropped the design. To furnish their troops, the noblemen agreed to coin their plate; but they wanted the tools of the mint to make this expedient practicable. Their only remedy was a remittance from England. But this, they were afraid, could not reach them till it was too late; and, for farther discouragement, they had some unfortunate skirmishes with the French. In short, they found themselves obliged to quit Edinburgh, and retire to Stirling. And now they were much perplexed, and at a stand which way to manage, till Knox relieved them with his rhetoric, and recovered their spirits. They had lately written to secretary Cecil, to solicit queen Elizabeth for supplies. This minister returning a cold and ambiguous answer, the lords almost despaired of success at the English court. They resolved, therefore, to make no farther application, but gave Knox the liberty of pursuing the affair as he thought fit. Knox, having this general commission, sent Cecil another letter, told him, it was evident the French designed a conquest of Scotland; that the lords and their party were extremely distressed; and that, unless they were speedily assisted with money from England, they would be obliged to disband their forces, and leave the country to the enemy; that, if the English stood neuter, and suffered the French to make a province of Scotland, it was easy for them to foresee the consequence. At last, he presses Cecil for a positive and speedy answer.

Hist. Ref. of
Scotland.
p. 234.

The progress of the French troops, and the resentment queen Elizabeth had taken against the courts of Scotland and France, for quartering her arms, claiming her crown, and wearing her title, prevailed with her to consider Knox's letter, and engage with the lords of the congregation. Before this resolution was taken, the matter was debated in council, where some of the board declared, "that the supporting the subjects of another prince in their rebellion would be an ill precedent, and might draw a dangerous war on her majesty." But, by others, it was argued, "that, to protect her neighbours from the oppression of strangers, and stop the French from fortifying themselves in Scotland, was both defensible and necessary."

Feb. 27,
1559-60.

The queen complying with this last opinion, an answer was immediately returned, and a promise given of assistance with men and money. And, not long after, the duke of Norfolk came to Berwick, where, being met by the prior of St. An-

Queen Elizabeth makes
an alliance
with the
lords of the

congregation.

drew's, the lord Ruthven, and some other commissioners from the congregation, a treaty was signed. By the last article, the confederate lords declared, "it was not their intention, by this alliance, to disengage themselves from their allegiance to their sovereign lady the queen; but to show themselves obedient both to her majesty and the French king her husband, in every thing not subversive of the liberties of their country.

The English exiles move for a liberty of conforming to the Reformation in foreign churches.

To look back a little, and return to England: some of the English exiles, who had been friendly entertained in Switzerland and Geneva, came home prepossessed in favour of the model of those Churches: and thus, being disaffected to our Common Prayer, they would gladly have set up a foreign establishment. To this purpose, they had prevailed with some persons of character abroad to solicit the queen to indulge them a latitude, and leave them to their inclination in these matters; but the queen, foreseeing the inconvenience of such a permission, returned these strangers an answer, "that it was not consistent with her interest and honour to allow a diversity of religious practice; that, in Germany, the princes and states, owning a dependence on the pope or emperor, were obliged to govern accordingly, to compound for their quiet, and relax upon several heads; but that, in England, where none but herself and council governed, the case was different."

Sir H. Sydney's Memor. Foxes and Firebrands, pt. 3. *The deprived bishops address the queen concerning religion.*

The popish bishops, not long after their deprivation, addressed the queen to return to their communion. They put her in mind, Christianity was first planted in England by the Church of Rome. They desired her majesty to recollect the supremacy of that see; and, in proof of this privilege, they mention Athanasius's being censured by pope Liberius and a Roman council, and that the emperor reprimanded Athanasius for opposing the head of the Church. But, in this last instance, they plainly misreport the case: for Athanasius never received a rebuke from the emperor for non-submission to the papal supremacy. Nothing of the modern pretensions were challenged at that time of day; on the contrary, the emperor Constantius gave pope Liberius a reprimand, for refusing to comply with the Arian bishops, and sign the condemnation of Athanasius. He told the pope, he was surprised to find him so hardy in his incomppliance; and that, being but a single bishop, he should stand out against so great a majority of the same order.

Baron. Aunal.

The rest of the bishops' address it is not material to relate. It was subscribed by Nicholas Heath, Edmund Bonner, Gilbert Bourne, James Turberville, and David Pool.

The bishops' having suggested the queen's being misled by evil counsellors, and reflected on her father and brother's memory, put her upon returning a rugged answer. I shall omit the terms, and only mention some part of the matter. Her letter, written in the council-chamber, replies, "that the Christian faith was not first propagated in this island by any missionaries from Rome; and that Joseph of Arimathea was the British apostle." But here her majesty, or her council, missed the matter of fact, as the reader may see in the first part of this work.

ELIZABETH.
Dec. 4,
1559.
Sydney's
Memor.

Her majesty's answer.

Page 7 to 12.

As for Athanasius being censured by Liberius, her majesty turns that instance upon them with force enough. She takes notice how noble a champion this bishop was for the Catholic faith. "Do you not," says her majesty, "own his Creed to this very day? Dare any of ye affirm him a schismatic? You are not, I conceive, arrived to such a pitch of confidence. Now, if Athanasius was right, and the pope was wrong, in the Arian contest, if the matter stands thus, why may not other Christians quit your Church without the imputation of schism?"

Dec. 6.

In the middle of December, this year, Dr. Parker was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury. And here none of the customary forms of *congé d'élire*, certificate of the dean and chapter, confirmation at the Arches, the archbishop's homage to the queen, nor any requisite preliminary, was omitted. Now, the instruments for these purposes not being commonly met with, I have put them in the records. When the ceremony of the confirmation was over, the vicar-general, the dean of the Arches, and other officers of that court, were entertained at the Nag's Head tavern, in Cheapside. This treat gave occasion to the senseless story of the "Nag's Head Consecration." A full disproof of this calumny may be seen in Parker's register, where both the solemnities of the consecration and everything pre-required are entered at large. To throw in a word or two: this prelate was consecrated in Lambeth-chapel, on Sunday, the 17th of December. Pearson, the archbishop's chaplain, read the service; and the sermon was preached by Scory, elect of Hereford, who was one of those who officiated in the consecration. The other three were William Barlow,

The consecration of archbishop Parker and other bishops.

See Records, num. 80.
See Records, num. 82.
Records, num. 81.

461.

PARKER, late bishop of Bath and Wells, elect of Chichester; **Miles Coverdale**, late bishop of Exeter; and **John Hodskins**, suffragan of Bedford. But, since this whole solemnity stands on record, both in Benet-college and the Lambeth register,—since it is transcribed at length by archbishop Bramhall, and other writers of character,—there is no need of going farther in the relation. The reader, if he pleases, may see it in my Supplement to Morery's Dictionary. I shall only add, that, having compared the printed record with a copy in the Paper-office, I find them both agree.

To proceed: though the revenues of the archbishopric were not secularised to that degree as to stand in need of a "commendam," yet since this relief is sometimes granted by the crown to more indigent sees, I thought it might not be improper to give the reader a view of the form.

See Records,
num. 83.

Dec. 21,
1559.

After the see of Canterbury was thus filled, thirteen other bishops were consecrated within the compass of a year, and eight of them before the end of January. Their names are, **Dr. Edmund Grindal**, who was consecrated bishop of London; **Dr. Richard Cox** was promoted to the see of Ely; **Dr. Edwin Sandys** to Worcester, and **Dr. Rowland Merrick** to that of Bangor; **Dr. Nicholas Bullingham** was consecrated to Lincoln, **Mr. John Jewel** to Salisbury, **Dr. Thomas Young** to St. David's, and **Mr. Richard Davis** to St. Asaph. To proceed: there were three other bishops consecrated on the twenty-fourth of March; that is, **Mr. Thomas Bentham** for Coventry and Lichfield, **Mr. Gilbert Berkley** for Bath and Wells, and **Dr. Edward Guest** for Rochester; and, not long after, **William Alley** was consecrated bishop of Exeter, and **Mr. John Parkhurst** of Norwich.

July 14.
Sept. 1.

Goodwin assigns the death of **Tonstal**, bishop of Durham, to this year. He was born at Hatchford, in the county of Richmond, and descended from an ancient and considerable family. As to his learning, he was an exact Grecian, not unacquainted with Hebrew, an eminent mathematician, a famous orator, and no less commendable for his knowledge in divinity and law. For these attainments he was recommended to archbishop **Warham**, who made him his vicar-general. This archbishop presented him to the king, who made him master of the rolls, privy-seal, and bishop of London, from whence he was translated to Durham in the year 1530. He discharged

several embassies to great commendation. He was a very moderate Roman Catholic, disowned the pope's supremacy in the reign of king Henry VIII., and approved the marriage of priests. He was of an unprosecuting temper, and managed with great gentleness and good-nature in queen Mary's reign. He was deprived, as hath been observed, in this reign for refusing the oath of supremacy, and committed to the custody of the archbishop of Canterbury, who treated him generously. He died in his 86th year, and was buried in Lambeth church, and had the respect of a pompous funeral.

ELIZABETH.

Godwin de
Presul.
Angl.

The next remarkable occurrence is bishop Jewel's sermon at Paul's-cross. It was preached in Lent this year, upon these words of the apostle St. Paul: "I have received of the Lord that which also I deliver unto you." From this text he took occasion to make that remarkable challenge in defence of the Reformation. The Church of England was reproached with novelty by the Papists, and charged with departing from primitive doctrine and practice. To wipe off these aspersions, the bishop put the case upon a bold issue, and declared in the pulpit, "That if any learned men of all our adversaries, or if all the learned men that are alive, are able to bring any one sufficient sentence out of any old Catholic doctor or father, or out of any old general council, or out of the Holy Scriptures of God, or any one example of the primitive Church, whereby it may be plainly and clearly proved, that for the first six hundred years after Christ there was any private mass in the world: or that there was then any communion administered under one kind, or that the people had their common prayer in a language which they did not understand: or that the bishop of Rome was then called universal bishop, or head of the universal Church: or that the people were then taught to believe, that Christ's body is really, substantially, corporally, carnally, or naturally, in the sacrament: or that his body is, or may be, in a thousand places, or more, at one time: or that the priest did then hold up the sacrament over his head: or that the people did then fall down and worship it with godly (that is, divine) honour: or that the sacrament was then, or now ought to be, fixed depending under a canopy: or that in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, there remains only the accidents and appearances, without the substance of bread and wine: or that the priest then divided the sacrament in three

1 Cor. xi.
23.

Bishop
Jewel's
challenge to
the Papists
at Paul's-
cross.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

462.

parts, and afterwards received himself all alone : or that who-soever had affirmed the sacrament a figure, a pledge, a token, or a remembrance, of Christ's body, had been condemned for a heretic : or that it was then lawful to have thirty, twenty, fifteen, ten, or five masses to be said in a church in one day : or that images were then set up in churches for people to worship them : or that the laity were then forbid to read the Scriptures in the language of the country : or that it was then lawful for the priest to pronounce the words of consecration so low, as to be heard by none but himself : or that the priest had then authority to offer up Christ to his Father : or to communicate and receive the sacrament for another, as they do : or to apply the virtue of Christ's death and passion to any man by the means of the mass : or that it was then thought sound doctrine to affirm that the mass 'ex opere operato,' that is, by the bare force of administration, and without regard to the qualifications of the persons receiving, is able to discharge any part of our sins : or that then any Christian called the sacrament his Lord, and his God : or that the people were then taught to believe the body of Christ remains in the sacrament, as long as the accidents of the bread continue without corruption : or that when Christ said, 'This is my body,' the word '[This]' does not refer to the bread, but to an 'individuum vagum,' as some of them say : or that the accidents or appearances of bread and wine are the sacraments of Christ's body and blood, and not rather the very bread and wine itself : or that the sacrament is a sign of the body of Christ that lies hidden under it : or that ignorance is the mother of true devotion ;—

"If any one of his adversaries were able to make good but a single proposition amongst all these, either by sufficient declarations in Scripture, or by the testimony of the ancient Fathers and councils, he was ready to give up the contest, and subscribe himself a proselyte."

Bp. Jewel's
Works,
p. 58.

*Several
Roman
Catholics
undertake
the contro-
versy.*

This challenge made a great noise, and the Papists thought themselves obliged to answer it. Dr. Cole, late dean of St. Paul's, was the first who undertook the contest. His manner was smooth and friendly ; and some letters passed between him and the bishop upon the subject. Rastall entered the lists, and engaged with more heat, but with as little success. These were seconded by Dormer and Marshall. The first was

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encountered by Nowel, and the other by Calphill. Dr. John Harding, an English divine, who retired to Louvain, was the most considerable adversary. This Harding had been a strong Protestant in the reign of king Edward, but relapsed to popery when queen Mary came to the crown; and for this inconstancy, the reader may remember, he was sharply reprimanded by the lady Jane. Jewel was likewise overborne with fear, and subscribed a recantation; but he quickly recovered himself, and made a public confession of his infirmity. This Harding appeared to the most advantage, offered at a thorough answer, and considered the challenge from point to point; but then his testimonies do not all reach up to the age and authority for which they are cited. He makes use of counterfeit records, and, for instance, cites the decretal epistles, as if they were written by the popes whose names they carry. The bishop first published an answer, and afterwards a rejoinder, to Harding's performances. Which of these two learned were the fairest representers, came closest up to the difficulties, and argued with most learning and strength, may easily be discovered by perusing what passed between them. The bishop, to give him his due, wrote with great perspicuity and force, proved himself an accomplished divine, and has, in a manner, exhausted the controversy. But these polemical tracts, though occasioned by Jewel's challenge, did not appear in print till some years after.

About this time a parliament was held at Dublin in Ireland, in which several acts were passed relating to Church affairs. The first is intituled "An Act for restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction over the estate ecclesiastical." By this statute all manner of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, for visiting and reforming all errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, &c., are granted to the queen and her commissioners. The oath of supremacy is enacted, and the penalty for abetting any foreign jurisdiction is forfeiture of goods and chattels for the first, præmunire for the second, and high treason for the third offence. And here the regale is farther pressed than in England: the determining point of faith is translated from the Church upon the State; and the parliament, without the concurrence of the convocation, is made the last judge of heresy.

The next statute establishes the English Common Prayer passed by the parliament at Westminster in the fifth and sixth

Irish Acts.
Eliz cap. 1.

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years of Edward VI. And here the queen, with the advice of the lord deputy and privy council, is impowered to "ordain and publish such farther ceremonies and rites as may be most for the advancement of God's glory, the edifying of this Church, and the due reverence of Christ's holy mysteries and sacraments." There is likewise a provision for the Common Prayer to be used in Latin in some places of that kingdom. The paragraph runs thus: "Forasmuch as in most places of this realm there cannot be found English ministers to serve in the churches or places appointed for Common Prayer, or to minister the sacraments to the people; and for that if some good means were provided that they might use the prayer, service, and administration of sacraments, set out and established by this act, in such language as they might best understand, the due honour of God should be thereby much advanced; and for that also, that the same may not be in their native language, as well for difficulty to get it printed, as that few in the whole realm can read the Irish letters: we do therefore most humbly beseech your majesty, that, with your highness's favour and royal assent, it may be enacted, ordained, established, and provided, by the authority of this present parliament, that in every such church or place, where the common minister or priest hath not the use and knowledge of the English tongue, it shall be lawful for the same common minister or priest to say and use the matins, even-song, celebration of the Lord's Supper, and administration of each of the sacraments, and all their common and open prayer, in the Latin tongue, in such order and form as they be mentioned and set forth in the said book established by this act, and according to the tenor of this act, and none otherwise, nor in other manner, any thing before expressed and contained in this act to the contrary notwithstanding."

Id. 2 Eliz.
cap. 2.

By the next printed statute, the first fruits, tenths, and impropriated parsonages returned to the Church by queen Mary, are now brought back to the same condition they stood by 28 Hen. VIII. cap. 14, and vested in the crown. By the way, in Ireland the twentieth part of the annual profit of bishoprics and livings were only payable to the crown in lieu of the tenths. There is a customary saving clause in the act for the interest of bodies politic and corporate; and thus great care is taken, that nobody should be a loser but the Church.

Id. 2 Eliz.
cap. 3.

The next statute, relating to the consecration of bishops, enacts, that for the future there should be no *congé d'élire* granted, nor any election made by the dean and chapter; but that bishops should be constituted by the queen's letters-patent, or by the lord deputy by virtue of letters-missive, or other warrants signed by the queen, or her successors; and that after such collation by the queen, or the lord deputy, the archbishop or bishop to whom it was signified was obliged to consecrate the person preferred, under the penalty of præmunire.

ELIZABETH.

Id. 2 Eliz.
cap. 4.

463.

The last act, which I shall just mention, returns the priory or hospital of St. John's Jerusalem, in Ireland, to the crown. Several manors, &c. belonging to this priory, and alienated in the reign of king Henry VIII., had been granted by king Philip and queen Mary to the prior sir Oswald Massingburgh, knight, at the revival of the foundation. These estates are now all vested in the queen.

Id. 2 Eliz.
cap. 12.

Aug. 1559.

Upon the death of pope Paul IV., the see, after a vacancy of four months, was filled with John Angelo, cardinal of Medici, who took the name of Pius IV. This pope was not of so haughty and impetuous a temper as his predecessor: he wisely considered, that proceeding to extremities without a proportionable power, was a dangerous experiment; that violent measures had more than once proved unsuccessful; and that several kingdoms had been lost by unseasonable stiffness and rigour. By this rough treatment, for instance, England went off from Clement VII.; and, when it was afterwards recovered, the imperious demands of the late pope disgusted queen Elizabeth to that degree, that she immediately gave in to the Reformation. However, this pope did not despair of gaining her by smooth applications. For this purpose he dispatched Parpalia, abbot of St. Saviour's, with a letter and private instructions. I shall translate the letter from Camden.

"Dearest daughter in Christ, health and apostolical benediction. How much the salvation of your soul, the honour of your reign, and the interest of your kingdom, is desired by us, is known to God, the searcher of hearts; and may be understood in some measure by the instructions which our nuncio, Vincentio Parpalia, a person of fidelity, and not unknown to your majesty, has orders to lay before you. We earnestly

Pope Pius
IV.'s letter
to queen
Elizabeth.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

exhort your highness, dearest daughter, that you would be no longer guided by unhappy advisers; by men who love nothing but their own interest and pleasures: we entreat you, therefore, to give the fear of God the principal sway in your councils; 'to know the time of your visitation,' and to resign to the admonitions of us your spiritual father. Your majesty may promise yourself any reasonable length of compliance which lies within the compass of my station, not only with reference to your spiritual advantage, but likewise for the service and security of your royal dignity. And that when you return to the communion of the Church, as we hope you will, you shall be received with the same marks of affection and regard as the father in the Gospol entertained his son with at his coming home. Though our satisfaction will be much greater than that mentioned in the parable; for the joy was only for the recovery of a single person; whereas your highness's return will draw your subjects' happiness along with you, and give a strong occasion of pleasure to the universal Church. And besides, heaven itself will be, as it were, transported with the news, and you will make an addition to the joys of the blessed: such a glorious recollection will raise your character, prove serviceable to your memory, and give you a much brighter crown than that you wear already. But, concerning this affair, my agent, Vincentio, shall discourse with your highness more at large, and give you farther proof of our paternal affection, &c. Dated at Rome, May the 5th, 1560."

Luke xv.

Cambden,
Elizabeth.

1560.

*The Common Prayer
turned into
Latin.*

Somewhat before this time, the queen ordered the English Common Prayer to be turned into Latin. Dr. Walter Haddon, as some suppose, had a share in this version. The queen, in her letters-patent of the 1st of April, recommends this book to the use of both universities, and to the colleges of Eton and Winchester. There are likewise occasional services added, for the commemoration of benefactors, together with some funeral hymns. The additions not being provided for by the late statute, were authorized with a *nonobstante*. All this was probably done to justify our Reformation to foreign princes, and acquaint them with the public devotions. Whether the pope could reconcile himself to these alterations or not, is a question. For the learned Cambden affirms he could never learn the certainty of Parpalia's proposals. However, he owns

it was commonly reported the pope had engaged to confirm the English Liturgy, to grant the laity the holy eucharist under both kinds, and to reverse the sentence which had passed in the court of Rome against her mother's marriage. And that these concessions were made upon the condition of her returning to the Roman communion, and owning the primacy of that see. I mention Camden's reservedness in reporting this matter, because some of our historians have made him speak in a more categorical manner, and mention it as undoubted matter of fact.

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About this time a form of belief, digested into eleven articles, was set forth by the bishops, and ordered to be read publicly by all the clergy upon their first entering upon their cures. It was printed the next year by Richard Jugg, the queen's printer, and entituled, "A Declaration of certain principal Articles of Religion of both the Archbishops Metropolitan, and the rest of the Bishops; for the Unity of Doctrines to be taught and holden of all Parsons, Vicars, and Curates, as well in Testification of their common Consent in the said Doctrine, to the stopping the mouths of those that go about to slander the Ministry of the Church for Diversity of Judgment, as necessary for the Instruction of their People. To be read by the said Parsons, Vicars, and Curates, at their first Possession-taking, or first entry into their Cures. As also after that, yearly, at two several times; that is to say, the Sundays next following Easter-day, or St. Michael the Archangel."

Heylin,
Hist. Ref.
Bp. Burnet,
Hist. Ref.

*Articles to
be owned by
the clergy.*

The articles being drawn upon a very near resemblance with those published in 1552, and two years forward in the present reign, I shall pass them mostly over. However, to observe something: the second article declares, that all errors and heresies may be sufficiently confuted by Scripture. The fifth affirms the queen's prerogative and superiority in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, to be agreeable to God's word, and rightfully belonging to her highness in the same sense and extent, as it is declared in the late act of parliament, and explained in her majesty's "Injunctions."

Biblioth.
C. C. C.
Cantab.

The eighth affirms, that the disuse of exorcism, oil, salt, spittle, or hallowing of the water in the administration of baptism, is no exceptionable omission. The reason is, because these ceremonies are no part of the substance of the sacrament.

This last disallows the usual flourishing upon images, relics, and counterfeit miracles. And here all representations of the

PARKER, invisible God in the figure of an old man, or of the Holy Ghost
 Abp. Cant. in that of a dove, and all other modes of divine worship unwarranted by Scripture, such as pilgrimages, setting up candles, and praying upon beads, are directly censured.
 464.

Though this last article is capable of a favourable construction with respect to images, yet most of the bishops seem to have gone towards an extremity in this point. They had solicited the queen more than once for their removal out of churches; but had hitherto failed of success. The queen was not without a regard for the ancient appearances of religion; she thought ornament and representation no unserviceable circumstances; she was of opinion the service of God in her brother's reign wanted something of beauty and magnificence to recommend it. In short, her aim was to settle both ceremonies and doctrine upon a just temper, that there might be a due latitude for general approbation and belief. This she apprehended the best expedient to unite the nation, and preserve a great part of her subjects from going off to the Church of Rome.

*The bishops
 address the
 queen
 against
 images.*

As to the business of images, the bishops were strongly prejudiced against the use of them. They were resolved, therefore, to repeat their request and try their fortune once more in a formal address.

And here they begin with the necessity of the occasion; and that it was no spirit of opposition, no contesting humour, which put them upon this application; that it was purely a regard to the majesty of God; it was for fear of giving offence to the little ones; and digging a pit for the blind to fall in, that they took this liberty. And as they had several times already petitioned her majesty upon this head, without representing their reasons, so now they thought themselves obliged to mention the grounds they went upon, and recommend them to her majesty's consideration.

Their arguments are drawn from Scripture, and some authorities of the ancient Fathers. I shall only report the substance of what they allege. They take notice "the second commandment forbids the making any images as the resemblance of God; and that there was a curse denounced against those who made an image an abomination of the Lord, and put it in a secret place. This they expounded of some chapels in private houses; and among the cautions given the Israelites to guard against idolatry, it is particularly forbidden them, not

Deut. xxvii.

to make an image. For the use of these, as they argue, does naturally advance to idolatry. Of this ill consequence the Jews were so sensible after the captivity, that they would rather die than suffer an image to be put in their temple. The book of wisdom calls an image, 'a snare for the feet of the ignorant;' and St. John commands us, 'to beware of idols.' To this purpose Tertullian affirms, it was not enough to stand clear of the worship, but of the very figures; that laying a stumbling-block in the way of the blind, was forbidden among great crimes in the Old Testament; but to leave such an occasion of miscarriage before the undiscerning multitude, was a breach of duty of worse consequence. That there could be nothing of edification in the case, since it served only to fortify the ignorant in their superstition, and fix them in their former dotage. That others would dislike the public worship upon this account. So that if the numbers of those who would stand off from communion if they were continued, and the rest that would abuse them, were computed, the remainder that would use them rightly would not be considerable; the lustre of their appearance would be apt to make too strong an impression; and thus the people, if not carried to direct idolatry, might have their thoughts too much engaged. Both Origen and Arnobius report, the primitive Christians had no images, and Irenæus blamed the Gnosticks for carrying the figure of our Saviour about with them. St. Austin commends Varro for affirming, the old Romans for some time made no use of images in their worship; and that this reserve in ceremony was better suited to the nature of the Deity. Epiphanius pulled a piece of hanging in pieces, and ordered it to be taken out of the church, because there was a figure upon it. And Serenus, another bishop, broke the images in Gregory the Great's time. They observe, farther, that the emperors Valens and Theodosius made a law against painting or engraving the picture of our Saviour. And, lastly, that the use of images in the Eastern Church embroiled that empire, and exposed it to the arms of the infidels."

After these reasons, "they entreat the queen not to press the use of images upon them, nor be offended with the plainness of their application. That such freedoms in discharge of conscience had always been favourably construed by religious princes." And to this purpose they cite a passage of St. Am-

ELIZABETH.

PARKER, brose to Theodosius the Great, "That it was not the part of an emperor to deny freedom of speech, neither did it become a priest to stifle his thoughts, and decline delivering his judgment."

Ambros.
Epist. lib. 5.

"They desire her to consider, that her permission of images in churches would make the reformed prelates look inconsistent with themselves, and weaken their character; that it would stick a blemish upon the reign of her pious brother, king Edward VI., and disserve the memory of those eminent clergymen who had lost their lives in defence of the truth. And, to conclude, they entreat her that both this, and other religious controversies, might be referred to the decision of a synod; that this was the method taken by Constantine the Great, and other Christian emperors."

MSS.
Biblioth.
C. C. C.
Cant.

*Some of the
reasons
examined.*

Notwithstanding the zeal and good meaning of these bishops, it is plain their reasons are not altogether cogent. For, first, the dispensations of the Jewish and Christian religion are different in many points, and therefore there is no arguing from the one to the other; there is no arguing, I say, either from precept or precedent, unless where the grounds are the same; but this cannot be affirmed in the present case. For, because a corporeal representation of the unincarnate Deity was forbidden, we cannot, by any parity of reason, infer the unlawfulness of making a figure of our blessed Saviour, who was man as well as God. And that the worship, and not the use of images, was not altogether forbidden by the Jews, may be collected from Solomon's carving cherubims upon the walls of the temple, and embellishing the molten sea with oxen and lions. Their citation from the Book of Wisdom is an apocryphal testimony, and therefore can amount to no proof upon the principles of these prelates; and St. John's charging the Christians to keep themselves from idols, concludes as little. Neither can Tertullian's caution against having anything to do with images of the Pagan deities, be strained to a parallel. As for what they mention of laying a stumbling-block before the blind, the argument might possibly be turned upon them. For some people would take check at the removal of the images, and construe it a disregard to our Saviour and the saints. Thus the pulling down the emperor's statues was always looked on as a mutiny against the government, and an affront to the prince himself. Farther, these prelates confess some people

1 Kings vi.
& vii.

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would stand clear of superstition, and suffer nothing from images in churches; from whence it follows, they did not believe there was any necessity of going too far upon such a permission. Now to argue against the use from the abuse, unless where the mischief is inseparable, is to make art and nature unserviceable, and reason us out of the significancy of our senses: for what convenience of life, what part of the bounty of Providence, what furniture either of mind or body, is there which has not been abused? As for the lustre and pomp in things of religion, it is far from any dangerous amusement. Had this been an exceptionable circumstance, the temple-service at Jerusalem, of God's institution, would not have been carried on with so much magnificence expense. But my business being not to debate the controversy at length, I shall waive considering the rest of their authorities, and refer the reader to what has been observed upon this head in the former part of my history.

ELIZA-
BETH.

One of our learned historians observes, "that these reasons of the bishops prevailed with the queen to put it in her 'Injunctions' to remove all images out of churches." But, with submission, this remark is wide of matter of fact: for a superstitious regard to images, and those figures which represented counterfeit miracles, are only struck at, as the reader may see by perusing the 2nd and 23rd articles of the "Injunctions." To which I may add, that the "Injunctions" were published in the first year of the queen's reign; whereas this address of the bishops was not made till the second.

Vol. i. p. 65,
66. 141, 142.
Bp. Burnet,
Hist. Ref.
p. 398.

This year, archbishop Parker set forth his "Admonition, or Table," to point out the prohibited degrees in marriage. But this being every where to be seen in churches, I shall pass it over. It was printed by Reginald Wolfe; and, at the end of the first edition, there is an order annexed relating to the clergy. Here, none under the degree of master of arts are allowed to preach or expound the Scriptures; they are only to read the homilies. They are likewise enjoined not to make any omissions, nor use any unauthorized rites, in divine service.

It has been already observed, that, upon the Roman Catholic clergy's throwing up their preferment, the necessities of the Church required the admitting some mechanics into orders. The disadvantage of this expedient was soon observed. The

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

ignorance and improper behaviour of these men made them disregarded and insignificant. To prevent this inconvenience, the archbishop of Canterbury sent his mandate to the bishop of London, to be communicated to the other suffragans of the province, not to ordain any mechanics, or other persons unqualified by their education : that the matter should rest in this condition till the meeting of a convocation.

Regist.
Grindal.

The archbishop's letter takes notice, that these men, by the uncreditableness of their former business, and their conversing out of character, made them despicable with the people ; that religion suffered under their management, and that they did much more harm than good.

*The French
ambassadors
move for an
accommoda-
tion of the
differences
in Scotland.*

The course of the history will now lead me to say something of the affairs in Scotland. Soon after the signing the alliance between queen Elizabeth and the lords of the congregation, the English troops, commanded by the lord Grey, marched, and sat down before Leith ; and, being joined by the confederate lords, bore hard upon the garrison. The French king, receiving advice his forces were distressed at Leith, and being too much embarrassed to furnish a reinforcement, despatched count Randan, and Monluck, bishop of Valence, with a public commission, to the English court. Their instructions were, to desire the queen to withdraw her army out of Scotland, with proposals of the restitution of Calais upon that condition. Her answer was, " She did not value that fisher-town so much as to hazard the repose of Britain upon that account." The French, perceiving the peace would be made upon no other terms than recalling their troops out of Scotland, and looking upon it as dishonourable for their king and queen to capitulate with their own subjects, upon these considerations they solicited queen Elizabeth to send her ambassadors to mediate an accommodation. This motion being agreed to, secretary Cecil, and Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury, were ordered to accompany Randan and Monluck into Scotland, and endeavour composing the public disturbances.

*The queen-
regent dies.
June 10,
1560.*

While these ambassadors were on their journey, the queen-regent fell sick, and died in the castle of Edinburgh. During her sickness she sent for the duke of Chatelherault, the earls of Argyle, Glencairn, Marshall, and lord James. To these noblemen she declared herself much afflicted for the present disturbances, pressed them to make for peace, advised the sending

both the French and English out of the country, suggested loyalty to the queen their sovereign, and desired the ancient good correspondence with France might be kept on. After this, she asked pardon of those she had any ways offended, and declared she forgave all injuries against herself; and then, saluting the noblemen on the cheek, and giving her hand to those of inferior rank, she bade them farewell. When the company had taken their leave, she turned her thoughts wholly to the other world; and, at the recommendation of the lords, sent for John Willock the preacher, discoursed with him for some time, and publicly declared that she "relied only on the death and merits of Jesus Christ." And thus she departed this life in a most Christian manner.

ELIZABETH.

Spotswood,
p. 146.
Her character.

This princess was furnished with very honourable qualities. She had a genius for government; her judgment was good, and her humour condescensive and obliging. She had a great regard for justice, was remarkably compassionate to the poor, and bestowed her charities with great tenderness and discretion. Her court was unusually regular. She would endure nothing of indecency and license. The ladies of her attendance were always commendably employed; and, in this, they did no more than follow the example of their mistress, who was eminently unexceptionable in her private life. Her quieting the tumults in the north, and the isles, were sufficient proof of her talent for governing.

As to the civil commotions which harassed the kingdom, in the latter end of her regency, they were by no means any part of her inclination: she was overborne into these unacceptable measures by foreign direction. Lesley, an historian of her communion, reports, that, if she had managed by her own judgment, the misunderstandings between the court and some of the nobility had never happened. But Mons. d'Ossell, Bonot, and other Frenchmen, overruled her fancy, prevailed with her to exclude the natives of quality, and promote themselves to the highest posts in the administration. This disgusted the people, and provoked them to sedition, to which they were farther pushed when they found their liberties affected, and new burthens laid upon them. Though, after all, the real grievances were heightened by misreports, and magnifying the miscarriages of the government. To which may be added, that this princess was barbarously used by the hot-

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De Reb.
Gest. Scot.
lib. 10.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

Cambden,
Eliz. p. 23.

*A treaty
signed at
Edinburgh.*

headed preachers, and by no means well by the lords of the congregation.

Soon after the death of the regent, the English and French ambassadors came to Edinburgh, and entered upon a treaty, which, after some days' debate, was concluded. I shall mention only some of the articles. First. The town of Leith was to be evacuated, and the French forces sent home again, within twenty days. Secondly. An act of oblivion was to be made, for extinguishing the memory of all injuries, and indemnifying the subjects from prosecution for all misdemeanours and practices against the State, from the 6th of March, 1558, to the 1st of August, 1560. Thirdly. That all bishops, abbots, and other churchmen, that could prove themselves damnified, either in their persons or estates, should have their grievances redressed in the next parliament; and that, in the mean time, nobody should insult their persons, or disturb them in the enjoyment of their revenues. Fourthly. That the estates of the realm should hold a parliament in August next; and that, for this purpose, a commission should be sent them from the king and queen of Scotland; that a committee of noblemen, nominated by the next parliament, should be sent to their majesties to report what farther alterations it was necessary to make in religion; and that the articles then agreed should be presented with the ratification of the estates, and returned with their majesties' confirmation. And, lastly, That, for the future, the queen of Scotland and the king of France should not carry the titles of England and Ireland, nor quarter the arms of those crowns upon their plate and furniture. This treaty was to be ratified within sixty days, and an oath taken by the respective sovereigns for farther security.

Spotswood.
Camden.

*The French
king and the
queen of
Scots refuse
to ratify it,
and why.*
Cambden,
Eliz. p. 60.

Before the time expired, queen Elizabeth ratified the treaty with all the solemnity required, and ordered her ambassadors, Throgmorton and Mewtas, to move the queen of Scots and the French king to the same compliance. But these princes, notwithstanding they had promised, in the bishop of Valence's credentials, to sign what was done,—notwithstanding this engagement, as Cambden reports,—they refused to ratify the treaty. The reasons of their refusal were, because the Scots had, contrary to their duty, entered into an alliance with the English at Berwick, without any authority from their sovereigns; that none but rebels were concerned in the negotia-

tion, and that, to make the better show of a general concurrence, they had counterfeited the hands and seals of several loyal subjects ; and lastly, that they had not performed that duty to the crown which was promised in the treaty. While these things were debating at the French court, king Francis II. died, in the eighteenth year of his age, and left the queen of Scots a widow.

ELIZABETH.

Notwithstanding this disappointment, a summons was sent by the Scotch lords of the congregation for the meeting of parliament. When the day came, there was a numerous appearance ; but all the members had not the same sense of the legality of the proceedings. Some urged, that, since they had no commission from their sovereigns, nor any authority to represent their persons, there could be no such thing as a parliament. To this the other party replied, that, by an article of the late treaty, a parliament was to be held in August following ; and that this meeting would be as legal in all respects as if it had been expressly ordered by their majesties. But to this it might be replied, that the treaty, not being ratified by the queen of Scots, was not binding upon the crown ; and, by consequence, their convening without the royal warrant must be a breach upon the constitution. However, this latter opinion, supported by a majority, prevailed. After a week had been spent in this contest, and the point carried not without great struggle, they began to enter upon business ; but having no commission from the queen, the customary solemnities of carrying the crown, sceptre, and sword, were omitted. Of the spiritual estate there appeared the archbishop of St. Andrew's, the bishops of Dunkeld, Dumblain, Galloway, Argyle, and Isles, the prior of St. Andrew's, the abbots of Cowpar, Landers, Culross, St. Colms-Inch, Newbottle, Holyrood-house, Kinloss, Deire, and New-abbey, with the priors of Coldingham and St. Mary-Isle. Those of the nobility were the duke of Chatelherault, the earls of Arran, Argyle, Marshall, Cassils, Caithness, Athol, Glencairn, Morton, and Rothes ; the lords Ruthven, Glamies, Erskine, Boyd, Ochilttrie, Carlisle, Livingston, Ogilvy, and Somerville. Many of the barons were likewise there, and all the commissioners of boroughs. By this slender list, the reader may collect a great party of the nobility looked upon the meeting as illegal, and therefore declined appearing. And it is plain the government, when

The parliament convened in Scotland without any authority from the crown.

Spotswood.

The authority of this meeting defective.

PARKER, settled, gave it no better consideration ; for nothing that passed in this convention was touched by the sceptre,—a necessary circumstance to make the bills law ; neither are their proceedings entered amongst the printed or unprinted acts of this reign. And thus the parliament held in the year 1563 stands registered immediately after that held in 1558.

And having premised this concerning the authority of the meeting, I shall proceed to other particulars.

*The lords of
the articles,
what, and
how elected.*

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In the choice of the lords of the articles, the noblemen who were to nominate those of the clergy, passed by the disaffected bishops, and elected their friends, though somewhat out of form. The persons pitched on were the bishops of Galloway and Argyle, the prior of St. Andrew's, the abbots of Abberbrothock, Kilwinning, Lundor, Newbottle, and Culross. The prelates remonstrated loudly against this election, objecting that some of them were laymen, and that all of them had deserted the Church ; but these allegations not being reckoned any reasonable exceptions, their complaint was overruled. And because the general reader may not be acquainted with the meaning of the lords of the articles, a word or two concerning them may not be amiss. By the ancient constitution of Scotland, the parliament consists of three estates: the bishops, abbots, and priors ; the temporal nobility ; and the commissioners for the shires and royal boroughs. The lords and commons sit together in one house. When the members are all placed, the king or commissioner makes a speech ; and then their first business is choosing the lords of the articles. There are eight of these chosen for each of the three estates. The manner of their election has been somewhat different: sometimes the bishops and temporal nobility elected their respective numbers out of their own body ; but commonly the bishops made choice of eight lords of the temporality, and the nobility chose the same number of bishops or abbots, to represent the spiritual estate. And thus the constitution stood in the year before us. These sixteen chose eight commissioners for the shires, and the same number out of the commissioners for the boroughs. These two-and-thirty were a standing committee to prepare matters, and draw all the bills for the parliament.

Car. 2.
Parl. 1.
sect. 3. c. 1.

This last-mentioned method of choosing the lords of the articles was passed into an act in the reign of king Charles II.

To return: the first thing brought into the house was a

petition of the barons, gentlemen, burgesses, and others concerning religion. This consisted of three branches. "First, that the doctrine of the Roman Church should be condemned and suppressed by act of parliament. The exceptionable doctrines specified were, 'transubstantiation, adoration of the host, merit of works, indulgences, purgatory, pilgrimages, and invocation of saints.' These they accounted all damnable errors, and desired the maintaining of them might be made penal. Secondly, they petitioned for a revival of the discipline of the ancient Church, and that the profanation of the holy sacraments might be punished. And thirdly, that the pope's usurped authority may be discharged, and the patrimony of the Church converted to the maintenance of the ministry, the endowment of public schools, and the support of the poor."

ELIZABETH.

A petition for reformation of religion.

This last clause disgusted several of the nobility. They were willing enough to be rid of the pope and his doctrine, but the giving back the patrimony of the Church, which they had seized during the late disturbances, was an unacceptable motion. To this, therefore, making no answer, they desired the ministers to draw up a system of belief. This was done accordingly, and four days after presented to the estates under the title of "The Confession of the Faith and Doctrine believed and professed by the Protestants of Scotland." The whole is ranged under five-and-twenty articles, concerning some of which a word or two may be sufficient.

August 17, 1560.

The "Confession of Faith" passes the house.

Part of the ninth article seems somewhat crudely digested. They affirm, that our blessed Saviour in his agony on the cross "suffered for a season the wrath of his Father, which sinners had deserved:" but that, notwithstanding this, "he remained the only well-beloved Son of his Father, even in the midst of his anguish and torment." Now if our Saviour suffered the wrath of God the Father, which is due to sinners, then God the Father was certainly displeased with him during that time: and if so, how can this be reconciled to the other part of their proposition, that our Saviour was even then the well-beloved of his Father. This last assertion is true, but then it is wholly inconsistent with what was affirmed before; for which way is it conceivable, that God should be entirely pleased and displeased with the same person at the same time? Can any thing be altogether an object of hatred and love, of favour and aversion? Besides, our blessed Saviour's suffering upon the

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

cross was an act of the highest obedience to the will of God the Father, and the most meritorious that was ever performed in human nature : and can we imagine that God the Father should be displeased with so great a submission upon so glorious an account ?

Their sixteenth article makes the Church consist of none but the elect ; that the members are invisible, and only known to God.

Hist. Ref.
of Scotland,
p. 271.

They assign three evidences of the true Church: true preaching of the word of God ; the right administration of the sacraments ; and ecclesiastical discipline "uprightly ministered, as God's word prescribes : " but as for succession, and uninterrupted conveyance of authority from the apostles, there is no mention of that. The nineteenth article concerning the authority of the Scriptures is somewhat singularly worded. They declare the authority of the inspired writings "to be of God, and neither to depend on men nor angels." From hence they advance to censure those as guilty of blasphemy who affirm the Scriptures have no authority, "but that which is received from the Church." But here, if their meaning is sound, it is mysteriously expressed. It is granted the authority of the Scriptures is founded on the infallibility of the Holy Ghost, by whom they were dictated : but how to distinguish divine revelations from human compositions, must be known by ancient records, by the evidence of tradition, and the consentient testimony of the Church. And this was the reason why St. Austin affirmed he should not have believed the New Testament the word of God, had it not all along been handed down under that character by the Catholic Church.

In their twenty-first article, they describe the mystery and benefits of the holy eucharist with great reverence and solemnity of expression. To use their own words, "In the supper rightly used, Christ Jesus is so joined with us, that he becomes the very nourishment and food of our souls." Then, after declaring against transubstantiation, they add, "This union and communion which we have with the body and blood of Christ Jesus in the right use of the sacraments, is wrought by the operation of the Holy Ghost. And notwithstanding the distance of place between our Saviour's body in heaven, and us upon earth, we most assuredly believe, that the bread which we break is the communion of Christ's body, and the cup

which we bless is the communion of his blood." And that the "faithful, in the right use of the Lord's table, so do eat the body and drink the blood of the Lord Jesus, that he remains in them and they in him." ELIZABETH.

From hence they proceed to dilate upon the privileges and mysteriousness of the operation, much in the same language made use of by Calvin in his confession already mentioned.

The twenty-fourth article speaks very honourably of civil government, owns it the ordinance of God, and condemns those who resist the supreme powers "doing that which appertains to their charge." This clause was added to secure the doctrine of resistance, and justify the late practice against the crown. And thus, by throwing these "dead flies into the ointment," the perfume is lost, and the ingredients made good for nothing. Eccles. x.

This confession being read in the house and put to the vote, none of the nobility, excepting the earl of Athol, the lord Somerville, and Bothwick, dissented. The popish prelates offering nothing in defence of their religion, the earl-marshal inferred they were conscious of the orthodoxy of the Protestant confession: and that all the censures of the Roman Catholic religion contained in the articles were well founded. And thus the confession passed the house. 468.

There were two other acts carried in favour of the Reformation. By one of these statutes it is ordained that, for the future, the pope shall have no jurisdiction or authority in the realm; and that those who abet his supremacy shall suffer proscription and banishment, and incur the forfeiture of all offices and honours. The other act, directed against the mass, ordains, that if any person shall either say mass, or be present at it, he shall for the first fault forfeit all his goods, and undergo such corporal punishment as the magistrate shall think fit to put upon him; the second fault is banishment, and the third, death. *Hearing or saying mass capitally punished at the third offence.*

And here, by the punishing the saying or hearing mass with death, they seem to have fallen into those excesses of rigour against which they had so strongly declared. They complained of the Papists, and that justly, for making mispersuasions in religion capital crimes, and yet do the same things themselves. To affirm they are in the right, and the other in the wrong, as to matters of belief, is foreign to the point; for

PARKER, every one that suffers for religion thinks himself in the right, and therefore ought not be destroyed for his sincerity, for the prejudices of education, or the want of a better understanding. I say he ought not to be thus severely dealt with, unless his opinions have mutiny and treason in them, and shake the foundations of civil society.

Upon the recess of the estates, a consultation was held for establishing a form of ecclesiastical polity. For this purpose, a commission was directed to master John Winrame, sub-prior of St. Andrew's; master John Spottiswood; John Willock; master John Dowglass, rector of St. Andrew's; master John Rew, and master John Knox, to draw a scheme of discipline for the Church. These ministers executed their orders, and presented their draught to the convention held at Edinburgh. This discipline was mostly formed upon the Geneva plan, something of which has been related already. I shall therefore present the reader with only some small part of it.

A book of Church discipline laid before the convention. Hist. Ref. of Scotland, p. 283. Jan. 1560.

The election of ministers.

Under the fourth head, concerning ministers and their lawful election, it is laid down for an unquestionable proposition, that none ought to presume to preach or administer the sacraments, unless they are orderly called. And, to an orderly vocation, election, examination, and admission, are required. Every distinct congregation has a right to choose their own minister; but in case they omit the election forty days, the superintendent and his council may present them a person, who is to be admitted after due examination. And here they lay it down for a general rule, that the consent of the congregation, and the approbation of the examiners, must concur to the admission of a minister. These examiners, by the way, were always to be some learned divines. This constitution seems somewhat embarrassed and defective; for in case the congregation and the examiners should happen to disagree about the person, there is no appeal elsewhere to decide the difference. They have no ordination ceremonies for conveying the character; they grant the apostles used imposition of hands, but refused to be governed by that precedent, because the miracles are ceased which accompanied that solemn circumstance. But this inference of theirs is not well drawn: for how do they prove that in the times of the apostles all persons ordained worked miracles? To make this out by any text or implication of Scripture is a difficult undertaking. Nay, the contrary

They reject imposition of hands, and why.

seems pretty plainly insinuated by St. Paul; for, mentioning those who could change the course of nature amongst the governors of the Church, he immediately puts the question, "Are all workers of miracles?" Plainly intimating they were not. Besides, if they must not use imposition of hands because they cannot work miracles like the apostles, or those ordained by them, why do they venture to preach or administer the sacraments, without this supernatural qualification?

ELIZABETH.

1 Cor. xii. 28, 29.

The next provision under this head orders, that where the parish cannot be furnished with preaching ministers, readers may be appointed for officiating in the Common Prayers, and reading the Scriptures. What Common Prayers these were, has been already observed.

Readers for the Common Prayers.

The fifth head settles the office of superintendents, limits the number to ten or twelve, and describes the extent of their jurisdiction. These superintendents are obliged to preach thrice a-week, to visit their whole precinct, and not to reside above three or four months in one place. It was part of their business to inspect the conduct of the ministers, and the behaviour of the people; to see the maintenance of the poor, and the education of young people, well managed. They are likewise to admonish where occasion requires, and to take notice of all scandalous practices, in order to farther censure by the Church.

As to the election of superintendents, it is at present, in regard to the exigency of the juncture, referred to the council, who may either nominate the persons themselves, or give commission to others for that purpose. And here it is added, that the gentlemen and burgesses within the diocese should be always pre-acquainted with the election. But this was only a temporary provision; for afterwards, upon the death or deposing any superintendent, all the churches of the diocese were to have an interest in the election, which was to be made in the capital town. And here the candidate was to pass the test of the ministers of the province, and the neighbouring superintendent; by these he was to be examined upon the points of learning, probity, and discretion. And here no customary solemnities were thought necessary: nothing farther than the approbation of the minister's superintendent, together with the public consent of the elders and people, were required to complete his character.

The choice and office of superintendents.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

And, to conclude this head, the superintendent is subjected to the censure and correction of the elders and ministers of his province; and in case of remissness, mal-administration, or immorality, may be deposed.

The regulation and privileges of universities.

Their provision for schools and universities are not uncommendable. St. Andrew's, Glasgow, and Aberdeen are named for universities; the faculties, professors, and principals are named; the exercises, salaries, officers, and servants settled. As to matter of privilege, they seem rather willing to rely upon inoffensive behaviour than legal advantage; and therefore, when any member of the university is sued by any person foreign to their body, they would have him appear in the provost's or bailiff's court; but then they move the rector of the university may sit upon the bench, and be joined as an assessor with the magistrates: but if a dispute happened between any of the students, the cause was only to be tried by the rector and his assessors.

469.

The rector and all other members of the university are exempted from all taxes and other public contributions to the government. They are likewise privileged from all offices which are likely to interrupt their studies, and take up too much of their time; such as the business of trustees, guardians, executors, &c.

A complaint against the alienations of the revenues of the Church.

The sixth head complains loudly of the alienation of the patrimony of the Church. And here, to use their own words, they take notice, "that some gentlemen are now more rigorous in exacting the tithes, and other duties paid before to the Church, than ever the Papists were; and so the tyranny of priests is turned into the tyranny of lords and lairds. For this we require (say they) that the gentlemen, barons, lords, earls, and others, be content to live upon their own rents, and suffer the Church to be restored to her right and liberty."

Spotswood, p. 152, et deinceps.

Ecclesiastical censures, for what crimes, and under what direction.

The seventh head takes in Church censures. Blasphemy, adultery, murder, perjury, and such capital crimes, are said not to fall properly under ecclesiastical correction; for those who are guilty of such raging disorders ought to be cut off by the sword of justice. But intemperance in eating and drinking, fornication, excesses in clothes, oppression of the poor, circumvention in commerce, licentious discourse, and unguarded behaviour; these instances of misconduct lie within the discipline of the Church.

If the misbehaviour is not publicly known, or can be reached rather by violent presumption than direct proof, the offender ought to receive a private reprimand; and upon promise of amendment, the discipline was to proceed no farther. If the reproof is contemned, the promise broken, and the former negligences and indiscretion continue, the minister's business is to reprove him; and in case of disobedience, to report the matter to the Church, and go farther in the discipline, according to our Saviour's direction.

ELIZA-
BETH.

Where the crimes are public and heinous, such as fornication, drunkenness, swearing, &c., the offender must be convented before the minister, elders, and deacons; and here the quality and aggravation of the sin must be set forth. If he shews himself penitent, and desires to give public satisfaction, a day must be assigned him to appear before the congregation, and own his repentance. If these conditions are accepted, and performed, he ought to be received and treated as formerly.

If the offender continues obstinate and unmanageable, he must be dismissed with an exhortation to consider the danger of his condition, and menaced with a sharper process. If he recovers himself within a proper time, and acquaints the minister with his recollection, he may be presented to the congregation, and admitted to Church communion: but if there are no signs of reformation, the fault and impenitence, but not the name of the person, must be notified to the congregation. And here the minister is to desire the people to call upon God that the conscience of the criminal may be awakened and brought to remorse and compunction. If his stubbornness holds on, his name must be published the next Sunday to the congregation, and his friends requested to use their interest to make him sensible of his fault. And now solemn prayers are to be made for his conversion. The third Sunday the minister is to demand whether the offender has made any step towards a recovery, and shown himself sorry for his misbehaviour. If nobody can testify thus far in his behalf, the minister, with the consent of the elders and deacons, and by the order of the Church, is to pronounce the criminal excommunicated. When this sentence is passed, nobody, excepting his wife and family, is allowed to eat and drink, to trade, to converse, or so much as salute him, without a license from the ministry; that, by seeing himself thus abandoned and abhorred, he may be shamed

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

Knox's Liturgy, or the Whole Form of Discipline and Prayers, according to the Church of Scotland. *Those guilty of capital crimes, though pardoned by the State, are excommunicated by the Church.*

into repentance. His children born after he stands excommunicated are not admitted to baptism till they are either adult, and desire it, or else are presented by the mother, or some friends, who at the same time must declare their abhorrence of the father's incorrigibleness.

Those guilty of murder, manslaughter, adultery, and other crimes which deserve death by the law of the country; such persons, though pardoned by the civil magistrate, are not to be received to Church communion without offering themselves to penance. However, notwithstanding this commendable discipline, they are permitted to hear the sermon. When a person under these circumstances petitions for communion, a day is set him to appear before the congregation; and here he is to make a public acknowledgement of his crime, and intreat being received into their society. When the minister has examined his disposition, put his sincerity to a proper test, and instructed him in the principal points of religion, he is to ask the congregation whether they are willing to readmit him. Upon their answering in the affirmative, prayer is made for the penitent; after which, the elders and one or two of the congregation take him by the hand, and embrace him in behalf of the whole Church. In the close, the minister recommends circumspection, and precautions him against a relapse; and after this exhortation, public thanks are returned to God for the conversion of their brother. All persons whatever are to be subject to these spiritual censures; and no quality or public office, either in Church or State, must be pleaded for an exemption.

The eighth head, relating to elders and deacons, shall be passed over, something of this kind having been already mentioned upon another occasion.

The ninth head goes upon the polity of the Church, as they call it. In villages, when there is no sermon, certain portions of Scripture are ordered to be read, and Psalms sung, though not without a latitude for omission in some cases as to the latter appointment. In great towns they think it proper that either sermon or Common Prayer with the lessons should be had every day. When a sermon is preached, they do not think the Common Prayer necessary. The reason of this odd opinion is, for fear the people should be encouraged to superstition, and come to the prayers as they do to the mass; or

Common Prayer not to be at sermon, and why.

imagine, at least, that the pulpit-prayers before and after sermon signify nothing. However, they have some reserve of regard for the liturgical ministrations; for where there is neither preaching nor catechising on Sundays in the afternoon, they order the reading the Common Prayer.

ELIZABETH.

As to baptism, though they conclude this sacrament may be administered whenever there is a sermon, they give notwithstanding a preference to the Sunday. On week days they would have this office performed only after sermon: they assign two reasons for this settlement; First, this is done, say they, to discountenance the gross error of those who affirm that children dying without baptism are damned. And, Secondly, to retrieve the honour of the solemnity, that people may recover a right notion of the dignity of the sacrament, and behave themselves with more devotion than they commonly do.

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They conceive four times a year may be sufficient for administering the holy eucharist. And here, as to the circumstance of time, their over-scrupulous apprehension of superstition runs them upon singularity, and disconforming with the ancient Church: and thus, instead of the festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, the first Sundays of December, March, and June, are fixed for this purpose; to which, to complete the number of the regulation, the first Sunday of September is added.

The holy eucharist administered four times a-year.

They do not deny but that the Church may change the time, and increase the frequency. They are wholly of opinion the holy eucharist ought not to be given without previous examination, and especially where the ignorance of the person is either known or suspected; and that none who cannot read the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, none that do not understand the end and efficacy of the institution, should be admitted to this holy mystery. They order an English Bible for every Church, and recommend the reading Common Prayer, morning and evening, in private families, by the best qualified person.

They proceed to determine for the exercise of prophecy, or interpreting the Scriptures in public assemblies: they ground this practice upon the precedent of the Church at Corinth; 1 Cor. xiv. though, by the way, there is a great disparity in the case; for these Corinthians were furnished with miraculous assistance, and governed by supernatural impulse. Those who drew the

Liberty of prophesying.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

discipline seemed something sensible of this comparative disadvantage, and therefore confine the exercise within several rules.

"First. All curious and unserviceable inquiries were to be avoided.

"Secondly. They were to decline all expositions inconsistent with the analogy of faith, or the practice of charity: and, under this restraint, all interpretations which seem to imply a contradiction to other plain texts of Scripture, are comprehended.

"Thirdly. The expositor must keep close to his text, and not run out into digression and common-place, nor form his discourse to the method and amplification of a sermon.

"Fourthly. He must not take the freedom of invectives, unless in the confutation of heresies.

"Fifthly. He must be brief in his exhortation, and spend the time mostly in explaining the sense of the text, showing the connexion, and making such remarks as may be most serviceable to the audience.

"Sixthly. There must be no squabbling nor school disputes, but every one that puts a question must resolve it himself.

"Seventhly. After those concerned in this exercise have delivered their opinions, and finished their discourse, they are to withdraw, that the ministers and the rest of the assembly may examine their performance. When this is done, the persons were to be called in, and gently advertised of their mistakes, if they made any; and now all intervening difficulties were to be satisfied and disentangled."

The judgment of those who drew the discipline concerning some cases about marriage.

Under this head of polity they prohibit all clandestine marriages, without exception of privilege for the best quality whatever: and here they enjoin the publishing the banns three Sundays, unless where the persons are well known; in which case the notice may be shortened at the discretion of the minister. They allow of no divorce, unless upon the proof of adultery: when the charge is made good, they would have the injured party declared free to engage elsewhere, and the criminal executed. If the government is so merciful as to give the offender his life, the Church must, notwithstanding, proceed to excommunication. If the party submits to penance, and recovers communion, he may be allowed to marry again upon his request; but with this condition, that provided the injured person should be willing to pass by the breach of faith, and

renew the relation ; when this happens, the criminal must not be permitted to engage with any other. But, after all, they think it most advisable to be governed by God Almighty's command in the Old Testament, to punish adultery with death, and not to give occasion for the resolution of so difficult a question.

ELIZABETH.

The articles concerning burial, having been touched already in the discipline at Frankfort, shall be omitted.

Those who officiate in the mass, adore the host, and carry it in procession, they would have severely corrected ; and, though they do not venture so far as to prescribe the penalty, yet they make no scruple to affirm the practice deserves death ; and that those persons deserve the same punishment who presume to administer the sacraments in public assemblies without either reverence or spiritual character ¹.

And, lastly, they do not stick to declare, that the clergy in the Roman communion have no authority to administer the sacraments. Their reason is very singular : it is because, say they, " God has not put the word of exhortation in their mouths." From hence, after some hard language, they proceed to affirm, that the passing through the requisites and tests above-mentioned are the only lawful methods for making ministers. But here they throw in a provision for privileged cases : they suppose there is sometimes an extraordinary call to the ministry, and then the customary forms are dispensed with.

Spotswood, p. 162 ad 174.
The discipline not passed by the estates.

This " Church Discipline " was laid before the nobility, who took several days to peruse it. Some were willing to acquiesce in the regulation, and pass it into a law ; but the majority dissented : and thus the matter was postponed, as Felix dismissed St. Paul, " to a more convenient season." There were some articles which called loudly for restitution, wrested the late gained jurisdiction out of the hand of the rich laity, and sat hard upon interest and pleasure. The estates, therefore, let this scheme lie by, and went upon a more acceptable provision : and that was an act for demolishing cloisters and abbey-churches. The execution of this order was entrusted with four of the nobility, and several barons, well affected to the service. They had their several ranges, and the kingdom was divided amongst them. This was done that no corner might escape a thorough reformation. The cause having thus the countenance

Hist. Ref. of Scotland, p. 203.

An ordinance for razing monasteries and abbey-churches.
Spotswood, p. 174.

¹ The severity of these Scotch Reformers is pretty remarkable.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.
471.

of the estates, and some of the quality giving the onset, the lesser people came in amain. And now the churches were every where either pulled down or defaced : for, though the ordinance of the estates was pointed only against religious houses, the populace thought their zeal defective, and their commission too short ; and therefore, not to do the work by halves, they fell on with undistinguishing rage, and, like a torrent, carried all before them. The preachers had inflamed their ignorance, pushed them to sacrilege and fury, and blown them up to this pitch of distraction. These pulpit-incendiaries cried out, " That the places where idols had been worshipped ought to be destroyed by the law of God ;" and that the sparing them was " reserving the accursed thing." And thus every building with a steeple was a mark of the beast, a seat of idolatry described by Moses, and a house of devotion for the Amorites. By the help of this divinity, the churches were all razed or battered, the beauty of the great towns scandalously blemished, and the public ornaments of the kingdom laid in rubbish. The communion-plate was made prize ; and the bells, timber, and lead, set to sale in the market. Registers and libraries were destroyed, and the remains of learning and antiquity thrown into the fire. The grave was no protection against these zealots : they rifled monuments and tombs, did what they could to extinguish the name of those in the other world, and murder them in their memory : thus, what escaped the fury of the mob in the late commotions was now seized and sacrificed.

To see noble structures, consecrated to the honour of the ever-blessed Trinity, where all the articles of the Apostles' Creed were professed, the Christian sacraments administered, and all the inspired writings received as such,—places, where there was no polytheism, no addressing devils, no roasting of children, no licentious worship so much as pretended,—in short, where there was no resemblance of a parallel with the heathen idolatry mentioned in the Old and New Testament,—I say, to see the houses of God thus ravaged and razed, the holy furniture made plunder, and the Church estates seized, gives a frightful idea of some of these reformers. And to consider the fact, without knowing the whole history, would almost make a man believe some rough unconverted nation had made an invasion, and carried the country. It is true, these

extraordinary proceedings had something of the face of authority ; but, when the matter is a little examined, the reader will find there is nothing but colour and varnish in this appearance ; for these undertakers in religion had neither the concurrence of the spiritual estate, nor any commission from the crown. They could not so much as presume upon their queen's consent. They well knew such methods must be highly affrontive to her majesty. So that, upon the whole, this part of their reformation was a plain violation of the constitution ¹.

ELIZA-
BETH.

After the recess of the convention, several noblemen and barons met at the instance of John Knox, and signed the "Discipline." Those who subscribed this draught were, besides the duke of Chatelherault, seven earls, six lords, the bishop of Galloway, and the dean of Murray, four lairds, and several burghesses. The "Discipline" had this proviso annexed : "That the bishops, abbots, priors, and other beneficed men, who had joined themselves to the religion, should enjoy the rents of their benefices during their lives : they sustaining the ministers, for their parts, as was prescribed in the said book." But this security turned to no account : for most of those who subscribed seized the estates of the clergy, and could never be prevailed with to part with them. In short, these men, as Spotswood observes, were most averse to restitution, and greater enemies to the patrimony of the Church than those of any other persuasion whatever. Spotswood,
p. 175.

To return to England : this year, the English translation of the Scriptures, commonly called the Geneva Bible, was published at Geneva. There are two epistles prefixed to the work ; one to the queen, and another to the reader. These addresses charged the English Reformation with remains of popery, and endeavoured to prevail with the queen to strike off several ceremonies. This offensive application, to speak softly, might probably be the reason why these epistles were omitted in the next impression. *The Geneva
Bible pub-
lished.*

The queen's indulging a French Presbyterian Church in England, as has been already observed, encouraged great numbers of that nation, and of the Dutch, to come over, and plant themselves in maritime towns. And here, under the shelter of the reformed religion, they maintained several gross errors and heresies. Some of these were German Anabaptists,

¹ Several church-organs were destroyed by Knox and his friends, on the plea of their being "the devil's bagpipes."

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

*The queen's
proclamation
for
Anabaptists,
and other
foreign
sectaries, to
depart the
realm.*

and others propagated opinions of a very dangerous tendency ; and thus misbelief gained ground, and some of the ignorant natives were miserably misled. To stop the spreading of this infection, the queen, by a proclamation, ordered these heretics, both aliens and natural-born English, to depart the kingdom within one-and-twenty days. The penalty of staying longer was imprisonment and forfeiting their goods. Notwithstanding this order, several screened themselves with their protestancy, and joined the French and Dutch congregations, both in London and the coast-towns. And here, by venting some of their dotages, they occasioned such warm contests, that Peter Martyr found it necessary to interpose his interest for bringing them to more temper. To this purpose, he wrote a letter, superscribed " To the Church of Strangers in the city of London."

*His letter is
dated from
Zurich,
Feb. 15,
1561.*

*Another
proclamation
to pro-
hibit the
defacing of
churches.*

About this time, another proclamation was set forth relating to the Church. It has been already observed, the queen, by her " Injunctions," had ordered the removing all paintings and other monuments of counterfeit miracles and idolatry, both from churches and private houses. Some people, either out of avarice or puritanism, or both, had misapplied the execution of this order, and carried it much farther than her majesty intended. Thus, under the colour of these " Injunctions," they defaced the images of our blessed Saviour and his Apostles, and destroyed the historical representations of Scripture in the church-windows ; and, which is more, their zeal carried them to the pulling away coats of arms and monumental inscriptions, where they found any pictures in their neighbourhood. And, because the bells had been consecrated, and the churches abused to superstition and idolatrous worship, they took down the bells and made money of them, turned the steeples to pigeon-houses, and stripped the roof for the lead. All this sacrilegious ravage and disorder was forbidden by the proclamation, under pain of imprisonment during her majesty's pleasure, and such farther fine, for the contempt, as shall be thought meet. A charge was likewise given to bishops, and all other ordinaries, to inquire after all such contempts done from the beginning of her majesty's reign, and to enjoin the persons offending to repair the same within a convenient time ; and of their doing therein to certify the privy council, or the council in the Star-chamber, that order may be taken therein.

472.

To proceed : the collegiate church of St. Peter's, West-

minster, which had frequently changed its foundation, and suffered so many revolutions in figure and fortune within twenty years, had now a more lasting settlement. Fecknam, the last abbot, and his convent, as Sanders reports, had an offer to keep their preferment, upon condition of swearing the supremacy, and officiating by the English Liturgy; but these conditions being refused, the abbey was dissolved by act of parliament. And now, the queen, having made choice of parcel of the best lands, conveyed the rest to that church. By her majesty's letters-patent, bearing date the second year of her reign, the foundation is settled for a dean, twelve secular canons, two schoolmasters, forty scholars, petty canons, and others belonging to the choir, to the number of thirty, and twelve alms-men. To which may be added, stewards, receivers, and servants belonging to the college. The dean has the custody of the regalia, assists at coronation assemblies, and is constituted justice of peace within Westminster and the liberties, by act of parliament. The dean and chapter have the privilege of great jurisdiction, both ecclesiastical and civil, within the city and liberties of Westminster, the precincts of St. Martin's-le-Grand, and some parishes in the county of Essex.

Towards the latter end of this year, Robert Horn, doctor of divinity, formerly dean of Durham, and who had lately signalized himself in maintaining the English Liturgy at Frankfurt, was preferred to the see of Winchester, and consecrated in form on the 16th of February. At the same time, Edmund Scambler, bachelor of divinity, and prebendary of Westminster, was consecrated bishop of Peterborough. During the vacancy of this see, and whilst Scambler was bishop, secretary Cecil carried off the best manors in the soke¹ belonging to the bishopric. It is to be suspected, Scambler's promotion was owing to this criminal compliance: for, by the interest of this minister, he was afterwards translated to Norwich, to which see he proved no less unfortunate than to the former. The same month, Dr. Young was translated from St. David's to York; and, in March following, Dr. James Pilkington was consecrated bishop of Durham; and Dr. John Best, bishop of Carlisle, in January.

ELIZA-
BETH.

*The collegiate church
of Westminster
new
founded.*

Stow's
Survey of
London.
Camden,
Eliz.

A.D. 1560-1.
Heylin's
Hist. Ref.
Harmer's
Specimen,
&c.

This year the queen wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury, to the bishop of London, and the rest of her commissioners

¹ "Soke,"—*socagium*, a freehold.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

A. D. 1560-1.

Regist.
Parker,
fol. 215.

for causes ecclesiastical, to review the calendar for the Common Prayer, to strike out some of the lessons, and appoint others which they should judge more serviceable and instructive. The letter complains, many churches were unrepaired to a scandalous degree; that they were unornamented, and very negligently kept. This indecency and disregard is ordered to be rectified. Towards the latter end, the queen takes notice of her permission of the Common Prayer in Latin to collegiate churches, and commands these commissioners to take care that this allowance of hers may not be disappointed or mismanaged. That there was occasion for some alterations in the calendar, appears by the defectiveness of the last Common Prayer set forth in the reign of king Edward VI. where there was no direction for proper lessons on Sundays; but in a quarto Common Prayer, printed in the year 1560, there is a calendar of first lessons for morning and evening prayer on Sundays throughout the year; and for some Sundays the second lessons are appointed. This Common Prayer was printed before the queen sent her letter to the commissioners above-mentioned, as may be collected from the dates: it is likely, therefore, the archbishop, and the rest, might settle the second lessons for Sundays, then unappointed; and make some farther alterations in the rest of the calendar.

On the first of January, this year, the queen came to St. Paul's, and was displeased with dean Noel, for presenting her with a Common Prayer-book with cuts. Her majesty gave him a severe reprimand for this intended respect. The reader may possibly fancy the queen's displeasure was somewhat mysterious upon this occasion, for it was not long since she had discovered herself in favour of images, and was difficultly prevailed with to consent to their removal. Besides, both now and several years forward, she had a crucifix in her chapel. Now if an ornamental figure, or a religious representation was so dangerous, why did her majesty set the example? If any one, I say, asks this question, I must leave him to answer it himself.

Strype's
Annals,
p. 238.

This summer the queen went a progress into Essex and Suffolk. It seems the figure and behaviour of the clergy did not please her: she did not find them everywhere so conformable in their habit, so perfect in their office, nor so discreet in their management, as she expected. She was particularly

disconcerted at seeing their wives in cathedrals and colleges. She issued out an order, therefore, to forbid all heads and members of any college or cathedral church, within the realm, having their wives, or any other woman within the precinct of such places; the penalty was, forfeiting all ecclesiastical promotions belonging to any cathedral or collegiate church¹.

ELIZABETH.

August 9, 1561.

Secretary Cecil sent this unacceptable order to archbishop Parker; and, to explain himself the better to Parker's satisfaction, he told him, in a letter, that the queen stood strongly disaffected to matrimony in the clergy; that had it not been for something of courage and dexterity in himself, she had absolutely forbidden churchmen that state; that he was glad to compound with her majesty, and propose this expedient to prevent her going farther. However, he had taken care to send copies of the injunction only to his grace the archbishop of York, and to the chancellors of each university; and that he recommended this method to hinder the instruments coming out in a more public manner.

MS. Petit.
Strype's
Life of
Abp. Parker,
p. 107.

Archbishop Parker sent this injunction through his province, pursuant to her majesty's order, but was very much dissatisfied with the contents. And afterwards, upon his waiting on the queen, he was surprised with her majesty's discourse upon this subject, as appears by his letter to secretary Cecil. He acquaints this minister, he was astonished to the last degree to hear so learned and conscientious a princess treat the holy institution of matrimony with so much satire and contempt: such unexpected language put him in a horror, as he speaks. "I wonder," says he, "that state should be made a crime in the clergy, which will stand the test of the last day; and that an engagement which pleases God Almighty should not please her majesty. I am at a loss to understand why her highness should gratify our adversaries so far as to put us under disfavour upon this account. If our reputation is thus disabled, we shall be thrown out of capacity of doing God and her majesty service. As far as my reading and information reaches, it has been the custom of all princes, both Christian and Pagan, to countenance the ministers of religion. They thought this a necessary expedient to recommend the rules of duty, to preserve the force of conscience, and support the government; but now it is our misfortune to be singled out

The arch-
bishop's
letter to
secretary
Cecil.

473.

¹ Doubtless Elizabeth was very discreet in her preference of celibacy, yet she might have been more indulgent to the matrimonial propensities of the Protestant clergy.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

from the rest of mankind for infamy and aversion: to be exposed to the ignorant and malicious with marks of the last disadvantage: to be censured as if we had no regard to the circumstances of our profession: as if we were wholly resigned to appetite, without the least check of discretion. The queen was so possessed with mismanagement in this matter, that she repented our being trusted with the function, and wished it had been otherwise. This discovery must be sport to the clergy of the late reign. It must be diversion to such people to see in what manner we are handled, and with what distinguishing hardship we are treated by the government. But this we shall pass over with patience, and rest the event with God Almighty. However, I must needs say, we have all of us great reason to be much discouraged.

"Her majesty," continues the archbishop, "talked of setting forth injunctions of another nature; but I hope God will stop this motion, and alter her purpose: and that as by the divine assistance she has begun a good work, she will hold on the same course. I do not question but these *æstus humani*, these sallies of passion, were occasioned by misreports, and that her majesty will acquit herself to advantage, and, like Theodosius the Great, take time for a mature deliberation: and not proceed to a sudden resolution in things of the last importance. It would trouble me if the clergy should be forced upon any incomppliance, and declare with the apostles, that we must 'obey God rather than men:' but let those who suggest these thoughts be never so considerable, we have no small numbers in our contemptible party, that have courage and conscience enough to sacrifice their lives in defence of their religion."

By this last paragraph, it is plain the archbishop was apprehensive the queen had some intentions of returning popery upon them. From hence he proceeds to complain of her forbidding the married clergy to live with their families in cathedrals. "What policy," says he, "can this be, to drive hospitality out of such quarters? To drive away the preachers from the best towns in the kingdom? When such places are well instructed, the example reaches the country, and the villages are kept in order the better: but on the other side, for the dignified clergy to stay at their cathedrals upon such terms of public disgrace, which way is it to be endured? What person that has any regard for his credit will live under

affronts, and continue in a place where his character is maimed and murdered? To see the clergy thus particularly discouraged, when all other people have their liberty, is a melancholy reflection. Besides, this injunction might have had its force in preventing abuses, without disparaging the reputation of the clergy. For my part, I wish I had never engaged in this station, since her majesty has been pleased to discover her disesteem in so remarkable a manner. I have endeavoured to serve her majesty to my power, and I humbly conceive, have done it in no contemptible instances. By the punctual execution of her orders, I have gained the ill will both of Papists and Protestants: but my being conscious of serving God and her highness, made me easy under obloquy and censure. But the reception I had yesterday from her majesty, and the earnest forcing that progress-hunting injunction upon the clergy,—an order drawn up without advising with any ecclesiastic,—this has put me quite under hatches, and indisposed me for all other business; so that I can only mourn to God Almighty, in *amaritudine animæ meæ, ut dicam cum Sara, Peto Dominum, ut de vinculo improperii hujus absolvas me, aut certe desuper terram eripias me.*"

ELIZA-
BETH.

Whether the secretary acquainted the queen with this letter, or what success it had with her, does not appear. However, it shows the archbishop was a plain dealer, and well furnished with courage.

Petit's MSS.
Strype's
Life of Abp.
Parker.

Upon the death of Francis II. the queen of Scots dispatched monsieur D'Oisel to desire queen Elizabeth to grant her a safe passage by sea into Scotland, and that D'Oisel might have leave to travel through England into that kingdom. Queen Elizabeth, before a numerous attendance, denied both parts of this request. Her reason was, because the queen of Scots had not ratified the treaty at Edinburgh, pursuant to her promise: adding, withal, that provided this was done, she might have a safe-conduct to make her voyage either by sea or land, and be treated like a neighbour and relation. The queen of Scots, disconcerted with this refusal, sent for sir Nicholas Throgmorton, queen Elizabeth's ambassador at Paris, and having ordered the company to withdraw, expostulated with him to this effect: "She told him she did not know how far the disadvantage of her sex and the warmth of her temper might carry her. However, she was resolved not to have so many witnesses

The queen of Scots desires a safe-conduct to pass through the channel, and is refused.

She expostulates with the ambassador Throgmorton.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

of her weakness as his mistress furnished herself with when she gave audience to the ambassador D'Oisel. That nothing troubled her so much as her making an unnecessary request : that with God's assistance she could as easily return into her kingdom without queen Elizabeth's leave, as she arrived in France against the inclination of her brother Edward. It is true she had a mind to try queen Elizabeth's friendship in the first place, and to maintain a fair correspondence with her : but it seems his mistress was not disposed to take her by the hand ; otherwise she would never have denied so slender a favour : but it may be, she had rather engage with the Scottish malcontents than with their queen, a person of equal quality with her highness, nearly related to her, and heir to the English crown."

474.

And thus, after some length of complaint and justification, she concludes with saying, she had failed in no kind offices to her sister of England. But notwithstanding she had omitted nothing to oblige her, her professions of friendship were either slighted, or disbelieved : and being at a loss to account for her sister's coldness and disaffection, she desired the ambassador to acquaint her with the cause.

Sir Nicholas answered, that though he had no instructions to discourse upon that head, yet, if her majesty pleased, he would lay aside his character, and inform her of the grounds of his mistress's disgust. "At the queen my mistress's accession to the throne," said he, "your majesty quartered her arms, and snatched her title, which was not done by you in the reign of queen Mary. Now I refer it to your majesty's wisdom to judge, whether a greater provocation than this could possibly be given to a prince?"

*Her defence
for using the
arms and
title of
England.*

To this the queen of Scots replied, that she was overruled by her husband and his father king Henry : that since the death of those princes, since she was at her own disposal, she had wholly declined making use of the arms and title of England : though, after all, she did not know what injury it would be to queen Elizabeth, if she should quarter those arms upon the score of her grandmother's being eldest sister to king Henry VIII. ; for she was well informed that some who stood more distant upon the royal line, had been allowed the same privilege.

Camden,
Eliz. p. 64,
et deince.

The precedents this princess meant were Courtney, marquis

of Exeter, and the duchess of Suffolk, king Henry VIII.'s niece by his younger sister, who gave the arms of England with the difference of a border: but then this, as Cambden reports, was rather special favour, than matter of right.

ELIZABETH.

This answer not satisfying queen Elizabeth, the queen of Scots, who was now upon her journey to embark, sent for Throgmorton to Abbeville, and asked him if he could suggest any thing which he thought might prove acceptable to his mistress? He told her the only expedient would be for her majesty to ratify the treaty at Edinburgh. She replied, "that business was over and satisfied as to the main: that all hostile preparations were ceased, the French garrisons evacuated, their troops recalled, the fortification of Aymouth razed, and the arms and title of England laid down: and as for the article touching her seditious subjects, she hoped they would have no reason to complain of rigour. But your queen," continues this princess, "by endeavouring to stop me in my return, is willing, I perceive, to hinder the proof of my clemency. As to any unexecuted part of the treaty, I cannot imagine which way it can be prejudicial to your mistress. However, to satisfy her farther, I intend to write to her more at large myself; though it has been her custom to correspond with me only in the hand of her secretary. As for your part, I desire you would answer the character of an ambassador, and make your report in a friendly manner."

She makes a further endeavour to satisfy queen Elizabeth, but without effect.

Id.

But nothing short of ratifying the Edinburgh treaty would content queen Elizabeth. In the mean time the queen of Scots embarked at Calais, and by advantage of a mist passed undiscovered by the men of war, which lay to intercept her; for notwithstanding it was given out the English fleet was cruising to clear the channel of pirates, or, as others pretended, to wait on the queen of Scots to her own dominions; yet it is much more probable there was no smooth meaning at the bottom. For to heighten the jealousies of the English court, the lord James, who had lately been there, in his return to Scotland, told our queen, that the intercepting the queen of Scots was the only expedient to secure her crown and religion. The same advice was suggested by Lethington, a Scotch gentleman. He acquainted queen Elizabeth in a letter, that it was to be feared the arrival of their queen would prove fatal to

She arrives in Scotland.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

Scotland : that the former commotions would be revived : that all intercourse between the two nations, either by writings or messages, would be impracticable : that the party which favoured the English interest would be crushed, and the Scotch Protestants treated like traitors and heretics : and, in short, that Mary of Scotland would reign like Mary of England. Notwithstanding this uncharitable conjecture, the queen of Scots at her arrival managed very gently, allowed her subjects their reformation, settled the kingdom, and governed to great commendation. She dispatched secretary Lethington to queen Elizabeth to court her friendship. Our queen still insisted upon the ratification of the treaty at Edinburgh : this was not denied by the queen of Scots. However, she desired the matter might be postponed till the affairs of her kingdom were better settled. In the mean time her uncles, the duke d'Aumale, the grand prior, the marquis d'Albeuf, and several other Frenchmen of quality who attended her to Scotland, had the liberty to return through England, and were very honourably entertained by queen Elizabeth. This courtesy was not answered at the French court ; for by the duke of Guise's order, several English merchant-men were made prize on the coast of Bretagne. He likewise privately endeavoured to get queen Elizabeth excommunicated at Rome : but Pius IV. was a more moderate prelate, and declined extremities. He renewed his attempt to gain the queen, gave her an invitation with other Protestant princes to the council of Trent, and dispatched abbot Martignano into England with letters of very smooth contents. Amongst other things, he acquainted her, that if she would please to send either bishops or ambassadors to the council, he did not question giving them such satisfaction as might open a way to a farther accommodation.

The pope sends another nuncio to queen Elizabeth.

The nuncio stopping in Flanders, sent to the queen for leave to come forward. Upon this a council was called, and the matter argued on both sides. Those who desired the nuncio, suggested that the present pope was by no means of so rugged a temper as his predecessor : that he had addressed the queen very ceremoniously the last year ; that it was apparent the repose of Christendom lay strongly at his heart : that the admitting the nuncio would draw no restraint : that it would still be at her majesty's choice to engage or not. That the refusing

The council debates the receiving him, and resolves in the negative.

him an audience would disoblige the princes of the Roman communion, and disturb the harmony between them and her majesty. ELIZABETH.

On the other side the precedent of king Henry VIII. was urged against this latitude: that this prince, who had a hearty regard for the peace of Christendom, protested notwithstanding against the council convened by Paul III. That a person with the character of a nuncio implied an acknowledgment of the papal supremacy, discharged by act of parliament. That the popes have always made their advantage of slender concessions, and therefore it was most prudential to guard against surprise, and stand off at the remotest distance. That even the late queen Mary, in favour of Pole, forbid cardinal Peyto's coming ashore, though recommended with the distinction of *legate à latere*. That a great part of the nation were uneasy at the change of religion, and wanted nothing but such an opportunity to discover themselves farther, and break out into disturbance.—These reasons were thought to have most weight, and the board was governed accordingly. The queen and council were brought to this resolution by the indiscretion of some English papists, and the hostile proceedings of the pope's agents in Ireland. In England, the noise of the nuncio's coming over had made some Roman Catholics troublesome and overhardy: they made no scruple to break the statutes against papal encroachments, and spread reports that the queen was disposed to change her religion. Some of them are said to have calculated her nativity, and entered into a confederacy with evil spirits to be informed of the length of her reign. In Ireland the pope's legate gave the highest provocation by abetting some rebels there, and pronouncing against her majesty's right to that kingdom. 475.

The nuncio Martinengo being refused to come into England, the bishop of Viterbo, another agent of the same character in France, solicited Throgmorton to persuade queen Elizabeth to send ambassadors to the council of Trent. She was likewise importuned by several princes and great men: by the kings of France and Spain, the king and cardinal of Portugal, and more especially by the duke of Alva; importuned, I say, to rely upon so solemn a representation of the bishops of Christendom, rather than resign to the judgment of a few private persons, though never so well qualified with learning. The queen's

Heylin's
Hist. Ref.
*The bishop
of Viterbo
solicits the
English am-
bassador,
but to no
purpose.*

PARKER; answer was, that though she heartily desired a general council, she would send nobody to Trent; that the pope's authority had been renounced in England by act of parliament, and therefore she would have no farther correspondence with that see; that it was not the pope's, but the emperor's privilege, to call a council; and that she did not understand that prelate had any advantage of authority above another bishop.

About the time of this nuncio's being refused, who was the last that was sent to queen Elizabeth, Sir Edward Cairn departed this life at Rome. This gentleman, who was a learned civilian, and well qualified for business, was knighted by the emperor Charles V., and had for several reigns served the crown of England under a public character at Rome.

Camden,
Eliz. p. 69.
*St. Paul's
burnt.*

In June this year a terrible fire happened in the cathedral of St. Paul's, London; it broke out near the top of the steeple, burnt down the spire to the stone-work, and in four hours consumed the timber and lead of the whole church. This church was one of the largest in all Christendom; it was seven hundred and twenty feet in length, a hundred and thirty in breadth, and in height, from the floor to the roof, a hundred and fifty. The steeple, from the ground to the cross, or weathercock, amounted to five hundred and twenty feet, of which the square tower made two hundred and sixty, and the spire by consequence as many more.

Stow's
Annals,
and Survey
of London.

The cathedral was generally supposed to have been set on fire by lightning; but the learned Dr. Heylin informs us, that within thirty years of the writing his "Church History," an old plumber confessed, on his death-bed, that the church was burnt through his negligence. It was by leaving a pan of coals carelessly in the steeple when he went to dinner.

Heylin's
Hist. Ref.
Fuller.

Soon after this calamitous accident, the queen wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury to consult the bishops of his province and principal clergy, to fix upon a method of contribution for the re-edifying St. Paul's. And here her majesty leaves the proportion and method of raising the money to the direction of the bishops. By archdeacon Parker's letter to the archdeacon of Canterbury, the clergy of that diocese, those who had paid their first-fruits were to be charged in the thirtieth part of their spiritual promotion, and those who had not paid their first-fruits were let down to the fortieth. These respective valuations were to be made by the rate entered in the queen's

Parker,
Regist. pt. 1.
fol. 232.
*The clergy
of the pro-
vince charged
with re-
building it.*

books. Farther, such stipendiary priests as received twelve pounds per annum for supplying the cure, were to pay the fortieth part of their annual stipend. With submission, I humbly conceive those of the laity to whom some of the best manors belonging to St. Paul's had been granted, ought to have been charged with the reparation of that church; for to take away the lands which were settled for the maintenance of the cathedral, and then throw the burthen upon the impoverished clergy, and set a tax upon the province, looks somewhat mysterious.

ELIZABETH.
Sept. 1561.

About this time Calvin wrote a resolution of some questions put to him by the English Precisians. One of the questions was concerning the expediency of absolution after the public confession. Calvin determined this point in favour of the establishment of the Church of England. He was so frank as to declare that it was always his inclination to bring this practice into the Geneva office; but being afraid it would be complained of as a novelty, he complied too easily with the omission.

*Calvin's
answer to
several
questions put
by the Eng-
lish Preci-
sians.*

Their next question was concerning the significancy of repeating a form of words to every communicant at the Lord's Supper. To this he answered, that, in administering the holy eucharist, he sometimes pronounced St. Paul's words; but because the going through with the repetition would take up too much time, he commonly disused it.

The third question was, how often the sacrament of the Lord's Supper ought to be administered? Whether every month, or only three times a year? And here he floated at first in his opinion, but at last declared for a monthly celebration, though he could not bring up the Church of Geneva to this frequency; for there, as he relates, the holy eucharist was only received at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide.

Their last question was, whether it was convenient to communicate the sick; and if so, with what number? Whether the public office should be used upon this occasion? And whether the consecrated bread was to be brought from the church? To the several branches of this query Calvin answered, that the sick ought not to be denied the assistance of the holy sacrament; that some of his friends and neighbours should communicate with him to make the action the more solemn, and bring it up to the face of the first institution, and that the

August 12.
1561.

PARKER, Abp. Cant. mystery and benefits should likewise be explained at the same time; that the customary form of the office should be observed; and, lastly, he thought it more guarding against superstition, to consecrate at the sick man's house, than bring the holy elements from the church.

Calvin's
Epist.
num. 361.

476.

How far those who put the questions acquiesced in the answer, I shall not examine; but that these heads did not take in all their scruples, is pretty plain. Some of the exiles and their proselytes quarrelled with the Church of England much farther. Nothing would please these people but the modes and discipline of Frankfort and Geneva. This fondness for novelties and foreign usage made them break through the constitution, exceed a private character, and usurp the authority of governors. Thus, for instance, they began to throw things into a new form, and make alterations at discretion. In some places they took down the steps where the altars stood, and brought the holy table into the middle of the church. Instead of the ancient custom of godfathers and godmothers, they left the father to answer at the font for the child. Keeping Lent and other fasts commanded by the Church, they disliked as superstitious practice. Nothing of this kind would pass but occasional abstinence, and humiliations of their own appointment. The festivals fell under the same censure and neglect. And to fortify these fancies with arguments and appearances of reason, they prevailed with some of the inferior ordinaries to recommend Calvinistical sermons and expositions of Scripture to several parishes.

Heylin's
Hist. Ref.

To stop the progress of these innovations, the archbishop, with advice of some of the bishops, set forth a book of orders for his province: and in this regulation all the singularities above-mentioned were directly forbidden.

The queen concurred with the archbishop, for this year there was a strict proclamation for the keeping Lent, which was likewise the constant custom of this reign.

This year the archbishops and bishops published a regulation, called "Resolutions and Orders to be observed in in both provinces." The contents are as follow:—"That licences for preaching granted by the late general visitors should be recalled; that none should be admitted to preach without a previous examination of their doctrine; that preachers should be admonished to be careful and reserved

in their discourses, and not spend themselves upon points of controversy; that they should frequently inculcate the dignity and benefits of both the sacraments, and press conformity to the Common Prayer and the queen's injunctions; that public baptism should be administered in the font, and not in basins; and that private baptism should be given when the person was in danger of dying."

ELIZABETH.

To go back a little to the affairs of Scotland: most of the nobility, after the convention was over, continued at Edinburgh during the winter, and were very intent upon settling the reformation. To this purpose, they summoned several people from the chief towns to appear before them, and account for their belief. Amongst other learned men of the clergy, John Lesley, doctor of canon and civil law; Patrick Mirton, James Stracquin, and Alexander Anderson, doctor of divinity, were sent for from Aberdeen to Edinburgh, where they disputed in the toll-booth with John Knox, John Willock, and Christopher Goodman. After these Roman Catholics had made a profession of their faith, and declared their resolution of abiding by it, Anderson engaged the Protestant preachers upon the articles of the holy eucharist, and the sacrifice of the altar. Upon these heads, if Lesley's testimony may be taken, who was a party, the Protestants were so remarkably baffled, that they declined venturing themselves in a public contest ever after. However, the nobility had a different sense of the issue: they ordered those Roman Catholics not to stir from Edinburgh, nor absent themselves from the minister's sermons. Notwithstanding the disadvantage the Protestants came off with at the last conference, they were not, it seems, all of them so far disheartened as to avoid another engagement; for, as the same historian relates, Willock, who had formerly been a Dominican, disputed publicly at Edinburgh with John Black, a monk of the same order. The controversy held two days upon the 14. articles last-mentioned: they parted without yielding on either side. The common people hearing the cause debated *pro* and *con*, and finding the learned so remote from each other, were more and more unhinged in their religion, and almost at a loss what to believe.

Conferences between some of the Popish and Protestant clergy of Scotland.

Lesley, de
Reb. Gest.
Scot. lib. 10.

When Lethington was dispatched to the English court, he was charged with a very friendly letter from his mistress to our queen, as hath been observed: the Scotch nobility, like-

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

The Scotch nobility move their queen may be declared heir to the crown of England.

Queen Elizabeth's answer.

A. D. 1561.

The queen of England engages not to do any thing to the prejudice to the queen of Scots's succession.

Spotswood.

Bishop Jewel's answer to seignior Scipio.

wise, wrote by this agent in the same strain of regard ; adding, withal, that the best expedient to keep on an inviolable friendship between the two princesses was, for queen Elizabeth to declare the queen of Scots heir to the crown of England, in case she should leave no issue. This point being strongly urged by Lethington, pursuant to his commission, queen Elizabeth replied, she was pleased to find the Scotch nobility so forward in promoting the interest of their queen, in cultivating a lasting friendship, and guarding against the effusion of Christian blood, which would follow, in all likelihood, upon a disputable title to the crown. But notwithstanding this, she had a great many weighty reasons to keep herself upon the reserve. Amongst other things, the declaring her successor might draw off the affection of her subjects, and weaken her government. However, she should always prove just to her sister of Scotland, and do nothing in prejudice of her title. Lethington, at his next audience, put the question again, in hopes of a more favourable answer ; but the queen told him, she could explain herself no farther upon that head until his mistress had made good her promise touching the Edinburgh treaty. To this Lethington replied, he had no commission to speak to that business ; neither would he examine at present into the managers of that treaty, the time when it was set on foot, the manner of the proceedings, the authority to enter upon it, or the ends projected ; plainly intimating all these circumstances were liable to exception. At last queen Elizabeth was prevailed with to agree that the treaty should pass under a review, and be settled upon the following amendments : " That the queen of Scots should forbear the English arms and title ; and that the queen of England should oblige herself and her issue to do nothing in prejudice of her sister's succession."

About this time Jewel, bishop of Salisbury, returned an answer to an expostulatory letter, written by seignior Scipio, a noble Venetian. This nobleman had formerly made an acquaintance with Jewel at Padua. The letter goes upon the subject of religion.

Scipio tells him, " that himself and a great many others were extremely surprised at the singularities of the English nation : that they took no notice of the council of Trent : that they neither sent any representatives, nor excused their absence by

agents or letters: that they had made a sudden alteration in religion, and taken leave in a manner of every thing that had been for so many ages established; that, as far as he could judge, this looked like pride in the management, and schism in the issue: that it was a most unwarrantable neglect to set aside his holiness's authority, and not appear at the council upon his summons: that it was not lawful to discuss matters of religion elsewhere: that at such general assemblies the patriarchs and bishops might be consulted. Here the learning of Christendom, and the flower of the Church, was to be met with: this was the place where people might expect the oracles of truth, and the resolutions of the Holy Ghost: that when any controversy happened about the worship of God, it had been the custom of pious princes to refer the matter to a public assembly of the bishops: that the apostles and primitive fathers held councils as the best expedient for discovering truth, and settling controversies. By this means the heresies of Arius, and Eunomius, of Eutyches, of Macedonius, and Pelagius, were suppressed. And thus the modern differences may be agreed, and the breaches in the Church made up, if the parties would lay down their animosities, and apply to this remedy: but to go about the adjusting these matters without the decision of a council, is an irreligious attempt."

ELIZABETH.
477.

This being the substance of Scipio's letter, the bishop replied, "That his business was not to undertake the giving an account of the proceedings of the English government; that princes often times kept the motives they went upon to themselves. But though he did not pretend to look into the cabinet, he should endeavour to satisfy his request, and discover his own thoughts upon the subject."

I shall just touch upon his answer to Scipio's charge.

"First, he takes notice the English were not the only nation which declined coming to Trent; that the patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, stood off: that the Church of the Abyssines, the Greeks and Armenians, the Christians in Egypt and Barbary, in Persia and India, sent no body to appear at the council.

"And to instance in Europe; did the crowns of Sweden and Denmark, (says he,) the princes of Germany, the republics of Switzerland, the kingdom of Scotland, to mention no more, comply with the summons? And since so many other coun-

PARKER, tries are unrepresented at Trent, it is somewhat odd to wonder
Abp. Cant. at the English. And besides, the pope himself does not appear at the synod of his own convening :”—this Jewel thinks his friend ought to reckon a strange omission.

The bishop goes on in his objections, and remonstrates against the council “because it was convened by the pope, and not by the emperor. He supposes Trent was not large enough to accommodate such numbers as were necessary; that the English bishops were employed in instructing and governing their charge, and could not be absent from their dioceses without deserting their function in some measure: that the present pope Pius IV. made his way to the chair by simony, and bribing the cardinals: that instead of paying his debts to cardinal Caraffa, who procured him a majority, he confined that prelate, and dispatched him in prison.”

These exceptions are not of the strongest kind. What comes next presses closer.

Jewel observes, “That the ancient Fathers declined coming to councils, when they had reason to believe them packed and prejudiced against them. Thus St. Athanasius refused to come to the council of Sirmium: thus St. Chrysostome took no notice of the synod *sub quercu*: neither would Paulinus, bishop of Triers, appear at the council of Milan, where he foresaw everything would be carried in favour of the Arians. To make this bear in the application, he observes, the Fathers of Trent had pre-engaged themselves to the pope, and sworn away their freedom in voting.

“And lastly, he wonders the pope should summon the English to the council, who had been already pronounced heretics by his predecessors. What character could they appear under? It is not likely the council would allow them the common privilege, considering the censure passed upon their doctrine. What, then, must they take so long a journey, to be set to the bar, and plead as criminals? By this method they could expect nothing more, but either to recant or have the censure repeated upon them. But to stand to the pope’s justice when they have such weighty exceptions to his authority, is more than they can submit to.”

Epist.
 Jewelli, &c.
 &c. at the
 end of the
 Council of
 Trent.

The latter end of this summer the queen of Scots went a progress to Stirling, from thence to Perth, Dundee, St. Andrew’s, and other places: she was every where received with

all imaginable marks of loyalty and regard. She returned to Edinburgh about Michaelmas. At this time the burghers chose their magistracy for the ensuing year, and made bye-laws for the government of the corporation. Amongst other regulations they passed an order, that no adulterer, fornicator, drunkard, mass-priest, or obstinate papist, should live or be entertained in the town, under penalties appointed.

ELIZABETH.

*An order
against
residing in
Edinburgh.*

The queen, as she had reason, interpreting this ordinance as an encroachment upon sovereignty, and affrontive to her religion, committed the provost, Archibald Douglas, to the castle of Edinburgh, and commanded the common council to proceed to a new election, which was done accordingly. A proclamation was likewise published for granting liberty to all good subjects to come to Edinburgh, and continue there as long as their business should require.

These things, which were far from arbitrary stretches, gave great offence. These discontents were heightened by the queen's exercising her religion in a more public manner, and performing the ceremonies with the customary solemnities. And now the preachers kindled against the government, and declaimed with much more warmth than discretion upon this occasion. The nobility managed themselves with more decency and temper. It must be said, the queen had shewn herself inclined to give them satisfaction; for her privy council consisted mostly of the lords of the congregation.

About this time, Nynian Wyniet, a schoolmaster of Linlithgow, published a book of queries against the late confession of faith. Wyniet was a man of learning, and the performance, it seems, was not heavily managed. He was cited to a conference, and appeared; but proving too stiff to lay down his mistakes, the reformed Church proceeded to censure. Upon this he retired to Germany, and was made abbot of the Scotch monastery at Ratisbon. Much about the same time, the abbot of Corsragnel, of the house of Cassils, published a counter-confession of faith. To this John Knox made a reply; but with what success is more than I can acquaint the reader. However if this adversary's management did the abbot no service, his age and quality covered him from prosecution.

*Books published
against the
Scottish
Confession
of Faith.*

478.

The lords at Edinburgh were now employed about ways and means for the civil list, and furnishing of funds for the expenses of the court. The revenues of the Church were thought the

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

*The Scotch
clergy sur-
render the
thirds of
their reve-
nue to the
crown.
Idem.*

*An interview
proposed be-
tween the
queens of
England and Scot-
land.*

A. D. 1562.

Cambden,
Eliz. p. 75.

*The com-
missioners
of the Kirk
petition the
queen against
the tolerating
popery.*

most practicable expedient: for the clergy, having now lost their interest, might be forced upon any compliance. To this purpose, the prelates and other churchmen of distinction were ordered to appear before the council; and now, being sensible of the niceness of the juncture and the ill posture of their affairs, they were glad to compound and come to the terms of the board. Thus, after a defence of their property for some time, they surrendered a third of their profits to the queen's disposal; but then it was upon this condition, that the remaining two-thirds should be secured them during their lives, and that they should be discharged from subsisting the ministers.

In the beginning of the next summer, an interview between the two queens was much discoursed. The motion coming from the queen of Scots, the expediency of it was debated by the English court. Some of the board were of opinion, this princess had her own advantage too much in view, and that she expected the Papists in England, and her relations the Guises in France, would find their account in this business. Others were of a different sentiment: they believed such a personal correspondence was the way to cultivate their friendship, to loosen the engagement between France and Scotland, and to reconcile that queen by degrees to the Protestant religion. To this it was objected, that interviews oftentimes spoil friendship, rather than make it. The disadvantages in magnificence or person are apt to disoblige, and awaken a spirit of envy. Besides, at last, the queen of Scots began to scruple the putting herself in queen Elizabeth's power, considering the claim she had formerly set up, and the misunderstandings which had passed betwixt them. She was likewise apprehensive her uncles, the cardinal and duke of Guise, might be disobliged by so close a correspondence with queen Elizabeth; and that, by such a seeming preference of the English, she might lose her dower, and stand ill at the French court. And thus, after the interview had been treated several months, and most of the conditions settled, it fell, and came to nothing.

And now the queen of Scots, instead of a journey to York, where queen Elizabeth was to meet her, went a progress into the north of her own kingdom. While she was at Stirling, some commissioners of the Church addressed her to suppress the mass, and other superstitious ceremonies of the Romish religion; that matters of divorce might be referred to the

decision of the Church (meaning the reformed), or at least put in the hands of men of sufficiency and regular behaviour; and that the popish clergy might be excluded the college of justice and privy council. They likewise moved, the profanation of the sacraments might be punished,—meaning, that those who administered them according to the custom of the Church of Rome were guilty of that crime. There were several other things; but these were the most shocking. When the queen had read their petition, she was disturbed at the ruggedness of the application; and thus, being off her guard by her resentment, she told them, “she would do nothing in prejudice of the religion she professed, and hoped, before the year was ended, to restore the Catholic profession through the whole kingdom¹.”

ELIZA-
BETH.

Spotswood.

To return to England: this year the queen concluded an alliance with the Protestants in France. To give a brief account of this matter: the reformed religion had made some progress in that kingdom in the reign of Francis I.; and, notwithstanding the sanguinary methods taken to suppress them, the reformed gained ground, against fire and sword, through the succeeding reigns of Henry II. and his son Francis. The neighbourhood and character of Calvin, and their allowing the laity a share in the government of the Church, were circumstances of advantage; but nothing was more serviceable to these Hugonots, as they are called, than their being joined by the princes of the blood. The Guises, who had treated them with great barbarity, practised upon the minority of Charles IX., and engrossed the government. The king of Navarre, the prince of Condé, and the duke of Montpensier, finding themselves neglected and thrown out of the administration by the queen-mother and the Guises,—these princes of the blood, I say, upon this usage, retired from the court, and headed the Hugonot party. The duke of Rouen, admiral Coligni, and several other persons of distinction, were in the same interest.

Queen
Elizabeth
concludes an
alliance with
the French
Protestants.

D'Avila.

Queen Elizabeth was apprehensive, that, unless the power of the Guisians was broken, and their affairs somewhat perplexed, they might probably invade her from Normandy. Upon this view, she formed an alliance with the French Protestants; and, for the consideration of a hundred thousand crowns and

Cambden,
Eliz.

¹ Mary was unhappily ignorant of the law of *concession*, and forgot the proverb, “those who would lead, must also follow.”

PARKER, six thousand men, with which she furnished the confederates, she had Havre-de-Grace put into her hands, which she was to keep as a cautionary town till the restitution of Calais.

She publishes a manifesto to justify this engagement.

The day the treaty was signed, the queen published a manifesto, to justify her measures, and prevent misconstruction. And here she declares, her forces were not sent into Normandy to revive an ancient claim, and seize that province : her expedition had a quite different view. It was to preserve the French king in his minority, and retrieve him from the tyranny of the Guises ;—the Guises, who had persecuted the reformed in a most inhuman manner, injuriously detained her town of Calais, and now were fortifying themselves in the ports of Normandy to fall upon England ; that she could do no less than endeavour the putting a stop to their encroachments ; that, without an attempt of this kind, she must fail in her friendship to the young king, her brother and confederate, abandon his distressed subjects, break the repose of Christendom, and, which was most to be regarded, betray her own interest and religion.

Idem.

By this declaration, it is plain, the queen took care to guard against censure. Her manifesto sets forth, it was not her intention to support the subjects against the government, or to engage in a war purely upon the score of religion. No ; her design was, as she expresses herself, to rescue the king from a court-faction, who kept him under restraint, and abused his authority. And, that her majesty might be understood in this sense, there was a farther provision in the public devotions : for, in the prayer which was drawn up by the archbishop of Canterbury for the success of this expedition, the Guises are charged with disloyalty, and called enemies to “their own natural prince,” no less than to the true religion.

479.

Regist. Grindal. A. D. 1562. Bishop Jewel's apology published.

Defence of the Apology of the Church of England, p. 10, et deinceps.

This year Bishop Jewel's Apology was published in Latin : it was approved by the queen, and sent forth with the consent of the bishops. It is a defence of the English Reformation, with a brief declaration of the religion professed in our Church. The Papists had drawn up a high charge of novelty and herodoxy against the English reformers. “They declaimed loudly against them as a company of heretics, that they had deserted the faith, and made a breach in the unity of the Church. That they had revived the old censured heresies, propagated new sects, and embroiled Christendom to such a

degree as was never heard of: that they had no good understanding among themselves: that they were split into parties, opposed each other, and could by no means settle in any uniform belief. That they were a cursed race of mankind: that they attacked heaven like the old giants, and lived without any regard to divine worship: that they endeavoured to subvert monarchy and civil government, and referred every thing to the decision of the ignorant and giddy multitude: that they had fallen off from the Catholic Church, made a wicked schism, and disturbed the repose of the universe. And that as Dathan and Abiram made an insurrection against Moses and Aaron so these reformers have renounced the bishop of Rome without any warrantable motive. That they have set aside the authority of the ancient fathers and councils: that they have thrown out the old ceremonies with unparalleled presumption; ceremonies approved by our ancestors for many hundred years last past, and introduced in times of unexceptionable credit: and that, without the authority of any general council, they have made new regulations for the Church: and that all this was done only for the sake of singularity and squabbling. But as for themselves (the Papists) on the other side, they had innovated in nothing, but kept close to apostolic tradition, and the usages of the best antiquity. ELIZABETH.
The reason of the publication.

The design of the Apology was to take off these imputations, and justify the doctrine and establishment of the English Church. This tract was penned with great learning, clearness, and strength. The bishop, to do him right, was a nice master of style, both in Latin and English. The Papists finding themselves sensibly touched, appeared in print against him: Cope, Sanders, Stapleton, Rastal, Dorman, Heskins, and Harding, undertook the controversy. This last, who lived at Louvain, was the most considerable champion. He published a book, entitled "A Confutation of Jewel's Apology." And, though the character of a learned person cannot be denied him, yet it must be said, his zeal is remarkably embittered, and discovers a great deal of unfriendly passion: he treats the bishop with coarse language, and fails much in decency and temper. Besides, he sometimes mistakes in his authors, and writes without any taste of antiquity. For instance, he cites the Decretal Epistles, and the counterfeit Dionysius, and other spurious records. In maintaining the pope's supremacy, nothing can be

PARKER, more unorthodox and extravagant; nothing a greater contradiction to the belief and practice of the first age.

*Harding's
heterodox
and extra-
vagant asser-
tions.*

Harding asserts the bishop of Rome is always infallible in his determinations: that he is under the constant direction of the Holy Spirit: that we are to learn God Almighty's pleasure only from him: that he is the centre of unity, and the main support of the Church: that whoever separates from his communion, is an heretic of course: and that there is no hope of salvation without submission to the apostolic see. That the pope has a regal, no less than a sacerdotal authority: that the managing of both swords, temporal and spiritual, belongs to his jurisdiction: that all kings and emperors receive their authority from his hand, and ought to swear homage and fealty to him: for in his book, which he dedicates to queen Elizabeth, he has the assurance to express himself in these words: "It is a great eyesore," says he, "to the ministers of antichrist, to see the vicar of Christ above the lords and kings of this world, and to see princes and emperors promise and swear obedience to him." And, in mentioning the instance of pope Zachary's concurring with the rebellious nobles of France, deposing Childerick, the rightful sovereign, and setting the crown upon the head of the usurper Pepin, he makes this extraordinary remark: "Lo," says he, "you must needs confess that this was a divine power in the pope; for else he could never have done it." Thus, to varnish over a revolt, and give benediction to treason, are, in some men's opinion, unquestionable marks of a divine power.

*Jewel's
Works,
Epist. Ded.
to Queen
Elizabeth.
General
objections
against the
Apology.*

As to Jewel's performance, it was objected in general by Harding, that it was published in the name of the Church of England, without the privity of that society: that it was neither addressed to pope, emperor, nor any other prince; nor to the general council then convened: that it was an anonymous tract, and printed without royal privilege, which was a breach upon the constitution: that it was neither allowed by parliament, nor proclamation, nor synodically agreed in a convocation: and therefore that it was to be looked on as no better than a scandalous libel.

*Jewel's
Defence of
his Apology.*

To this charge the bishop replied, that the doctrine defended in the Apology was laid before the whole Catholic Church, and by consequence before the pope and council, if they were any part of that body: that if authorities were so necessary, he

had the concurrence of the whole English clergy; and that Harding himself was of the same opinion in the reign of king Edward: that the printer could inform him the book was not unfurnished with the queen's licence: that the objection of its being such an obscure libel might easily be disproved, by its being printed in Latin at Paris, and afterwards translated into French, Italian, Spanish, and Dutch: that it was afterwards sent into France and Flanders, into Germany and Spain, into Poland and Hungary, into Scotland, Denmark, and Sweden, into Italy, and particularly to Naples and Rome itself: that it was thoroughly examined by the council at Trent: that it was menaced with an answer, and the business undertaken by two learned bishops; but that neither of them made any progress in the enterprise. And, lastly, that several English Papists had tried their strength upon it, but to little effect.

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Idem.

That the Apology was well received by the Protestants beyond sea, appears by Peter Martyr's letter to bishop Jewel. He acquaints the bishop, that himself, Bullinger, and other divines, read his Apology with great satisfaction. He congratulates him upon his learning and elocution: he seems transported with the strength of the argument, and the beauty of the style; and that the Reformation was furnished with a person so admirably qualified to defend it.

It was well received by the Protestants abroad.
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This year Richard Cheyney, archdeacon of Hereford, and prebendary of Westminster, was consecrated to the see of Gloucester: he held Bristol in "commendam," and so did Bullingham his successor; that is, they had the jurisdiction with the fees annexed. But, as for the lands, they were seized by the courtiers, which was much the custom of these times: particularly, the bishopric of Oxford was, in a manner, quite stripped by the earls of Leicester and Essex; and, for that purpose, as may reasonably be conjectured, kept void the greatest part of this reign. In short, all the bishoprics of king Henry VIII.'s erection were so lamentably impoverished, that the new bishops, at their first promotion, were forced to beg for their living, and subsist on the benevolence of their clergy.

Depredations upon the Church.

On the 12th of January a new parliament met at Westminster. The lord keeper, sir Nicholas Bacon, in his speech, pointed out the business of the session, under two general heads; the one relates to religion, and the other to civil government. I shall only mention what concerns the first.

Heylin's Hist. Ref. A parliament called. My lord keeper's speech touching religion.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

And here he lays it down for an undoubted principle, "that without a deference to religion, and a due acknowledgment to God Almighty, nothing could prosper: that persons in eminent stations, when they fail of their duty, do the greatest disservice, because they draw example, and make a fashion of their misbehaviour. And here he can neither excuse the spirituality, nor the laity: for as the first do not execute their function, and preach with that application it were to be wished; so neither are the laity so commendable in hearing, and practice as they ought. He complains of the great want of pastors, and that some of them are much underqualified. This defect ought to be borne with considering the juncture; and he refers making the most of that matter to the bishops' conduct. He takes notice of great nonconformity in the kingdom, and that the churches were much unfrequented. This he imputes to the relaxation of discipline. If the statute for uniformity," says he, "in the late parliament is too gentle, let the penalties be set higher: for want of discipline is a great calamity, and encourages to obstinacy, loose tenets, and contempt of religion."

D'Ewes's
Journal, &c.
*The speaker
of the house
of Com-
mons' speech
upon the
same subject.*

The speaker of the house of Commons, Thomas Williams, esq., has something upon the same argument, which he delivered at the bar of the house of Lords, the queen being present. He takes notice in general of abuses in the kingdom, but speaks only to three, necessity, ignorance, and error: these he calls notable monsters. "As for necessity, it is lately," says he, "grown to a prodigious size; desire is so strangely disproportionate to merit and reasonable expectation: nobody is contented with their circumstances and station: for let people's fortunes be ever so large, their fancy and their ambition reach beyond it. These extravagant wishes, this over-rating of our own worth, draws a sense of necessity. Now necessity, as the proverb says, has no law, nor scruples any method of provision. This false appetite pushes men upon avarice and raking: thus many of the schools and benefices are seized, the education of youth disappointed, and the succours for knowledge cut off. For I dare aver the schools in England are fewer than formerly by a hundred; and those which remain are many of them but slenderly stocked: and this is one reason the number of learned men is so remarkably diminished.

"The second monster, as he calls it, is ignorance, the issue of necessity; but then these misfortunes are occasioned

for want of livings and preferments ; for covetousness has laid her hands upon the impropriations ; and thus the encouragements of learning are stopped in their course, and turned into a new channel. Thus the tree of knowledge grows downward, to the dishonour of God and the commonwealth ; the universities are decayed, and great market towns without either school or preacher ; for the poor vicar is turned off with twenty pounds, and the bulk of the Church's patrimony is impropriated, and diverted to foreign use. Thus the parish has no preacher ; and thus, for the want of a fund for instruction, the people are bred to ignorance and obstinacy. The impropriations, therefore, which are so fundamental to our misfortune, ought to be restored to the Church, and the laws repealed which lie cross to the redressing this grievance.

“ The third monster is error, a hydra with many heads : he means ill principles and ill practice ; and here he instances the Pelagians, Libertines, and Papists, and such others who set their appetites and mistakes for a rule of life. And speaking to the queen, he puts her in mind of the spreading of immorality and profaneness ; that in walking the streets of London, he had often heard oaths the greatest part of people's language : he observes that this contempt of the Deity was punished with loss of limbs, and sometimes with death, amongst the Pagans : and is there, says he, to be no punishment for this misbehaviour amongst Christians ? does baptism give us a liberty to affront our Maker ? and must the Creed be a protection for wickedness ? It is true we have God's word very near us ; it is much in our mouths, but never less in our practice : for though we talk like Christians, we live like infidels ; and here he moves in the name of the commons, that her majesty would put a stop to this lamentable dissolution of manners.

“ And lastly, he takes the honest freedom to suggest to her majesty, that the fear of God is the only firm basis for the happiness of prince and subject. He instances in Saul and David, in Jehosaphat and Josiah, in Hezekiah and Ahaz. These princes (says he) as long as religion had the ascendant, were great and successful ; but when they failed in their duty to God Almighty, they grew little, and miscarried. Let therefore the honour of God be your majesty's main concern, and then your other motions will be graceful and strong, and you

D'Ewe's
Journal,
p. 64-5.

PARKER, will have no reason to distrust the security of your government.”
Abp. Cant.

481. The learned sir Simonds D'Ewes, in his remarks upon this parliament, observes, that the house of Lords sometimes forbore sitting on convocation days, upon the score of the spiritual lords being absent. For this he produces a precedent from the original journal of the upper house, where it is thus entered:—
 “Dominus cancellarius propterea quod domini spirituales in convocatione crastino die occupandi sunt, continuavit præsens parliamentum usque ad diem lunæ.”

An. 7.
 Hen. 8.
 die 30 Nov.
 D'Ewe's,
 p. 67.
*The act of
 assurance.*

The first statute made this sessions, as it stands in the print, is the “Act of assurance of the queen's power over all estates.” It is pointed against those who maintained the “jurisdiction of the see of Rome, formerly unjustly claimed, and usurped within this realm.”

To prevent the ill consequences arising from hence, those who maintain or defend, by printing, preaching, or teaching, the pope's authority or jurisdiction upon any part of her majesty's dominions, as also their aiders, assistants, and comforters, shall for their first offence incur the penalties provided by the statute of præmunire.

1 Eliz.
 cap. 1.

It is likewise enacted, that, “All persons mentioned in the act made in the first year of the present reign, for restoring the ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical; that all such persons there named shall take the oath appointed by that statute. But now there is a farther provision for all persons that have been, or shall be promoted to holy orders, or admitted to any degree in the universities, all public and private schoolmasters, all utter barristers, benchers, readers, and ancients in any inns of court, all principal treasurers, and such as are of the grand company of every inn of Chancery; all attornies, prothonotaries, and philizers¹; all sheriffs, escheaters, and feodaries; and, in general, any that have or shall be admitted to any office belonging to the common law, or any other laws allowed within this realm. It is now provided, that all these persons shall take the oath of supremacy appointed by the act made in the first year of this reign. And here the first refusal of the oath is made præmunire. The second offence, both for abetting the pope's authority and refusing the

1 Eliz.
 cap. 1.

¹ *Alias filucers, filazers, or filizers*, from the Latin *filum*, a thread; officers of law who file writs of process.

oath, is high treason." However, there is a clause thrown in to prevent some of the consequences of high treason; for it is expressly provided, "that nothing in this act shall extend to the 'working any corruption of blood, the disinheriting any heir, or any forfeiture of dower.' It is farther enacted, that all knights, citizens, burgesses, or barons of the cinque-ports, elected to serve in parliament, shall take the said oath; and that without this qualification their election is declared void, neither shall they be allowed to enter the parliament house, or vote in it.

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"It is provided, that none shall be compelled to take this oath at the second time it is offered, unless the person has been or shall be an ecclesiastic in one of the reigns of king Henry VIII., king Edward VI., queen Mary, or the present queen Elizabeth, her heirs or successors; or unless such person or persons have had, or shall have some office or ministry in the ecclesiastical courts of this realm; or unless they shall refuse to observe the orders and rites for divine service used in the Church of England, or shall deprave the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, or shall say or hear private mass. Those who come under any of these exceptions are obliged to take the oath at the second tender, under the penalties above-mentioned.

"And to ascertain the sense, and set forth the extent of this solemn engagement, it is provided that the oath of supremacy made in the first year of this reign shall be taken and expounded in such form as is set forth in an admonition annexed to the queen's majesty's injunctions, published in the first year of her majesty's reign; that is to say, to confess and acknowledge in her majesty, her heirs, and successors, none other authority than that was challenged and lately used by the noble king Henry VIII. and king Edward VI., as in the said admonition more plainly may appear."

The oath of supremacy to be taken no farther than required by the queen's injunctions.

By the last proviso which I shall mention, it is enacted, that "no person of or above the degree of a baron shall be obliged to take this oath."

5 Eliz. cap. 1.

When this bill was brought into the house of Lords, Anthony Brown, viscount Montague, made a speech against it to this sense:—

"Upon the making any law, three things ought to be considered by the legislature. First, whether the law is necessary; secondly, whether it is just; and thirdly, whether it is

The lord Montague's speech against the bill.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

likely to be smooth and easy in the execution. Under these three things, all the qualities essential to a good law may be comprehended. To apply these general rules to the present case. And here this nobleman throws in a preliminary caution against misconstruction. He declares it is not his intention to charge the present Church of England either with error or schism ; his business is only to examine whether it is defensible to make a law with a capital penalty, by virtue of which the Papists shall be obliged to swear the orthodoxy of the religion now established. In speaking to this matter, he endeavours to prove, in the first place, that such a law is by no means necessary. His reason is, because the Roman Catholics give no disturbance, check no public motions, hinder not the administration of any affairs, either spiritual or temporal ; they neither dispute nor preach. The queen is not disobeyed by them ; neither can they be charged with making any ferments, or awakening ill-humour amongst the people. They have brought in no religious novelties ; neither can it be said the kingdom suffers by them. And since there is both truth and evidence in this apology, what necessity can there be for making new laws against them ? Where there is no disease, physic is altogether unseasonable. To put a sound constitution to such penance is both needless and dangerous."

From hence he proceeds to the second requisite, and argues against the justice of the bill. "And here he thinks it extremely unreasonable that the Papists should be thus solemnly obliged to profess their belief of the Protestant persuasion : and that under the forfeitures of life and fortune. This he conceives implies a strong repugnancy to the laws of nature. It ties up the freedom of the will, forces people upon a moral impossibility, and makes our reasonable faculties a misfortune. To compel a man to swear the certainty of that which he believes uncertain, is very hard usage of the conscience, and the heaviest oppression of natural liberty. Arguments may work and alter the opinion, but to drive the understanding by terror and violence, is to treat a man like a creature below his kind.

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"The doctrine of the Protestants," continues this nobleman, "was opposed by the lords spiritual and convocation, at the last parliament ; neither has it any better agreement with the major part of Christendom : it is a contradiction to what has been determined by general councils and former parliaments : and is not this prescription of time, this overbalance of autho-

rities and numbers, sufficient to keep on doubts, and make Protestantism uncertain? If the Protestant pretends his belief is Catholic, the question will be, how this term is to be understood? And are not the learned divided here, and broken into several opinions? Now, till we are all of the same sentiment, and come up to a uniformity of notion, we cannot pretend to perspicuity, nor pronounce infallibly upon things."

But this is a wrong inference: for general agreement is not always necessary to the proof of a truth. To resolve our faith into such principles, and set certainty upon such a precarious foot, is the way to reason ourselves out of all religion. Besides, this lord argues against the maxims of his own communion, and destroys the pretended infallibility of the Roman Church. For by his logic the Protestant's denial of this claim is sufficient to destroy the right, and make the doctrine uncertain.

To go on with the lord Montague, who, taking his premises for granted, forms his conclusion accordingly. "Considering the uncertainty of the Protestant persuasion," says he, "there is no justice in forcing people to affirm it true. To make them swear counter to their conscience, is to enact hypocrisy or ruin, death or perjury. Since, therefore, the Protestants have the possession of the churches and revenues, since they have an authority for preaching and excommunication, they ought to be contented, and press no farther. As for the Catholics, they give them no disturbance in their function: they hinder them not in haranguing the people, and propagating their doctrine."

From hence this lord proceeds to speak to the third head; that is, the conveniency and practicableness of the law. "This," says he, "will depend very much upon what has been remarked under the second requisite. Now, it is easy to imagine that a law which clashes so apparently with reason, and bears so hard upon the liberty of mankind, cannot be executed without great difficulty and struggle: for what man is there so abandoned to cowardice, so lost to all conscience and honour, as to suffer himself to be dragged into a new religion, and to swear a contradiction to his belief? To lie quiet, and keep their persuasion to themselves, is intelligible caution, and things which people may reconcile themselves to: but to be forced either to forswear one's self or die, is an alternative which nobody can

PARKER, Abp. Cant. digest. It is to be feared, therefore, that rather than submit to the practice or the penalty, the subject may be provoked to extremities, and apply to methods of defence. Now these sallies of desperation are consequences which the prudence of a government ought to prevent.”

Foxii MSS.

Mr. Adkinson's speech against the bill of assurance.

One Mr. Adkinson, a member of the house of Commons, made a speech against the bill in that house. I shall mention some part of it, where he offers something not touched on by the lord Montague. After having complained the refusal of the oath is charged with too deep a penalty, he proceeds to answer an objection. “It had been affirmed in the house, that the maintaining a foreign jurisdiction was treason by the common law: that it implied a transferring of the crown from the king to the pope: were this true, he thinks no punishment too great, and that the first offence ought to be death. To give the objection its full strength, he puts the case of the king’s bringing a *quare impedit* against a spiritual person. This,” says he, “is a plea merely temporal, and belongs to the cognizance of the temporal courts. Suppose the bishop had appealed to Rome in arrest of judgment, would this foreign application have been treason? Not at all; it would not have been so much as *præmunire*, had the appeal been made before the 27th of Edward III. However, it is an offence against the queen’s crown and dignity, and so are a great many other misdemeanors, which fall short of treason.

“And since the owning the pope’s jurisdiction in a case where property and prerogative are concerned was no treason, which way could the affirming his authority in matters purely spiritual mount to so high a crime? For instance, that the consecration of archbishops belongs to his holiness, or that the administration of the divine service should be under his direction. How could the asserting the supremacy of the apostolic see in this sense be treason by the common law, when our kings and parliaments were all Papists, and owned the pope for their spiritual father? But notwithstanding this deference, the lords and commons, both spiritual and temporal, took care to defend the prerogative, and maintain the constitution against papal encroachments.” And for this he gives instances in the reigns of Edward I., Richard II., and Henry VI.; which the reader may find remarked in the first part of this history.

He argues for an abatement of the penalty from the doc-

trine of the English Protestants. "I have heard," says he, "some of these preachers affirm, that religion ought to be propagated by persuasion, and not by force and terror. For this reason they call the act of the Six Articles, made in the reign of Henry VIII., 'the whip with six lashes.' And as for the prosecutions in the late reign, they declaimed loudly against them. They called the bishops 'blood-suckers, men that made it their diversion to destroy innocent people, and that they were worse than Caiaphas and Judas ;' he is surprised, therefore, to find these men press for sanguinary laws, and abet those rigours they declared so strongly against.

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"He argues against the severity of the bill from the authority of the Fathers, who disliked proceeding to extremities for matters of belief. He observes, that when the emperors made any penal laws against heretics, they seldom went any farther than fining, imprisonment, and banishment. And here, unless the party was convicted by witness, the penalty could not take place. But by this bill, though a man intends to acquiesce, and makes no complaint or remonstrance ; though he behaves himself never so inoffensively, and keeps his conscience to himself, yet we are resolved to pursue him to his thoughts, and see what lies within him ; and to drive him out of all shelter, we offer him an insnaring oath. If he cannot pass this test, he falls immediately under præmunire ; that is, his lands and goods are forfeited, and his person imprisoned during the queen's pleasure. And, which is more, after all this, his life has but a slender security ; for a man attainted of præmunire is out of the protection of the laws ; and thus any body may kill him, without being called to an account for it."

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Mr. Adkinson's urging this point, it is likely, occasioned an amendment in the bill, and brought in the clause by which it is enacted, "it shall not be lawful to kill any person attainted upon præmunire : any law, or statute, or opinion, or exposition of any law or statute, to the contrary, in any wise, notwithstanding."

The statute declares it not lawful to kill a man under præmunire.

5 Eliz. cap. 1.

To proceed : this member conceives the penalties for refusing the oath, already enacted, are sufficient to answer the ends, and secure the government. "For, is it not a more likely expedient to gain people and reconcile them to the oath ? Is it not more likely to do this by tempting their compliance with profit and preferment, than by menacing them with ruin in case they refuse ? On the other hand, is it not punishment

1 Eliz. cap. 1.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

heavy enough for a man to be thrown out of the common privileges of his birthright?—to have his parts and learning lie dead upon his hands, and receive no countenance from the government?

“But suppose,” says he, “the bill was passed, what public benefit can be expected from it? You will say, we should be disencumbered from the obstinate Papists, who, if they are suffered to live amongst us, would be busy in disturbing the state.” To this he answers, “that, if everybody who scruples the oath should refuse it, and be executed for their non-compliance, the kingdom would be extremely weakened, and in a much worse condition to defend itself. This may, in some measure, be collected by the declension of the universities: for here the contests about religion, the discouraging of opinions, the displacing of members, has brought sense and learning to a very low ebb; and, without timely provision, we are all in danger of falling back to a remarkable ignorance.

“But, suppose the bulk of the people should not decline the oath, can you imagine all that take it will change their opinion? No: menacing and terror may command the practice, but not the persuasion; violence may make a coward, but never a convert: and thus many a man will lay his hand upon the book when his heart keeps off at a distance. Besides, the frightening people out of their sentiment, and starving them into perjury, does but heighten their disaffection, and push them forward to revenge at the first opportunity.

“Let us, therefore,” continues this gentleman, “not be lean-tempered: let not difference in religion put us upon prosecution and harsh usage. To love one another is much more becoming our profession: for, I am sure, it is far from Christianity to hate our neighbour. Let us lay down our animosities and squabbling, Such misunderstandings, besides the mischief they do at home, give our enemies an advantage, and invite them to fall upon us. And, whatever we may think of it at present, we shall come to this remedy at last: for, though the suffering part will have the worst of it, the prosecutors will not always be easy; and thus both sides, at last, will make for repose. For is not this the issue of the controversy in Germany? That country has been miserably harassed with religious disputes; but now they are sensible of their error, and seem tired into charity and good nature. Now, Papists and Protestants can converse together like friends, and never fall

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out about difference in belief. And since the lords and gentlemen of these two houses have the sword in their hands, I hope they will be cautious how they use it: for, if you strike, your countrymen and fellow-Christians, and some of your near friends and relations, must feel the smart. I desire it may be remembered, that people who suffer for refusing this oath are not to be considered as common malefactors, as thieves or murderers. They do not offend from wicked intention and malice-prepense. No: it is conscience and good meaning which makes them clash with the law. I do not deny but they may be mistaken; but, when this happens, the case is still harder; for, if we let the penalty loose upon them under such mispersuasion, we bar recollection, and destroy both body and soul. It is possible, some of this religion may have given offence: granting this, I hope you will not draw a punishment upon the innocent on their account. You will rather incline to the gentler side: you will forgive the obnoxious, for the sake of the much greater number who have done no harm¹." Foxii MSS.

There was another speech of a member of the lower house, in answer to this last-mentioned. It was made by one learned in the law; but does not seem to disentangle the case. His arguments are some of them wide of the question; and, where his reasonings are strongest, they conclude but for an oath of allegiance. He pretends the "oath touches no spiritual thing, but only binds the subject to recognize the sovereignty in his prince." But this is a great mistake, as the reader may perceive by the form: for here the subject swears two things in which religion is materially concerned:—first, "that the queen's highness is the only supreme governor of this realm, in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes;" and, secondly, "that no foreign prelate or potentate has, or ought to have, any jurisdiction or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm." Now, no person, who believes the pope the principle of unity and the spiritual head of the Catholic Church, can possibly take this oath with a good conscience. But, notwithstanding the error of this persuasion, if the papal supremacy is thus restrained to matters purely spiritual, those who maintain it have room enough for their allegiance, and may be loyal subjects to their prince.

Strype's
Annals,
p. 270.

¹ These philanthropical speeches of Montague and Adkinson on the Supremacy Bill deserve the warmest praise.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

*All lords of
parliament
to be tried
by their
peers.
5 Eliz.
cap. 11.*

Coke's
Instit. pt. 1.
fol. 91.
484.

*An act
against fan-
tastical pro-
phesies.*

5 Eliz.
cap. 15.

*An act
against
witchcraft.*

To go on to some other statutes of this parliament : by the act which makes clipping the coin high treason, it is provided, " that, if any lords of parliament, or peers of the realm, shall happen to be indicted of any offence made treason by this act, that then they and every of them shall have their trial by their peers." From hence I infer, that bishops ought to be tried by their peers in cases of treason, because nobody questions their being lords of parliament. Sir Edward Coke himself makes no scruple to confess thus much.

The next act I shall mention punishes the publishing any fantastical prophecy upon arms, fields, badges, &c.

The statute sets forth, it had been the practice of some malcontents to prognosticate fortunes and events from colours, and charges, and crests, belonging to persons of quality ; and that this conjectural presumption had made bold with the queen herself. The penalty of doing this, with an intention of raising any insurrection or public disturbance, is the forfeiture of ten pounds and a year's imprisonment for the first, and imprisonment during life and the forfeiture of all goods and chattels for the second, offence.

The next statute is levelled against witchcraft.

The preamble takes notice, that, since the statute made in the 23rd year of king Henry VIII. was repealed in the first year of king Edward VI., " many fantastical and devilish persons have devised and practised invocations and conjurations of evil spirits, and have used and practised witchcrafts, enchantments, charms, and sorceries, to the destruction of the persons and goods of their neighbours and other subjects of this realm, and for other lewd intents and purposes, contrary to the laws of Almighty God, to the peril of their own souls, and to the great infamy and disquietness of this realm."

The body of the statute enacts, " that in case any person practises witchcraft, or uses charms, whereby any body happens to be killed or destroyed, the punishment for such offenders, their aiders and counsellors, is death upon legal conviction, without benefit of the clergy.

" And if any person happens to be disabled in his limbs, or brought to a consumption, by the practice of witchcraft upon him, that then the criminal, his aiders, and counsellors, shall suffer a year's imprisonment for the first offence, and stand in the pillory once a quarter in some market-town, and there

make public confession of his offence. And in case of a relapse into the same crime, to suffer death as a felon without privilege of clergy or sanctuary. ELIZABETH.

“And farther, if any person by witchcraft or divination pretends to discover any hid treasure of gold or silver, to tell where things lost or stolen may be found, to excite any unlawful affection, or to prejudice any body in person or goods, the penalty is a year’s imprisonment, and standing once a quarter in the pillory, for the first offence; and for the second, he was to incur the forfeiture of all his goods and chattels, and suffer imprisonment during life¹.”

The bishops, it is likely, having complained that the writs “de excommunicato capiendo” were often-times sunk with the sheriff, and the censures of the Church baffled by such prevarication, there was a bill passed this parliament for preventing this abuse. It is enacted, that in case the sheriff makes a false return, he was to forfeit forty pounds: and if he returns a “non est inventus” out of his bailiwick, that then a “capias” was to be awarded with the forfeiture of ten pounds for not appearing upon the first “capias,” twenty pounds upon the second, and the same forfeiture to continue upon every “capias,” until the person excommunicated makes his appearance.

5 Eliz.
cap. 16.
*An act for
the better
execution of
the writ
‘de ex-
communicato
capiendo.’*

By another statute relating to religion, it is enacted, that the whole Bible, both Old and New Testament, with the book of Common Prayer and administration of the sacraments, as now used within the realm in English, should be translated into the Welch language. The act puts the direction of this work into the hands of the bishops of Hereford, St. David’s, St. Asaph, Bangor, and Landaff, who were to inspect the translation, and take care for the printing of such a number, that every cathedral, collegiate, and parish church, and chapel of ease, within their respective dioceses, where Welch was commonly spoken, might be furnished with one. The price of the books was to be set by the bishops, the incumbents to pay one half of the charge, and the parish the other.

5 Eliz.
cap. 23.
*An act for
translating
the Bible
and Com-
mon-Prayer
into Welch.*

And to take leave of this parliament, there was a confirmation of a subsidy of six shillings in the pound granted by the clergy.

This year the lady Katherine Grey, daughter to the duke of 5 Eliz.
cap. 29.

¹ All the witchcraft acts were very ingeniously evaded by the astrologers and alchemists, Dee, Lilly, Fludd, &c. &c.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

*The earl of
Hertford
and lady
Katharine
Grey cen-
sured by the
archbishop.*

Cambden,
Eliz.

Vide Dug-
dale's Baro-
nage, Union
of Hon. by
York.

*The arch-
bishop's ten-
derness in
offering the
oath of su-
premacy to
the Roman
Catholic
clergy.*

Suffolk, and sister to the lady Jane Grey, was committed to the Tower. This lady had, soon after her marriage, been legally divorced from Henry lord Herbert, eldest son to the lord Pembroke. She was ready to lie in when imprisoned; she declared herself married to Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford. This was publicly owned by the earl himself at his return from France, who notwithstanding was sent to the Tower. The archbishop of Canterbury, and some other commissioners, were delegated to try the cause, and give final sentence. The parties not being able to produce any witness of their marriage within the time assigned, the archbishop pronounced the correspondence between them unlawful, and that they ought to do penance for fornication. Though there was no appealing from this sentence, one John Hales, a man of learning, but much given to singularities, ventured to censure it for a nullity; and that the consent of the earl and lady was sufficient for a lawful marriage. For this paradox Hales was committed. The lady had two sons by this nobleman, Edward and Thomas. The earl was prosecuted in the star-chamber, fined five thousand pounds, and suffered nine years' imprisonment. He still insisted on his marriage, and by the advice of several civilians, threw in an appeal against the archbishop's sentence, which was withdrawn by him publicly afterwards. The lady thought herself harshly used, and fell into a deep melancholy, which put an end to her life about six years after. Notwithstanding the sentence, her eldest son Edward carried the title of lord Beauchamp, and dying in his father's life-time left issue William, who by letters-patent was created earl of Hertford by king James II.

By the act of assurance, the archbishops and bishops were empowered to tender the oath of supremacy to their clergy. Archbishop Parker was sensible of the severity of the statute, and that the execution of it would draw an imputation of cruelty upon the bishops. For would not pressing this sanguinary law look like a spirit of revenge? Would it not look like reprisals for what had been suffered by the Protestants in the late reign? And besides, it is likely that Parker, being a good-natured prelate, might think the penalty overcharged: and, therefore, to screen the papists from suffering, and the bishops from censure, he wrote to his suffragans to manage themselves with great caution and reserve in executing the act of assurance. And in case the stubbornness and misbehaviour

of some people should force them to offer the oath; if such persons refused to swear the supremacy, the bishop concerned should immediately inform the archbishop of their refusal, and not tender the oath a second time until an answer was returned in writing. He desires these suggestions may not be interpreted as if he was a favourer of such obstinate recusants. "My design," says he, "is only to recommend the governing our flocks with a pastoral care; it being part of our character not to be swayed by resentment and private regards, but to proceed by gentle motions, and endeavour to gain the misled by methods of lenity." In the close, he desires the bishops to believe this advice was sent them upon weighty considerations. However, for several reasons, he thought it best to keep it to themselves, and doubted not their being of the same mind.

ELIZA-
BETH.
485.

Parker sent a copy of these directions to secretary Cecil. He likewise gave this minister an account of his sending this advice to the bishops in his own name, and not in the queen's. He lets him know her majesty approved the expedient, and was willing the rigour of the law might be diverted. He thought the writing in the queen's name might affect the reputation of the legislature, dishearten the Protestants, and give the papists too much encouragement. He owns he had no warrant in writing to halt in the execution of the act: however, since he knew the queen's mind, he was willing to stand a censure, and hazard his credit for her majesty's service. He concludes with referring the matter to the secretary, who approved his method.

Life of
Archbishop
Parker,
p. 125.

By this temper none of the popish bishops or clergy had the oath of supremacy offered them, excepting Bonner¹.

Having done with what related to the Church in the parliament, I shall proceed to the convocation, which was held at the same time.

Upon the 13th of January, the archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans met at St. Paul's; and being all in their habits, the archbishop went into the dean's stall, and the bishops into those of the prebendaries on each side of the choir. After this the Litany and the Veni Creator were solemnly sung in English. Then Day, provost of Eton, made a sermon in Latin. After sermon the first psalm was sung

Petit MSS.
Life of
Archbishop
Parker.
Nowell's Re-
proof, p. 11.

Synodus
Anglicana,
Append.
p. 194.
A. D. 1562-3.
A convoca-
tion at St.
Paul's.

* How much more amiable does archbishop Parker appear in the pages of Collier, than he does in the memoirs of the low Church historians.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

*The preliminary
ceremonies.*

Journal of
the Convoca-
tion, penes
F. Atter-
bury, S.T.P.

in English, and the archbishop and bishops received the holy eucharist at the hands of the bishop of London. After the communion, the archbishop and bishops went into the chapter-house. The archbishop had a seat in the middle, the suffragans sitting on each side. Their names were as follow:—Edmund London, Robert Winton, William Chichester, John Hereford, Richard Ely, Edwin Wigorn, Rowland Bangor, Nicholas Lincoln, John Sarum, Richard Meneven, Edmund Roff, Gilbert Bath and Wells, Thomas Coventry and Lichfield, William Exon, John Norwich, Edmund Peterborough, Thomas St. Asaph, Richard Gloucester, and commendatory of Bristol. The clergy of the lower house were likewise in the chapter-house, attending the archbishop. And now the bishop of London made a return of his certificate for summoning the suffragans. The certificate being read by the archbishop's Chancellor, and the bishops called, their appearance was entered by the registrar. When this was done, the archbishop made a short speech, acquainting them they had now a fair opportunity for giving the last hand to the reformation. That the queen was favourably disposed for such an undertaking. Then he suggested the choice of a prolocutor to the clergy of the lower house, and recommended Alexander Nowell, dean of St. Paul's. After this he ordered his chancellor to receive the bishops' certificates, to take an account of the proxies of the absentees, and examine the reasons of their absence: and those who neither appeared in person nor proxy, were pronounced contumacious, and a punishment referred to the next sessions.

At that time the archbishop, with the rest of the bishops, came to St. Paul's. His grace officiated in the chapter-house in Latin, a new prayer being made for the occasion. When the service was over, the laity were dismissed, and the lower clergy withdrew to their house. Soon after, being sent for by the archbishop, they came and presented Nowell for their prolocutor, who was introduced between the deans of Westminster and Christ-church. The first made a speech upon the merit and qualifications of the elect: Nowell, on the other side, in a modest application, endeavoured to throw off the panegyric, to disclaim the character, and disable himself. However, at last he was contented to constrain his inclination, and resign to their choice. The archbishop discoursing this matter with the

bishops, they unanimously agreed upon his fitness for the employment. Then the archbishop made a speech, and with some touches of commendation, confirmed the election. The clergy of the lower house now dismissed, the archbishop desired the bishops to recollect the defects and imperfect regulations in their respective dioceses, and propound them at the next session.

ELIZA-
BETH.

Having now given the reader a view of the preliminary ceremonies, I shall proceed to the business of this meeting. There were several things aimed at ; but excepting a subsidy, together with some additions, omissions, and alterations in the doctrinal articles, nothing passed. There was a project, amongst other things, for making an alteration in the ceremonies. To this purpose, Sandys, bishop of Worcester, brought in a paper, consisting of three heads.

A motion for the alteration of some rites and habits.
See the Conference at Hampton Court.
L'Estrange's Alliance of Divine Offices, p. 241.

First, that by her majesty's authority, and the assistance of the archbishop of Canterbury, the rubric in the Common Prayer, which gives women a liberty to baptise in case of necessity, might be altered. This matter the bishop would have governed by the direction of an act of parliament to be made for that purpose. His reason for an alteration is, because the holy Scriptures declare women incapable of administering the sacraments. Grindal, bishop of London, was of Sandys's opinion as to the thing, but differed as to the manner of settling it. He thought a synod was the most proper authority to regulate this point.

Secondly, Sandys moved, that the making a cross in the child's forehead might be raised out of the office, and the rasure confirmed by the secular authority above mentioned. It seems he thought this ceremony unnecessary and superstitious.

Thirdly, that pursuant to the precedents of king Henry VIII. and king Edward VI., a committee of bishops and other learned men may be appointed by her majesty to draw a scheme for Church discipline and government ; and that the regulations agreed by them might be confirmed this session by the parliament.

Petit MSS.

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There was another paper laid before the convocation, and subscribed by three-and-thirty of the lower house. It was digested into seven articles.

Another attempt of this kind.

I. That the Psalms appointed by the Common Prayer might

b b 2

PARKER,
Abp. Cant. be sung distinctly by the whole congregation, or else read wholly by the minister : and that all strains of skill, musical performances, and playing on the organs, should be discharged.

II. That none of the laity may be allowed to baptize, upon any pretence whatsoever, and that the sign of the cross may be disused in the administration of that sacrament.

III. That kneeling at the holy eucharist may be left to the discretion of the ordinary. Their objection is, because some do not only knock in kneeling, but behave themselves superstitiously. It seems these men had forgotten that knocking on the breast was a gesture commended by our Saviour in the publican.

IV. That the copes and surplices may be laid aside, and that the habit of the desk and the pulpit may be the same.

V. That the ministers of the word and sacraments may not be forced to wear such gowns and caps as the enemies of the Gospel have made the distinguishing habit of their function.

VI. That in the thirty-third article of doctrine concerning ceremonies, the censure of those who disconform may be softened, and let down to a gentler dislike. They refer to the articles passed in the year 1552 ; and the clause they would have reformed is this : " Whosoever through private judgment willingly and purposely doth openly break the traditions and ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the word of God, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly (that other may fear to do the like) as one that offendeth against the common order of the Church, and hurteth the authority of the magistrate, and woundeth the consciences of weak brethren."

Idem.

VII. That all festivals kept in honour of the Saints might be abrogated, or, at least, kept on with some circumstances of abatement ; that the memory of the Saints might be only retained in sermons, homilies, or the public Liturgy ; and that after the people had been thus instructed in their history, and done their devotions, they might have the liberty of working the rest of the day. The prolocutor Nowel subscribed this paper.

Feb. 13.

These articles, excepting the sixth, were strongly debated in the lower house, and put to the scrutiny. But being couched in terms explanatory, and in some things different from the

others, I shall mention part of them. The first stands thus :

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BETH.

"That all Sundays and principal feasts of Christ be kept holy-days, and all other festivals abrogated.

"Secondly. That in all parish churches the minister in common prayer turn his face towards the people.

"The third and fourth are the same with those of that number already related, only the latter censures knocking on the breast more plainly than the other.

"The fifth is more moderate than the fourth of the former seven ; it allows the use of the surplice in the desk, and only strikes off the cope and other sacerdotal distinctions."

Petit MSS.
Strype An-
nal. p. 288.

These six articles were warmly contested ; and, dividing upon the question, some of the members were willing to refer the controversy to the upper house. Others protested against this compromise, and declared themselves resolved against any alteration in the present establishment. When they went to the suffrage, they found the innovators a considerable number ; but, notwithstanding the struggle, the protesting party carried it. And thus the ceremonies and religious decorations continued in their former condition. However, it is plain, by the contest, the Frankfort and Geneva Precisians had no small interest. Many of the English exiles were willing to reform away the ornaments and solemnity of divine worship, and thought Calvin's platform a much better regulation than that of the primitive Church ; but, God be thanked, the majority of our reformers had a different sense of these matters, and had more learning and judgment, more steadiness and resolution, than to be overruled with noise and novelty.

*Six Articles
debated in
the lower
house.*

*The Church
Establish-
ment con-
tinues.*

Some few days after, the archbishop sent for the prolocutor, and delivering him certain articles, ordered him to communicate them to the lower house ; that those members should examine the heads, and return their opinion in writing. The articles were, whether, if the writ *de melius inquirendo* was issued out upon the estates of the clergy, the queen would find her account in that inquiry. Item, whether some benefices are not already overrated. Thirdly : They were to inquire into dilapidations, and other wastes upon livings, and by whom they were done. Fourthly : They were to make

Feb. 19.
*The arch-
bishop sends
some articles
of inquiry to
the lower
house.*

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

their report how they had been used in the levying arrearages of tenths and subsidies. Fifthly: How many benefices they find charged with pensions for religious persons. And lastly: They were to certify how many livings were void in every diocese.

Journal of
the Convo-
cation, penes
F. Atter-
bury, S.T.P.
Acta in
Superiori
Domo Con-
vocat. Syn-
odus An-
glicana in
Append.
p. 210.

These inquiries were directed by the archbishop, to discover the poverty of the clergy, and how lamentably they had suffered in their revenues; and when the lower house had pursued the archbishop's instructions, and made their report upon the queries, it was to be hoped such proof of the indigence of the parochial clergy might move the court to compassion, and put a stop at least to any farther oppression. But it does not appear the archbishop's intention was answered, or that any progress was made in this matter by the lower house.

The main business of this synod was the settling the doctrinal part of the Reformation. That the number of the articles passed in 1552 was retrenched, and some amendments made upon the rest, has been already related. That which remains to be done, is to vindicate the Church from the charge of forgery, in the head of the twentieth article passed in this synod. The pretended interpolation stands thus:—"The Church has power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith."

*The prelates
of the Church
of England
charged with
forging a
clause in the
twentieth
article.*

In the reign of king Charles I., one Burton, a puritanical clergyman, charged archbishop Laud and the prelates of that reign with this foul practice. In his letter to the temporal lords of the privy council, he complains in this language:—"That the prelates, to justify their proceedings, had forged a new article of religion, brought from Rome, which gave them full power to alter the doctrine and discipline of our Church at a blow, and had foisted it into the beginning of the twentieth article of our Church; and that this was in the then last edition of the articles, viz., 'That of the year 1628, in affront of his majesty's declaration before them, &c., that to forge an article, either in whole or in part, and then thrust it upon the Church, is a most heinous crime, and far worse than forging a deed.'" Burton endeavours to support the charge, by alleging this clause was not to be found in the Latin or English articles of Edward VI. or queen Elizabeth, ratified by parliament; nor (as the archbishop understood him) in any copies before that printed anno 1628, with the king's declaration

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*Archbishop
Laud's
speech in the
Star-cham-
ber.
Remains,
vol. 2, p. 82.*

before it. And Fuller, to set Burton's objection in its full strength, observes, this clause concerning the authority of the Church was omitted in the English and Latin edition of the articles set forth in the year 1571, when, as this historian pretends, they were first confirmed by parliament. He takes notice, likewise, that Dr. Mocket, chaplain to archbishop Abbot, omitted this clause in his Latin translation of the articles.

ELIZABETH.

To return to Burton: this was charging home, and touching the reputation of the Church in a very sensible part. To wipe off this aspersion, archbishop Laud replies, "That the articles of Edward VI., and those made under queen Elizabeth, differed very much: that by consequence those of Edward VI. were not then binding: and that therefore, whether the controverted clause were in or out of them, was not material. But as to the articles of queen Elizabeth, he had four several copies by him: in all these editions, printed before the year 1628, the contested clause was to be seen. Three of these editions were in English, and printed in the years 1593, 1605, 1612; the fourth edition, which was in Latin, was published in the year 1563: this," says the archbishop, "was one of the first printed copies, if not the first of all, for the articles were agreed on but the 29th of January, anno 1563; or, as we write, 1562-3." This the archbishop thought was a sufficient disproof of the imputation of forgery.

Fuller's
Ch. Hist.
book 9.
p. 74.

Archbishop
Laud dis-
proves the
charges in his
speech in the
Star-cham-
ber.

But, to make the matter plainer, "For it is not fit, (as he speaks to the lords of the star-chamber) concerning an article of religion, and an article of such consequence for the order, truth, and peace of this Church, you should rely upon my copies, be they never so many, or never so ancient; therefore I sent to the public records in my office, and here, under my officer's hand, who is a public notary, is returned me the 20th article, with this affirmative clause in it; and there is also the whole body of articles to be seen. By this your lordships see how free the prelates are from forging this part of the article. And now let these men (meaning Burton and his party) quit themselves and their faction as they can, for their 'index expurgatorius,' and their foul rasure in leaving out this part of the article. For to leave out of an article, is as great a crime as to put in; and a main rasure is as censurable in this court as a forgery." This producing an attested copy of the original

He produces
a copy of the
original, at-
tested by a
public
notary.

Archbishop
Laud's
speech.
Idem, p. 83.

PARKER, record, knocked down the dispute, exposed the calumny, and was evidence beyond contradiction.

Heylin perused the original record, which was destroyed by the great fire of London, in the year 1666.

Heylin's Examen Historicum, p. 144. Fuller, Church Hist. book 9, p. 74. And turns the foul practice upon the Puritans.

But, to add a word or two farther : the learned Heylin not only takes notice of the archbishop's showing the lords an exemplified copy of the original, but adds, from his own knowledge, that having occasion to consult the records of convocation, he found the controverted clause verbatim in these words :

" Habet ecclesia ritus statuendi jus, et in fidei controversiis auctoritatem." And therefore he has reason for wondering at Fuller, who had the liberty of perusing these records, and transcribed them frequently into his history ; he had reason, I say, to wonder at this historian, for pretending himself unfurnished with proof to decide the point : and that he was at a loss to pronounce whether the " bishops were faulty in their addition, or their opposites in their subtraction."

To proceed : since the fraud was thus demonstrably turned upon the accusers, it may not be amiss to acquaint the reader how the archbishop endeavoured to trace this scandalous practice ; and to give the relation in the words of this famous prelate. " If the explaining this mystery of iniquity was demanded," he answers, " truly, my lords, I cannot certainly tell ; but, as far as I can, I will tell ye. The articles, you see, were fully and fairly agreed to, and subscribed in the year 1562 : but after this, in the year 1571, the articles were printed both in Latin and English, and this clause of the Church left out of both. And certainly this could not be done but by the malicious cunning of the opposite faction. And though I shall spare dead men's names, where I have not certainty, yet if you be pleased to look back, and consider who they were that governed business in 1571, and rid the Church almost at their pleasure ; and how potent the ancestors of these libellers began then to grow, you will think it no hard matter to have the articles printed, and this clause left out. And yet it is plain, that after the stir about subscription, in the year 1571, the articles were settled and subscribed unto at last, as in the year 1562, with this clause in them for the Church. For looking farther into the records which are in my own hand, I have found the book of 1562-3, subscribed by all the lower house of convocation in this very year of contradiction, 1571 ; Dr. John Ailmer, (who was afterwards lord bishop of London) being their prolocutor : Alexander Nowel, dean of St. Paul's, having been prolocutor in

1562, and yet living, and present, and subscribing in 1571. Therefore I do openly here, in the Star-chamber, charge upon that pure sect this foul corruption of falsifying the articles of the Church of England: let them take it off as they can.”

ELIZABETH.

Notwithstanding this evidence of clear dealing in the Church, the charge of forgery has lately been renewed against her. The

Priestcraft in perfection.

author engaged in this service lays the main stress on two manuscripts in Benet College library, Cambridge. These are

parcel of archbishop Parker's papers, which he gave that college. These manuscripts are a body of the Articles of the Church of England, and subscribed by two convocations: the first by the convocation held in the year 1562. And here we have a list of both houses of the province of Canterbury, together with some bishops of the province of York. The other manuscript bears date 1571: this is subscribed by the archbishop of Canterbury, and ten of his suffragans; and that both these manuscripts are original, is endeavoured to be proved by the hands of the subscribers. Now the controverted clause concerning the power of the Church is wanting in both these manuscripts: and for this the author refers to bishop Burnet's Exposition on the Thirty-nine Articles, and Mr. Strype's Annals.

The two MSS. of the articles in Benet College Library, no authentic records.

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This proved with respect to both of them.

That the contested clause is to be found in neither of these manuscripts is granted; but that they are originals, and the last authentic acts of those convocations, is more than this author has proved. On the other side, that they have nothing of this authority, has been lately evinced by a learned and judicious writer. What I shall observe farther upon this argument shall be mostly extracted from this author. To begin: that these manuscripts are not originals, may be proved by evidence, which will affect them both together; and likewise by other reasonings which will disable them singly considered.

Vindication of the Church of England from the aspersions of priestcraft in perfection, &c.

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First. With respect to them both, it may be observed, that finished records are generally engrossed on parchment, in black large characters; but these two manuscripts are on paper, neither of them engrossed, and the latter in a pale small hand, not very correctly written.

First, because not engrossed on parchment. Vindication of the Church of England, &c. p. 79.

Secondly. Neither of these manuscripts have the royal authority annexed; but this circumstance was absolutely necessary to make them authentic. Of this the reader may be satisfied from the act of submission. By this statute the

Secondly, because not ratified under the broad seal.

PARKER, clergy can execute nothing passed in convocation, unless their ordinances and constitutions are confirmed by the crown under the broad seal. Now, the records of such ecclesiastical acts or constitutions being the last instruments, and executed as the acts of the body, either by voting or subscription,—such records, I say, having the last hand thus put to them, and made the final resolution of the convocation, must of necessity be fortified with the broad seal, to give them a legal pass, and cover the houses from the statute of *præmunire*. The inference is, that the manuscripts of both these articles, had they been finished originals, must have been confirmed by the queen's assent, and that assent testified by affixing the broad seal.

Abp. Cant.
25 Henry 8,
c. 19.

Part 4, c. 74,
fol. 323.

And, that the “Thirty-nine Articles” were thus ratified by queen Elizabeth, the reader may see in Coke’s “Institutes.” And thus, after the Postscript in Wolfe’s edition of the “Articles” printed in the year 1563, we have these words:—
“Quibus omnibus articulis serenissima princeps Elizabetha —per seipsam diligenter prius lectis et examinatis, regium suum assensum præbuit.” Now, this Postscript being a copy of the certificate of the register annexed to the original record of the “Articles,” it evidently follows, that the royal assent was given to that record. The next consequence is, that these two manuscripts, which want this royal ratification, were only rough drafts, and preparatory instruments; but neither of them passed the last concluding forms, nor had the strength and attestation of authentic records.

*Thirdly,
because not
lodged in the
proper repository.*

Thirdly. These two manuscripts being given by Parker to Benet College, is another good argument against their authority: for the archbishop’s registry, as it is well known, is the repository for convocation-records. These instruments are not at the archbishop’s disposal: he has no more propriety in them than in any other records belonging to his offices. All such instruments are to remain in the places assigned, for public use and inspection. Had these manuscripts, therefore, been original records, they would never have been lodged in the college: for we cannot imagine, that either the archbishop would have been capable of so great an injustice as to remove such valuable instruments from the proper and customary place, or that the college would have been allowed the possession of them by his successors. It is granted, all imperfect papers leading to business belong to the archbishop as presi-

dent of the convocation; and thus a preparatory subscription to articles or canons, being a considerable advance towards a final agreement, might be afterwards lodged in the hand above-mentioned. Thus, for instance, when these "Articles" of 1562 were subscribed by both houses of convocation in the year 1604, the book thus subscribed was ordered to be put into the custody of the bishop of London, then president; and thus, in the very next paper to these manuscripts of archbishop Parker, there is a resembling preparatory subscription of the canons of the convocation held in the year 1571. But, as to finished records, they are no private property: they are the right and interest of the community. And thus, as the originals of acts of parliament are lodged either in the Tower or at the Rolls, so convocation records are always kept in a public office.

ELIZABETH.

Extracts of the Journal of the Upper House of Convocation.

C. C. C. Vol. Synodalia.

And thus much may suffice to disprove the authority of these manuscripts taken together. From hence I shall proceed briefly to the proofs which disable them singly considered. And, first, with reference to the manuscripts signed by the convocation held in the year 1562.

A farther disproof of them singly considered.

And here it may be observed, first, that the argument advanced to prove it an original record proves the contrary: for, as the author of "Priestcraft," &c., observes, from Mr. Strype, this manuscript is only "a fair draft of king Edward VI.'s articles, accurately written out for the serious consideration of the archbishop; that there were strokes drawn in many places by a red-lead pen, which was the archbishop's customary way of making remarks in reading a book; that these strokes were sometimes drawn through single words, and sometimes through whole lines; that some of these articles are wholly superseded by the archbishop's *minium*¹, and divers of them shortened, dashing that through which he was minded to have omitted." And of this he gives several instances; and, in some places, takes notice of something interlined in the archbishop's own hand; and, which is very remarkable, in the Sixteenth Article, where the title was "De Peccato in Spiritum Sanctum," the three last words are dashed out, and, over them, "after Baptism" is interlined in the archbishop's hand. Now, to make an English correction in a Latin draft is a very ill sign of a finished record. Are

The dashes disprove the MSS. subscribed A. D. 1562. Priestcraft, &c.

¹ Minium—red lead.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

not these strokes and interlineations, this mixture of different languages, indisputable proofs of a foul draft? Is an instrument thus maimed and undressed proper to stand upon record? —to stand upon record, I say, as the sense of a convocation in matters of the last importance? Is it imaginable the convocation should make their corrections upon a fair draft, and pass the Articles upon a foul one? Or, were they ever actually passed upon these corrections? What copy of these Articles is there, either manuscript or printed, in which the English and Latin “De Peccato after Baptism” stand jumbled together?

*This MS.
wants the
subscriptions
of two
bishops.*

Secondly. Notwithstanding the number of subscriptions of both houses is urged to support the manuscript, yet it is plain the list is imperfect: for the names of the bishops of Rochester and Gloucester are wanting. And yet, it is evident, from the journals of the convocation, that both these bishops subscribed the Articles. Now, since these bishops’ names are not to be found in the Benet College manuscripts, nothing can be a plainer disproof of that paper’s being no authentic record.

Extracts of
the Journal
of Convoca-
tion,
fol. 114.
Secs. 8.

And having mentioned the journal of convocation, I shall transcribe the words of the “Extract,” where the passing the contested clause is mentioned at length. “Friday, January 29th, at eight in the morning, the archbishop and bishops being met in the chapter-house of St. Paul’s: “post tractatum aliquem inter eos habitum, tandem super quibusdam articulis orthodoxæ fidei inter episcopos quorum nomina iis subscribuntur unanimiter convenit; quorum quidem articulorum tenor sequitur, et sunt tales.”

A D. 1562.

*The contested
clause in the
extract of
the journal
of the upper
house.*

489.

“Articuli quibus in synodo Londinensi anno Domini juxta ecclesiæ Anglicanæ computationem 1562, ad tollendam opinionum dissentionem, et firmandum in vera religione consensum inter archiepiscopos episcoposque utriusque provinciae, nec non etiam universum clerum, convenit.”

And here the beginning of the first article is just mentioned thus in the extract: “Unus est verus et vivus Deus, etc. ut in Syntagmate Confessionum.”

The 20th article, with the title and contested clause at length, stands thus: “De ecclesiæ autoritate. Habet ecclesia ritus statuendi jus, et in fidei controversiis auctoritatem, quamvis ecclesiæ non licet quicquam instituere quod verbo Dei adversatur.”

After which the next paragraph informs us these articles

were passed and subscribed, not only by the bishops of both provinces, but by the whole representing clergy. The words ELIZABETH. run thus :—

“Hos articulos Fidei Christianæ archiepiscopi et episcopi utriusque provinciae regni Angliæ in sacra synodo provinciali legitime congregati, unanimi assensu receperunt et profitentur, et ut veros et orthodoxos manuum suarum subscriptionibus approbant, Jan. 29, anno 1562; clerusque universus eodem etiam unanimiter et recepit et professus est, ut ex manuum suarum subscriptionibus patet, quas obtulit et deposuit apud eundem reverendissimum quinto die Februarii prox. sequent.”

Extract of
the Journal
of Convoca-
tion.
Ibid.

Thirdly, As the learned vindicator observes, the strokes and alterations made by archbishop Parker in the Benet College manuscripts above mentioned, must be either prior or posterior to the subscription. If these animadversions passed upon them before the signing, then the subscription cannot belong to the Thirty-nine Articles now in force. No; all these hands of the members of both houses must upon this supposition be given to a different set of forty-two articles; for to this number the manuscripts dashed with the archbishop's red-lead pencil reaches; and if so, they are nothing to the point; neither is any member of the Church of England concerned in them.

But if these dashes and alterations were prior to the subscription, and made for finishing strokes, and the last regulation; if this was the case, there must have been some attested memorandum of the time when such alterations were made; this was necessary and a customary practice. For without this it would be impossible to discover whether such alterations were prior or posterior to the subscription. And besides, such a memorandum was particularly necessary in the present case, because the strokes of red-lead are finely drawn, and not full enough to deface the original. And therefore, without such a memorandum it might be a question whether some of the words were dashed for deletion, or marked for greater stress and consideration. Now this undistinguishing management, this omission of so necessary a memorandum to make the instrument intelligible, and inform the reader whether the subscription was made to our Thirty-nine Articles, or to a different set consisting of forty-two; this grand defect, I say, is a plain proof that this manuscript of 1562 cannot be an original record of the Thirty-nine Articles now received.

The omission
of a memo-
randum de-
stroys the
credit of this
MS.

Vindication
of the
Church, &c.
p. 86, 87.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

*Another
argument
against the
credit of this
MS.*

Fourthly, The manuscript itself, by the form just before the subscription, is sufficient to disprove its being the authentic original. At the end of the articles, the words written by archbishop Parker's direction are these, "Hos articulos Fidei Christianæ continentes in universum novendecim paginas in autographo quod asservatur apud reverendissimum in Christo patrem Dom. Mathæum Cantuar. Archiepiscopum totius Angliæ primatem et metropolitanum: et in prima pagina quatuor articulos, et lineas triginta quatuor," &c. (Naming also how many articles and lines are contained in all the following pages :) "Nos archiepiscopi et episcopi utriusque provinciæ regni Angliæ in sacra synodo provinciali legitime congregati, recipimus et profitemur, et ut veros atque orthodoxos manuum nostrarum subscriptionibus approbamus, vicesimo nono die mensis Januarii, anno Dom. secundum computationem Anglicanæ ecclesiæ, millesimo quingentesimo, sexagesimo secundo, et illustrissimæ princip. Elizabethæ, D. G. Angliæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ, reginæ, Fidei defens., etc. Dominiæ nostræ Clementissimæ anno quinto."

Strype's
Annal,
p. 289.
*The MS.
refers to
itself, which
is an argu-
ment of its
not being an
original.*

After these remarks upon the manuscript, the list of the subscription follows. These directions at the end of the manuscript refer to an autographum; from whence it may be reasonably inferred this manuscript cannot be the original, unless we can suppose it should refer to itself, which is very unusual. And if this had been the case, why was not the language more clear and decisive? Why was it not said, "In hoc autographo," as well as "hos articulos?" Why was not "asservabitur," or "asservandum est," made use of, instead of "asservatur apud reverendissimum," &c.? Farther, what occasion was there of mentioning either the autographum, or where it was kept, since without the sight of the manuscript the directions could signify nothing. It is granted, the postscript of the first Latin edition, printed by Wolfe in the year 1563, is couched in the same terms. Now this postscript is, without question, a true certificate of the register, transcribed in all probability from the record itself; but then, if that record was the subscribed original, these words, "in autographo quod asservatur," though necessary in the certificate to direct where to find the autographum, yet such a direction was of no service in the autographum, and therefore may be supposed not to have been inserted.

Vindication,
p. 89.

To proceed: the learned vindicator argues against the authority of the other Benet College manuscript, subscribed ELIZABETH.
Ann. 1571.

First, From the incompleteness of the list. This manuscript is so far from being an authentic record, that it falls short of the preparatory advances of that above mentioned. For though it was designed, as appears by the form, to be subscribed by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, yet, as it happened, there are no more hands to it than that of the archbishop of Canterbury, and ten of his suffragans. This manuscript, therefore, receiving a check in the progress, and failing in the execution, can pass for no more than an imperfect memoir.

The other MS. disproved first from the imperfect list.

Bishop Burnet's Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles, p. 15.

Secondly, As this subscription is defective with respect to the list, it is likewise no less with regard to the articles: for here the number falls short. The form of the subscription reckons them no more than thirty-eight articles; though through all the impressions from that year downwards, they have always reached to thirty-nine. And here the earliest editions of the articles, with numbers annexed, are those of this year 1571: all which editions were printed after the articles had been subscribed by this convocation, as appears from the express mention of that subscription in the ratification. Is it therefore at all likely, that the first impression after this subscription should differ so remarkably from the original? Is it likely they should be published with the additional division, if the record had made no such distinction? Or can we imagine they would have outstretched the number fixed by the convocation, and printed them thirty-nine, if they had found no more than thirty-eight in the original? From hence it appears this manuscript is a paper of no authority, and has not so much as the face of an authentic record.

Secondly, from the number of the articles. Ibid.

490.

To go on, in the year 1563, the articles were printed by Renault Wolfe in Latin: this, in all likelihood was the first impression and published soon after the articles were agreed in the convocation; for the printers are particularly early in their dates, and reckon the year from Michaelmas-term. Now, according to this computation, the articles were both passed and printed in the year 1563. There are three copies of this Latin impression still remaining in our universities; one in Benet college, Cambridge, and two in the Bodleian library

Several copies still remaining of the articles, with the contested clause, printed in the year 1563. Vindication, &c. p. 152.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

This impression of Wolfe was, as the author of "Priestcraft" observes, cited by archbishop Laud in the Star-chamber, and has the controverted clause of the 20th article in it. One of these printed copies in the Bodleian library has a parchment roll tacked to it, subscribed by the lower house of convocation. This subscription the author of "Priestcraft" endeavours to prove a forgery, because the list of the subscribers are not the same with those in Mr. Strype's annals.

Id. p. 44, 45.

But this objection has no weight; for what wonder is it if the names and titles are not the same, since the list belongs to two distinct convocations? to two convocations which sat at nine years distance from each other. That in Mr. Strype's annals belongs to the convocation of 1562: but the other with a roll tacked, is a list of the convocation which sat in the year 1571. Nowel was prolocutor in the first, and Ailmer in the latter.

*The credit of
the copy in
the Bodleian
library vin-
dicated.*

This original subscription tacked to the printed articles, was preserved by the famous Selden, a man whom the reader has no reason to suspect of partiality to the Church. This learned antiquary when the question was put whether the contested clause was fraudulently thrown into the 20th article, answers categorically, "that it is most certain they (that is, those words disputed) were in the book of articles that was confirmed, though in some editions they have been left out. That this subscription roll was authentic, and tacked to the book confirmed by the convocation of 1571, Selden was well assured, by finding the copy carefully revised, and all the errors of the press corrected by a hand of that age, which nice correction was no more than necessary to prepare it for the subscription of a synod. Selden likewise had farther evidence of the genuineness of this roll, by comparing the hands of this list with those members of the same name who sat in the convocation of 1562. This was no difficult task to so great an antiquary, considering many of the members of both these convocations were men of character and public business: and thus their hands standing upon record on the registers of colleges or chapters, the comparing them with the label above mentioned was very practicable. And as the undertaking was feasible we have no reason to question Selden's inclination and industry: Selden, I say, to whom a proof of forgery in this matter would have been a very acceptable discovery. But the case

Selden's
Table Talk,
p. 54.
Vindication,
&c. p. 179.

*This copy
attested by
Selden.*

being so clear, this learned adversary makes no scruple to vouch the copy in the most determining language. And for the reader's farther satisfaction, the learned vindicator has carried his enquiry to the utmost nicety, procured the hands compared, and received satisfaction of their being exactly the same.

ELIZA-
BETH.

Id. p. 180.

Farther, we may imagine a person of Selden's curiosity and temper, would fly the game home, bring the point to the strictest test, and consult the records themselves. That this was matter of fact, we are assured by an author the "Priestcraft" writer has no reason to question. This gentleman affirms, that during the long parliament and sitting of the assembly at Westminster, Mr. Selden was employed to search the archbishop's office. But here was no serviceable matter for the faction; no report made upon enquiry, to prove foul play upon the archbishop. Neither was any thing of this kind attempted in a long answer to Laud's speech, published a year after it was spoke in the star-chamber: to which may be added archbishop Williams' short notes upon the margin of a print of this speech. In these remarks, where, though warmth of temper and misunderstanding between this prelate and Laud, makes him exceed in his censure, yet he advances nothing to blast Laud's credit, with respect to the contested clause.

Hamilton,
Some Ne-
cessity of
Reforma-
tion, p. 14.
Vindication,
&c. p. 185.

Id. p. 57 et
185.

Id. p. 186.

As to Selden's search, it was probably made at the same time that a committee of the house of Commons sent to the archbishop, then in the Tower, to give them an account under his hand what originals of the articles were in his custody. The archbishop believed the design of this message was to make a search about the controverted clause of the twentieth article. Upon this, he thought it proper to repeat something of what he had delivered in the star-chamber, and declares expressly, that the contested passage (though left out in divers printed copies, yet) in the original articles of 1562, the words are plain, and manifest, without any interlining at all. And, which is still more remarkable, this pretended forgery was never objected against the archbishop at his trial. This we may be assured was not overlooked out of tenderness: this, could it have been made good, would have struck the most indelible blemish upon his memory: and would have been one of the worst complexioned articles of the impeachment: to which may be added, neither did the assembly attempt to purge the

History of
Archbishop
Laud's
Troubles,
p. 208, 209.
Archbishop
Laud not
charged with
any forgery
of this kind
at his trial.

PARKER, article, or venture upon a censure of the archbishop for conveying in the spurious clause.

Abp. Cant.
Heylin's
History of
Presbytery,
p. 248.
Sir Simon
D'Ewes's
Journal,
p. 132, 133.

Besides Wolfe's Latin edition of the year 1562, there is an English impression of the same year, with the contested clause in it. This is expressly affirmed by the learned Heylin, and may likewise be fairly collected from sir Simon D'Ewes's Journal of parliament.

And lastly, the controverted clause is to be seen in Day's Latin edition, anno 1571, and in three English editions of Jugg and Caw-wood printed the same year.

And to conclude this matter, if we had no other evidence, the unreasonableness of this charge might be collected from the silence of those times when the articles were first published. A forgery of this kind lay open to detection, and could never have been practised without being observed. In case the imputation could have been proved, what clamours would there have been when Wolfe's edition appeared? What entertainment would such gross insincerity have been to Papists and Precisians? And what advantage would they have made of such a discovery? What a senseless piece of confidence would it have been to have ventured on so clumsy a falsification, when the cheat lay exposed to view, when the articles were lately passed, and the convocation probably still sitting? For this assembly did not rise until the 14th of April, 1563, before which time the articles were printed and dispersed. Had not the honour and authority of the Church been considerably engaged, I should have waved the report of this controversy: and now having observed enough to disprove the calumny, I shall dismiss the subject, If the reader is desirous to see the author of "Priestcraft" farther detected and exposed, he may consult the learned vindicator of the Church of England, &c.¹

491.

Extract of
the Journal
of the Upper
House of
Convoca-
tion, fol. 126.

*Some heads
of projected
discipline.*

There was a draught of discipline drawn for the view of this convocation. Had it passed, it was to be offered to the queen and parliament for the civil sanction. The first paper having William Exon on the top, to show it was either penned or approved by the bishop of Exeter, is something of an argument it was not the same scheme of discipline which the lower house delivered to the bishops.

Id. fol. 123.

I shall mention some of the more remarkable heads of this

¹ The critical acumen and exact logic of Collier's defence of the integrity of the thirty-nine articles have never been surpassed by any controversial writer.

discipline. It is directed that the jurisdiction of bishops may be farther extended; that they may be authorized to reform all disorders in peculiars, and places exempt: that the privileges of these latter were no better than sanctuaries for licence and schism.

ELIZABETH.

That witchcraft may be capitally punished.

That if any one gains his preferment by simony, he may be disabled from holding any benefice during life: and that the patron may lose the presentation of that turn, and the next avoidance.

The second paper.

In another paper for this purpose, drawn by the archbishop's secretary, with some corrections and additions in Parker's and Grindal's hand, there are some things worth observing.

It is moved, that as there is one grammar appointed for all schools, so there may be one catechism authorized for the same public use, and for universities and private families. The paper takes notice this catechism was almost finished by Nowel, dean of St. Paul's; but before it was thus recommended to the kingdom, it was to pass in convocation.

This paper, which was to be presented to the queen, and most probably to the parliament, suggests the making sharper laws against fornication, adultery, and incest, crimes committed with great frequency and boldness.

That the ordinaries may not be checked in their correction of such scandalous practice by prohibitions from the temporal courts.

That in impropriated parishes, the impropriators may be obliged to augment the livings to a competent subsistence: that the people may not be furnished with an unqualified pastor; nor deprived of the benefits of Common Prayer and sacraments. That this calamity was very common in a great many towns, where the patrimony of the Church was alienated and carried off by impropriations.

That a farther provision may be made for the recovery of tithes.

That some regulation may be settled to prevent dispensations for pluralities, non-residence, and marrying without banns. There are several things in both these papers which I have left unmentioned.

What resemblance there was between this draught and that of the lower house, laid before the bishops, is uncertain. However, this latter, as the prolocutor reports, was passed by the lower house: upon which the archbishop and his suffragans

Id. fol. 123.
Acta in Superiori Domini Convocat. Synodus Anglicana Append. p. 213, 214.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

returned the book with their consent for the inserting some additions desired by the prolocutor. These additions were inserted and brought up to the bishops. But here, for what reason is not mentioned, the matter slept, and nothing was done.

*Nowel's
Latin Cate-
chism passed
in Convoca-
tion.*

*The acts of
upper house,
printed in
the 'Synodus
Anglicana,'
take notice
only of its
being passed
in the lower
house.*

*Extract of
the Journal
of the Upper
House of
Convoca-
tion, p. 123.
Vide Synod.
Anglic. Ap-
pend. p. 215.*

The Latin catechism, drawn up for the use of schools, was passed in this convocation. Nowel, dean of St. Paul's, at the instance of secretary Cecil, was the author of this performance. He formed it pretty much upon the model of the catechism published in the latter end of the reign of king Edward VI. Being finished, and dedicated to Cecil, the convocation perused it before it was printed; and having made some corrections, put their own authority upon it, and recommended it to public use. Nowel having received it blotted and interlined, transcribed the alterations, and sent the corrected copy to Cecil, not as his own private composition, but as the work of the convocation. He desired him to give his opinion at his leisure, whether the book might not deserve being made public with the queen's authority prefixed. He conceived some short comprehensive treatise of religion with a public character, was no more than necessary: and that the learned beyond sea thought the English defective for want of something of this kind. This catechism lay unpublished until the year 1570, when, at the instance of the two archbishops, it was printed with a dedication to them and their suffragans. It was afterwards, by the dean's order, translated into English and Greek. Though for the main, it was much the same with that set forth in the reign of king Edward VI.; yet, as was observed, there were several material alterations. To mention one: in the exposition upon the petition in the Lord's Prayer, "thy kingdom come," king Edward's catechism asserts our Saviour's reign upon earth after the destruction of Antichrist, and declares in favour of the millenary doctrine: and with this testimony Mede fortifies his opinion in one of his letters to Twiss. And now, excepting the granting a subsidy, all that was done by this synod has been related.

*Hooper's
Apology
printed.*

This year an apology, written by Hooper, late bishop of Gloucester, was published. The design of it is to wipe off some aspersions of disloyalty; and to purge himself from the imputation of encouraging some people, who had used unchristian expressions in their prayers against queen Mary. "The

bishop denies his countenancing any such intemperate devotions : and for a farther defence, declares he had always been true to the constitution. That when queen Mary's interest was at the lowest ebb, when the face of the government was against her, and her rival Jane proclaimed queen ; when the tide ran thus strong against her highness, he rode from place to place to stop the revolt, and recover the people to their duty : and at this unpromising juncture he sent horses and men into her service. And since he was with her in times of danger and dark prospect, when he had liberty of motion, and invitation enough to have gone over to the other side ; since he had given such proofs of firmness to her highness when her success was almost despaired of, and she had no power to punish or reward ; what likelihood is there he should declare against her, when her majesty had surmounted the hazard of the contest, was in full possession of the crown, and himself at the same time a prisoner at her mercy¹ ?”

ELIZABETH.

492.

This spring there was a peace concluded between the Hugonots and the crown of France : and here these French Protestants forgot to comprehend their patroness, queen Elizabeth, and left her to shift for herself.

To say something of Scotland : about this time John Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, was committed to the castle of Edinburgh, for saying and hearing mass. The abbot of Cosragnel and the prior of Withern had the same usage : and several priests and monks were ruggedly treated upon this account. These rigours against the Papists gave something of an expectation of the queen's coming over to the Reformation. These hopes were farther confirmed by her passing several acts in favour of the Protestant Church in her parliament held this summer. This parliament there was an act of oblivion passed, to indemnify the subjects from all prosecutions, either by the crown or bishops, for any thing done from the sixth of March in the year 1558, to the first of September 1561. But this act of indemnity, how gracious soever, did not extend to the ratification of the treaty at Leith. This accommodation being made without the privity and consent of the crown, the queen would never acknowledge.

The archbishop of St. Andrew's committed for hearing mass. June, 1562.

Q. Mary Parl. 9. cap. 67.

Spotswood. p. 188.

When the queen was upon her progress, there happened an

¹ Had Hooper's apology been published during his life, it might have saved him from martyrdom ; unhappily, it appeared eight years too late. But better late than never.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

*Holyrood-
house in-
sulted.*
A.D. 1563.

*Knox's bold
answer at
the council-
board.*

Idem.

unfortunate disturbance at Edinburgh. Some of her majesty's family, who stayed behind at Holyrood-house, had the assistance of a Roman Catholic priest, who officiated in the chapel. Several of the burghers of Edinburgh frequenting the service, the preachers were much disconcerted, and complained of the liberty. The Protestant townsmen thus harangued to a ferment, went in a body to Holyrood-house, and being denied entrance forced the gates. Some of the people at mass were seized and dragged to prison; the rest, with the priest, making their escape the back way. When the queen received advice her palace was thus insulted, her family hurried to gaol, and that the mob had seized her authority, and turned it against her; when the queen received advice of this misbehaviour, she was very angry, as may be easily imagined; she declared herself resolved never to come to Edinburgh till some exemplary justice was done upon this outrageous riot. However, at the instance of the earls of Murray and Glencairn, she dropped the resentment; in short, the matter was in a manner passed over, and none but John Knox called to an account. This preacher was summoned before the council, charged with raising the sedition, and drawing the people together by sending out his circular letters. To this his answer was, "that he never preached rebellion, nor affected stirring up tumults: on the contrary, he taught all the people to obey their magistrates and princes in God." By this term, "in God," he had an evasion for limiting the subject's obedience at pleasure: by this distinction, whenever the prince failed in his duty, and bore hard upon religion, Knox had a warrant to preach resistance: and thus, notwithstanding the bar of the constitution, the subjects might fight the government without rebellion. To go on with Knox's defence, in his own language: "As to the convocation of the subjects," he said, "he had received a command from the Church to advertise his brethren when he saw a necessity of their meeting, especially if he saw religion to be in peril; and had often craved to be exonerated of that burthen, but was still refused." Then addressing the queen with a surprising assurance, "He charged her in the name of Almighty God, and as she desired to escape his heavy wrath and indignation, to forsake that idolatrous religion which she professed, and by her power maintained against the statutes of the realm." To what length he would have gone on in this extraordinary manner is

uncertain, for he was checked in his application, and ordered by the earl of Morton, lord chancellor, to hold his peace, and be gone. This way of haranguing the mob to suppress mis-persuasion, to outrage the government, and do justice without authority, was not the method of the primitive Christians. Tertullian acquaints us, that the Christians were very numerous in his time: that the court and camp, the towns and country, were filled with them: but, notwithstanding this advantage of strength, it was not their way to raise their *posse*, to attack the temples, and storm their emperor's religion. And, if they did not think it lawful to manage in this manner against a Pagan belief, we may be well assured they would never have allowed the bringing force and tumults upon Christian princes.

ELIZABETH.

Apologet.

And, having mentioned the parliament held at Edinburgh this summer, I shall give the reader another of their acts against adultery. By this statute, to give the words, "All notour and manifest committers of adulterie in onie time to cum, after the dait hereof, sall be punished with all rigour unto the death, alseweil the woman as the man, doer and committer of the samin, after that dew monition be maid to abstain fro the said manifest and notour crime, and for uther adulterie, that the acts and laws maid theirupon or before, be put to execution with all rigour."

Q. Mary,
Parl. 9.
cap. 74.
*Adultery
death by act
of parlia-
ment.*

To return to England. This summer queen Elizabeth made a progress through Cambridge. She was honourably received by the university; she was lodged in King's college, and, during her stay, entertained herself at the philosophy, physick, and divinity acts. She had likewise a diversion of plays for the evening. At the philosophy act, Cartwright and Preston were two of the opponents: the first of Trinity, and the other of King's college. Preston was a graceful person, spoke handsomely, and managed with address: these advantages gave him the queen's favour, and a sensible preference to the other. Cartwright, who was not so well polished, coming off with a comparative abatement, is said to have been very uneasy: and standing well in his own opinion, projected the retrieving his credit. For this purpose he travelled to Geneva, informed himself thoroughly in the doctrine and discipline of that Church, and at his return made it his business to establish that model in England, was the champion of the cause, and appeared at the head of the dissenting party. But whether the

Queen Elizabeth entertained at Cambridge.

This belong to the year 1564.

PARKER, mortification he met with at Cambridge was the occasion of his disaffection to the Church of England, is more than I shall affirm.
Abp. Cant.

The oath of supremacy offered Bonner by Horne, bishop of Winchester.

The bishops, as hath been observed, being empowered by act of parliament to tender the oath of supremacy, Horn, bishop of Winchester, put it to Bonner, late bishop of London, who was now prisoner in the Marshalsea in Horne's diocese. Bonner refused the oath, which being returned into the king's bench, he was indicted for his recusancy. Bonner at his appearing confessed the fact, and traversed the indictment, and at his motion for counsel, the famous Ployden, and Wray, afterwards chief justice, were assigned him. It was pleaded,

493.

Bonner traverses the indictment for refusing the oath.

First. That Bonner was indicted with the addition of doctor of law, and one in holy orders; but that his being either clerk or bishop were omitted. For this omission the certificate was challenged, but the court would not allow it.

1563.

Secondly. It was argued that the certificate was thus entered upon record; that it was brought into the court "*tali die et ann. per A. B. cancellarium dicti episcopi Winton, et non dicit per mandatum episcopi.*" The want of which clause ("*per mandatum episcopi*") was excepted against by Bonner's counsel; but the exception would not pass, because the record of it by the court is not necessary.

But the main stress of the matter which was debated in the chief justice's chamber by all the judges, was this: Whether Bonner could give in evidence, upon the issue of his not being guilty, that Horne was not bishop at the time when he offered the oath? Upon this question the judges unanimously resolved, that upon supposition of the truth of the fact, Bonner might give it in evidence upon that issue; and whether the fact was so or not, was to be tried by the jury; that is, the jury was to try whether Horne was a bishop or not when he tendered the oath to Bonner. This was a nice point; and the reader will be apt to imagine the jury, and bench too, ought to have been well furnished with ecclesiastical learning to pronounce upon the case.

Dyer's Reports, fol. 234.

Before the cause came on, Bonner drew up a plea against Horne's character, in his own hand. I shall mention some of the heads of his exceptions.

His plea.

He pretends Mr. Robert Horne, as he styles him, was no better than an intruder into the see of Winchester; that he

was neither elected nor consecrated pursuant to the canons of the Catholic Church, nor the laws and statutes of this realm. Against the legality of his consecration, he cites 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 20; by which statute, as Bonner understands it, he that is to be consecrated must have one archbishop and two bishops, or else four bishops, to perform the ceremony; which circumstance was wanting at Horne's consecration. ELIZABETH.

He likewise urged, that the form for consecrating archbishops and bishops, confirmed in parliament in the reign of king Edward, was repealed in the first year of queen Mary, and remained in that condition at Horne's pretended consecration.

Farther, he sets forth that the statute 5 Eliz. provides that the oath shall be offered in a public place, where there shall be a convenient assembly to attest its being tendered; but in the indictment there is no mention made of the oath being offered before any assembly.

The defendant complains that the said Horne made a false certificate into the Queen's Bench; in which certificate it is suggested Bonner peremptorily and obstinately refused to take the said oath required by the statutes of "anno primo et anno quinto Eliz.;" whereas Bonner gave no such positive refusal, but only that he was not bound to swear the said oath for reasonable causes then expressed.

Bonner objects farther,—which is the last exception I shall mention against taking this oath,—that the defendant cannot swear with the three necessary requisites of truth, judgment, and justice. First: In case he should take the oath of supremacy, it would be swearing that which he believes false, and by consequence falling foul upon the first qualification of truth. And secondly: It cannot be reconciled to the next circumstance of judgment or discretion. And in the third place: It would force him to fail in the point of justice; because by this virtue we are bound to give God and every one else their due.

Some part of this argument might possibly have embarrassed Horne, and puzzled the cause, had not the suit been kept depending till the next parliament. Then an act passed which made a kind of compromise, put the legality of the plaintiff's title more out of question, and screened the defendant from prosecution.

It was this year that archbishop Parker recovered Cranmer's

Foxii MSS.
Styrie An-
nal. p. 340.

Cranmer's
MSS. reco-
vered.

PARKER, (his predecessor's) manuscripts. They were in the hands of Dr. Nevinson, prebendary of Canterbury. Nevinson denying their being in his custody, the archbishop procured a letter from the privy-council to search Nevinson's study, where they were found. They are two volumes in folio, collected from the Scriptures, Fathers, councils, and schoolmen, and digested into common places. The design of them was to justify the English Reformation, and show how far the modern Church of Rome had deserted the primitive doctrine, and gone off from the plan of antiquity. These volumes were transcribed by Parker, and they are now lodged in the library of the lord bishop of London.

Life of
Archbishop
Parker,
p. 138.
*A contest
about the
habit of the
clergy.*

A.D. 1564.

The next year is remarkable for a contest about the ecclesiastical habit. The square cap, the surplice, and the tippet, would by no means pass with some of the late exiles. They made it their business to cry down these customary decencies, and proselyte the people to their singularities. These ill-supported scruples, this misapplication of zeal, made the Church look strangely ununiform and particoloured. How much the clergy were divided in this point, may be collected from a remonstrating paper sent up to secretary Cecil. The particulars are these:—

“Service and Prayer.

*Different
customs in
officiating.*

“Some say the service and prayers in the chancel; others in the body of the church. Some officiate in a seat; some in the pulpit, with their faces to the people. Some keep close to the rubric; others entertain the people with singing psalms between the service. Some read with a surplice, and others without it.

“Table.

“In some places the communion-table stands in the body of the church; in some places it stands altar-wise, at a little distance from the wall; and in others, in the middle of the chancel.

“Administration of the Communion.

“Some administer with a surplice, and others with none; some with a communion cup, and others with a common one.

*“Receiving.”*ELIZA-
BETH.

“Some receive kneeling, some standing, and others sitting.

“Baptizing.”

“Some baptize in a fount, and others in a basin; some sign with a cross, and others omit it; some administer this sacrament in a surplice, and others appear without it.

494.

“Apparel.”

“Some of the clergy wear square caps, some round ones, and some hats: some appear in the habit of scholars, and others without this distinction.” Thus far this paper.

MSS. Cecil-
ian—Life of
Archbishop
Parker.
Id. p. 151,
153.

These disputes about the habit and usages of the Church were managed with heat and indecency by some of the Dissenters. They were not contented with bare non-conformity: some of them took the liberty to expose the ceremonies, and ran out into raillery and satire. This variety of judgment and practice, together with the indiscretions of some zealots, broke the people into parties, created misunderstandings, and weakened the authority of the government both in Church and State.

To put a stop to these disorders, the queen wrote to the archbishop, requiring him and the other bishops in the ecclesiastical commission, together with all other ordinaries, heads of colleges, and persons of jurisdiction in collegiate churches, to assert the constitution of the Church, and manage their authority with more vigilance and vigour. She complains of their remissness, and commands them to press conformity, and execute the laws without any unseasonable connivance: that such variety of practice, such disagreement in religion, such disregard of the establishment, was productive of very ill consequences, disturbed the public harmony, and disserved the government. By a progress in these differences and disputes charity must be destroyed, the blessings of peace and union lost, and the nation made unworthy the Divine protection. In short, she requires the archbishop and the rest to exert themselves in their posts, to make use of their discipline, and recover the people from their mistakes: that she was resolved to bring her subjects to conformity, not to indulge peevishness

The queen
writes to
archbishop
Parker to
press con-
formity.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

and clamour, nor suffer any man's obstinacy to serve for his protection : and that in case the bishops should manage languidly, and fail of success, she threatened to reduce the Dissenters by sharper methods.

MSS. Cecil-
ian—Life of
Archbishop
Parker, Ap-
pendix.
Pilkington,
bishop of
Durham,
writes to the
earl of Lei-
cester in
favour of the
Dissenters,
with respect
to the habit.

The Dissenters being apprehensive of rigour, applied to their patrons to soften the queen. By the way, they had several great men who favoured their interests both in Church and State. Amongst the ecclesiastics, Pilkington, bishop of Durham, wrote to the earl of Leicester, another of their friends, in their behalf. This prelate was one of the English refugees, and had brought some Calvinistical fancies home with him. He stuck in the scruples of the habit, disliked the cap and surplice, though not to that degree as to refuse the wearing them. However, he was by no means for forcing compliance upon other people. "In his letter to the earl of Leicester, he desires that nobleman to consider that in all reformed countries the belief and habit of the Roman Church are dismissed together. He wonders, therefore, the English, who pretend to be the best part of the Reformation, should be fond of the pope's equipage, and keep it as a relic : that there are a great many ministers in all parts of the kingdom, who will choose rather to resign their livings and their function, than appear in the figure of popish priests, or make use of their ceremonies : that by straining the point of conformity, a great many worthy men would be lost for trifles, and many parishes disfurnished of a preacher : that the godly in other countries would break off their correspondence, and be strangely shocked with these rigours. Shall we," continues the bishop, "be smitten with those things which are accounted scandalous by the rest of the reformed ? God forbid. St. Paul commands women to dress themselves like persons who profess godliness. This rule holds stronger in men, and especially in preachers : for if Popery is a bad religion, how can we reconcile the habit of that Church to the character of saints, and a holy profession ? The apostle commands us to 'abstain from all appearance of evil : ' but if Popery is evil, and we affect the figure and ornaments of it, which way can we be said to stand off from the appearance of what is ill ? And as people of condition are distinguished in their clothes from the vulgar ; so it is necessary we should keep this distance from an opposite communion, and neither believe Popery, nor wear it. That in this case we are not to

rack our inventions to apply to nice distinctions, and carry our liberty to the utmost stretch: we are rather to consider what are the most edifying expedients; what is most likely to maintain charity, and advance the purity of religion: that our borrowing of the adversaries, and standing up so stiffly for their customs, gave them too much pleasure, and was matter of sport and triumph: that Sisinius, a heretic Novatian bishop, was the first precedent for white rochets; and that other ceremonies were handed down from as uncreditable an original." This bishop was sensible his practice lay somewhat unguarded: that it might be objected the wearing these disputed habits was either lawful or not? If they were not, why did Pilkington comply, and show so dangerous an example? If they were lawful, why did he solicit the earl of Leicester against them? What made him encourage the Dissenters in their unreasonable scruples? Why did he endeavour to disable the Rubrick, and plead against the public settlement. To this dilemma his answer, like the rest of his letter, is not very convincing. He replies, "That though some things may be complied with for a time for the sake of Christian liberty; though this may be done for a time to open people's understandings, to disentangle their ignorance, and gain them to a farther improvement; yet, when things that are indifferent in themselves are bound upon practice, and turned to necessity, then the matter has a new face; the quality of the action is changed, and the liberty is lost. And thus that which had a temporary permission for recovering the weak, has now a contrary effect, and confirms the perverse in their obstinacy." To make this bear in the application, he observes, "St. Paul, though he sometimes countenanced circumcision; yet, when it was urged as a necessary qualification, he refused to give way to it."

This is the substance of the bishop's letter. By this discourse his genius does not seem to lie towards controversy; his inclination appears more than his argument, and his compassion is much stronger than his logic. Whittingham, dean of Durham, wrote to the earl of Leicester upon this subject. He goes partly upon the same topics, but then he argues from more authorities, works the point with more heat, and makes the colours more glowing. This dean, by his representation, seems not to have complied himself in this circumstance. "He pretends the only thing which makes the wearing the

ELIZA-
BETH.

Life of
Archbishop
Parker,
Append.
num. 25.

Whittingham, dean of Durham, writes to this earl upon the same subject.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.
495.

habit look warrantable, is the opinion of its indifferency. But before we can argue from this ground, it must be proved the thing tends to the glory of God, the edification of his Church, the maintenance of Christian liberty, and agrees with what is delivered in Holy Writ. But can God's glory be promoted by the equipage of idolatrous worship? What agreement is there between superstitious invention, and the inspired writings? What edification can there be where the 'Spirit of God is grieved,' Christ's 'little ones offended,' the faith of the weak brethren shaken, and the Papists confirmed in their errors? Can this be called Christian liberty, which 'lays a yoke on the neck of the disciples,' clogs the conscience, menaces the preachers, lays an embargo upon the pulpit, leaves the congregation without their guides, and ties the sacraments to an idolatrous appearance?"

August.
Epist. 86.

He goes on, and cites several of the Fathers, though wide of his purpose. He observes, from St. Austin, "that fasting on the Sunday was a scandalous custom, especially since the Manichees made it a stated day of abstinence." He refers the application of this testimony to the earl's judgment. He argues from the authority of Tertullian, in his book "*De Corona Militis*," where this Father justifies the soldier who chose rather to be cashiered and venture the emperor's displeasure, than wear a garland on his head and comply with a Pagan ceremony. Thus the bishops in Spain ordered the person baptized should be but once immersed, to avoid resemblance with the heretics, who dipped thrice. From hence he infers, that to imitate the customs of an heretical or dangerous communion, is to approve their false doctrine.

Concil. 1.
Tolet.
Can. 5.

From hence he goes on to answer an objection: "that this habit had no affinity with popery; and that it was only kept on for decency, order, and public advantage." This he declaims against as a lamentable expedient. He thinks it impracticable to purge off the nature of superstition, and refine the usage by any such consideration. And here he falls into vehemence and coarse language, which I shall omit. He argues, "God Almighty would not allow the Jews to take up the customs of their heathen neighbours, but commanded them to stand off from all resemblance, and destroy the appendages of idolatry and superstition; that reasons of state and public convenience were Jeroboam's argument for his calves in Dan and Bethel;

that, if religion must give way to politic views, then images and candles, tonsures and crosses, oil and chrism, palms and beads, and all that luggage of superstition, may be revived and thrown upon us ; that what St. Austin affirmed of the Jewish ceremonies is applicable to the popish vestments ; that whoever wears them, either out of principle or prudential consideration, ‘ Antichristi mancipium est ;’ that neither Tertullian would bathe in the morning of the Saturnalia because it was a pagan usage, nor St. John stay in the same house with the heretic Cerinthus, nor the Fathers allow the Christians the diversion of the cirque and theatre ; that St. Ambrose has shown his dislike of richness of habit in a bishop ; and that pope Celestine, writing to the bishops of Gaul, puts them in mind he was informed that some of our Saviour’s priests were more concerned for their dress than their belief.”

ELIZABETH.

August.
Lib. Solil.

And then this admonition follows : “ that the clergy ought to be distinguished from the laity more by their learning than their habit, and should rather strive to mark their character by their piety than their equipage.”

He returns to the Old Testament, and urges, “ that, when Hezekiah, Josiah, and other princes of famous memory, reformed religion, they did not oblige the ministers of God to wear the habit of Baal’s priests. On the contrary, Hezekiah ordered the remains of idolatry to be thrown into the brook Kidron ; Josiah burnt all the decorations and vestments for Baal’s service ; and Jehu commanded the priests of that idol to put on their habits for execution.”

And thus, by misapplication, and not distinguishing between Heathens and Christians, he falls into very uncharitable mistakes, and makes his reasoning barbarous and sanguinary. However, the application, being well received by the earl of Leicester, was not without its effect : for now the queen seemed not unwilling to relax in the discipline of the Church, and come towards an indulgence for the Dissenters. But the bishops, receiving no countermand to their former directions, drew up several articles, entitled “ Advertisements.” They were first styled “ Ordinances, accorded by the Archbishop of Canterbury, &c., in his Province.” But the queen’s zeal growing cool, and refusing to enforce the book with the authority of the privy council,—for this reason, I say,—it is

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Archbishop
Parker,
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num. 27.

PARKER, Abp. Cant. probable the title was altered from " Ordinances " to " Advertisements."

Advertisements for conformity in habits, &c. A. D. 1564.

In these " Advertisements," amongst other things, it is enjoined, " that all archbishops and bishops should appear in the customary habit ; that all deans, archdeacons, masters of colleges, dignitaries in cathedral-churches, doctors, bachelors of divinity and law, should wear, when they went abroad, a side-gown, with sleeves, straight at the hand, without any cuffs or falling cape ; and that they should wear tippets of sarcenet, as it was lawful for them by act of parliament, 24th Hen. VIII. ; that all doctors of physic or any other faculty, having any living ecclesiastical, or any others that may dispend by the Church an hundred marks, so to be esteemed by the fruits or tenths of their promotions, and all prebendaries whose promotions are valued at twenty pounds or upwards, wear the same apparel ; that they and all ecclesiastical persons, or others having any ecclesiastical living, do wear the cap appointed by the ' Injunctions,' and not hats, excepting on journeys ; that, in their journeys, they wear cloaks with sleeves ; that all inferior ecclesiastical persons shall wear gowns and caps of the same fashion ; and that ecclesiastical persons, who give over the exercise of their function, and refuse to take the oath of obedience to the queen, shall not be allowed to distinguish themselves in the habit above mentioned, but appear like laymen."

These Advertisements were printed by Wolfe, in the year 1564. See Sparrow's Collections.

There are other regulations for the pulpit, touching the habit in which the clergy were to officiate, and how often the holy eucharist was to be administered in cathedrals and colleges. Such societies were " to receive upon the first or second Sunday of every month at least ; that, in the administration of the holy eucharist, the chief person that officiates in cathedral and collegiate churches shall wear a cope ; and that those who read the Gospel and the Epistle shall appear in the same habit ; but, at the rest of the service, read at the communion-table, only surplices are to be used ; that all communicants receive kneeling ; that, when any sick person is ready to expire, the bell should be knelled, and the curate sent for to give his assistance ; that, in Rogation-days of procession, two psalms, beginning ' Benedic anima mea,' &c., should be sung or said in English ; and that, to this service, the Litany and suffrages, together with a homily of thanksgiving, should be

added." There is another chapter relating to visitations, which I shall omit. ELIZABETH.

That these "Advertisements" might pass with a better regard, there is a preface prefixed to them. And here the queen's letter, directed to the archbishop of Canterbury and other ecclesiastical commissioners, is mentioned. And, to prevent the return of different usages, and the disorders consequent upon it, there is a protestation to be taken by all parsons, vicars, and curates, annexed. By this engagement they promise, "that they would only read what was appointed by public authority, and neither preach nor expound without the bishop's special license under his seal; that they would read the service plainly, distinctly, and audibly; that they would keep the register pursuant to her majesty's 'Injunctions;' that they would conform in their habit to the order appointed, and especially when they officiated; that they would exhort their parishioners to good correspondence, and do their utmost to put an end to the misunderstandings between them; that they would at least read one chapter of the Old and another of the New Testament every day; that they would execute their office in person, maintain uniformity, and keep close to the established rites and ceremonies of the Church; and lastly, that they would not employ themselves in any mechanic business, provided their living amounted to the annual revenue of twenty nobles." *A protestation.*

These "Advertisements" were agreed and subscribed by the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of London, Ely, Rochester, Winchester, and Lincoln, commissioners in causes ecclesiastical. Sparrow's Collections.

The queen, as was observed, refused to confirm these "Advertisements," though drawn at her direction. Her majesty's ratification would have given them a considerable strength from the statute of uniformity: by which, it is provided, "that, in case of contempt of the ceremonies or rites of the Church, by misusing the order appointed in the 'Book of Common Prayer,' the queen's majesty may, by the advice of the commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, or the metropolitan, ordain and publish such farther ceremonies and rites as may be most for the advancement of God's glory, the edifying his Church, and the due reverence of Christ's holy mysteries and sacraments." *The queen empowered by act of parliament to appoint new ceremonies.*

1 Eliz. c. 2.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

The "Advertisements" were checked at present by the interposing of the earl of Leicester, of Knolles, and some other court patrons of the Dissenters: however, afterwards they recovered their first title of ordinances, and were given in charge at a metropolitanical visitation in the year 1576.

Regist.
Grindal.
Life of
Archbishop
Parker,
p. 160.

To return; the ecclesiastical commissioners not being countenanced by the court, met with great difficulties. The Dissenters having some of the favourites in their interest, refused to pay that submission, which might have been expected: the archbishop, who was prompted to publish the "Advertisements" by secretary Cecil, complains to this minister of the discouragements the bishops lay under: and that it had been much better to have attempted nothing, than to be thus underfurnished to carry the point. That the Dissenters were rather provoked than reformed by a weak provision. That now they ran off to farther distances, and their scruples encreased upon them. However, himself, and the rest of the commissioners, were resolved to exert their authority, and do their own part. To this purpose, Thomas Sampson, dean of Christ-church, and Lawrence Humphrey, president of Magdalen college in Oxford, were summoned to appear before them. These men were exiles in the late reign, and persons of character and learning, but scrupled wearing the habit. The archbishop endeavoured to disentangle their conscience, and amongst other things, pressed them with the authorities of Bucer and Peter Martyr. But their prejudices were strong, and no arguments could reach them. They desired leave to return to Oxford, but being denied, and not meeting with all the favour they expected, they drew up a petition in Latin to the archbishop, and the rest of the commissioners. In this address they set forth the reasons of their non-compliance, and plead their cause at length. And though their topicks are much the same with those already related, yet considering the men are particularly distinguished for their abilities, and were looked on as the principals of their party, it may not be improper to give the reader their letter in the language it was penned. And to finish this subject, I shall subjoin a paper written this year, in which are six reasons alleged against wearing the sacerdotal habit. I shall mention them as they stand, together with the substance of Guest's, bishop of Rochester's, answer.

Sampson and Humphrey summoned before the ecclesiastical commissioners.

They address for forbearance.

See Records, num. 83.

Reasons against

First, it is argued that clothes ought to be worn, as meat

ought to be eaten. But according to St. Paul, meat offered to idols ought not to be eaten. Therefore priests' apparel, which has been superstitiously used, ought not to be worn.

ELIZABETH.

*wearing the
priests' habit.
The bishop
of Roches-
ter's answer
to the first
reason.*

To this the bishop of Rochester replies, that the making new habits is sufficient to disable this objection. For if they have never been worn, they cannot be said to have any of this pretended infection about them. If it is alleged these distinctions in clothes are of the same kind and figure with those which have been worn out of superstitious motives: to this it may be returned, that this argument proves too much, and leads to the same absurdity as this which follows. Meat not offered to idols, is of the same kind with that which is offered to idols; the conclusion is therefore, we must eat no meat at all: and thus by this strait-laced principle, we bring ourselves to a Pythagorean abstinence. Besides, the apostle is misrepresented in this argument. For he does not absolutely forbid eating things thus grossly misapplied. He tells us expressly that he that eats it only as a blessing of providence, is discharged from blame. That the Christians of those times were not to deny themselves this liberty upon the score of their own conscience; but for the sake of their weak brethren;—of their 1 Cor. x. weak brethren who might be disturbed, or misled by such practice; who might think the eating what was offered in sacrifice, implied the lawfulness of pagan worship; and by this means be encouraged to idolatry. And if this was not their A. D. 1564. inference, they might conclude the person who took this freedom, went too far: now this censure must of consequence alienate affection, and draw to different communions. The 497. same apostle writes thus to the Colossians, let no man judge Colos. ii. you in meat or drink, or in respect of a holiday: and yet the observation of these Jewish ceremonies, upon the persuasion of their being necessary, was unwarrantable practice: from hence the bishop infers, that no man ought to censure the English clergy for wearing the sacerdotal habit, notwithstanding it had been worn upon motives of superstition.

It is objected, farther, that St. Paul forbids eating meat 1 Cor. viii. offered to idols, where this liberty cannot be taken without offending our brethren. And from hence the Precisians conclude the unlawfulness of wearing the priest's habit, because this cannot be done without giving scandal. To this the bishop answers:—

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First, that by this argument it follows, that where no offence is given, which is the case of many places, the habit may be worn without any inquiry touching the superstition which may formerly have hung about it.

Rom. xiv.

Secondly, St. Paul terms those who were offended with the eating meat offered to idols, weak in faith: that is their informations touching the privilege of their religion were short, and their notion of the Gospel liberty too narrow. The same censure may be passed upon those who condemn the habit. And therefore being under these imperfect attainments, they ought not to prescribe: instead of pronouncing upon the point, they ought to submit to instruction, and get their understanding farther improved.

Thirdly, those that are weak in faith, though they may be borne with for a time, though they ought to have leisure for full instruction, yet if these opportunities are lost upon them—if they hang about their errors, and refuse to part with their old opinion,—in this case weakness can be no longer their excuse. Now, it is plain there is affectation and pride, and obstinacy at the bottom. This, says the bishop, is the case of the Dissenters: they have been connived at a long time, and indulged almost six years to disentangle their scruples. If they still continue to take check, we are to regard their dis-

S. Mat. xv. 2. like, no more than our Saviour did that of the Pharisees.

The Dissenters' second reason goes much upon the former, against giving offence: but because the answer is somewhat different, I shall touch upon it.

The second
reason answered.

The bishop replies, it is well known to the whole kingdom, both Protestants and Roman Catholics, that the habit is not worn upon the score of necessity; and that it is only decency, order, and obedience to authority, which governs the practice. From hence it follows the scrupling party are only to blame; and that the scandal is taken, not given. These men, by pronouncing such circumstantials unlawful, condemn the rest of the Protestants, who either wear these sacerdotal distinctions, or at least allow them. Thus these Dissenters, by their weak exceptions, bring an imputation of disagreement upon the reformation; as if the Protestants differed in matters of substance and moment. Thus truth is mis-reported, the majesty of religion suffers, and the progress of the reformation is dis-served. From hence the bishop turns their own argument

upon them. Ministers must wear no apparel that gives offence to others; but their appearing in a habit different from that of priests, offends others; therefore they must appear in no other than the sacerdotal habit.

ELIZABETH.

Their third reason stands thus: Durand, Rabanus Maurus, and other ritualists inform us, that the vestments of priests have many superstitious significations: that they are, as it were, consecrated by ceremonies appointed for that purpose. That these things are reckoned necessary, and that the clergy cannot officiate to the best advantage without them. This objection the bishop answers upon the ground above mentioned, and therefore I shall pass it over. *As an answer to the third reason.*

Their fourth reason urges, that the apostle commands us to 1 Thes. v. abstain from all appearance of evil; but to go habited like a popish priest, carries an appearance of evil: therefore the bishop denies that any sort of clothes has an appearance of evil. He gives an instance to the present case, and observes, that lawyers wear tippets and gowns like popish priests, and yet nobody censures them for this fashion, or reckons them papists. If it is said that the sacerdotal habit has an appearance of evil because it is a discriminating mark, and distinguishes a priest from another person:—To this the bishop answers, that such circumstances of distinction have no ill face. On the other hand, since the function of a priest is different from that of the laity, it is reasonable his character should be marked, and his commission made legible, by some outward and obvious distinction. If it is objected the priest's habit was invented to point out a person ordained for the support of superstitious worship: to this it is answered, that the priests of the Church of England serve for no such purpose, therefore the consequence will not hold. *The fourth reason answered.*

Fifthly, that things indifferent, when commanded, change their nature, and become necessary, and therefore are not to be used. Therefore, since the priest's habit is commanded, the liberty of wearing it is altogether lost¹. *The bishop's reply to the fifth reason.*

To this the bishop answers, first, that if the indifferency of the habit is destroyed, and becomes necessary by being commanded, he would gladly know why the Dissenters make the case necessary, abstracting from such a command. For by

¹ Their argument is, that when things which God intended to be indifferent in conscience, are made binding in law, they are not to be used by conscientious men—an absurd sophistry.

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refusing to use it, declaiming against the lawfulness of it, and bringing conscience into the question, they make the refusal no less than necessary. Farther, if we are not to comply with indifferent things when enjoined by authority, because their being commanded makes the practice necessary, then we are not to obey the laws of the civil magistrate, because the matter of these consists of things indifferent. For as to things of a moral and unchangeable nature, the lines are already chalked out, and our duty fixed prior to any human legislature. The being and bounds of virtue and vice, are settled by natural religion, and the holy Scriptures : from hence it follows the civil magistrate's authority lies wholly within the compass of indifferency. If, therefore, the bare command of superiors changes the quality of the thing, and makes that sinful which was lawful before ; if the case stands thus, the authority of princes is lamentably disabled, and they have no power to form regulations upon general principles, nor provide for the exigencies of government. This, besides other absurdities, is a direct contradiction to the apostle's command, who bids us be subject to the higher powers, not only for wrath, but for conscience sake. The bishop presses the objection farther, and replies, that if we are not allowed to comply with things indifferent when commanded, because the command makes them necessary, then obedience to the apostle's command must be impracticable, viz., to the apostle's command, where he charges the Romans neither to eat controverted meat, nor break a Jewish holiday, provided such liberty should give offence to our weak brethren. For by the apostle's commanding the keeping a Jewish holiday, and forbearing some meats, that which was indifferent before, was made necessary in the case of giving offence ; and therefore by the Dissenters' reasoning ought not to have been complied with. But whether this will hold *ad hominem*, or not, I shall leave with the reader.

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“ Lastly, The bishop observes, there is a double sense in the term necessary ; things may come under this denomination for moral respects, or some necessary relation to divine worship : and thus things are said to be necessary, because they are appointed by revelation, or contained within the precepts of natural religion. Other things are necessary only on the score of political order and human appointment. Now the habit contested, comes under this last division.

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num. 31.

The Dissenters' sixth reason being too slender to be mentioned, I shall proceed to the bishop's resolution of the case, who, after having examined the objections and debated the question, subscribed the lawfulness in these terms :—

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“ Ministri in ecclesia Anglicana, in qua Dei beneficio pura Christi doctrina, et fidei evangelicæ prædicatio jam viget, quæque manifestam detestationem antichristianismi publice profitetur, sine impietate uti possunt vestium discrimine publica autoritate jam prescripto, tum in administratione sacra, tum in usu externo, modo omnis cultus, et necessitatis opinio amoveatur.”

This determination was subscribed by the archbishop of Canterbury; by the bishops of London, Winchester, and Ely; by Dr. Robinson, chaplain to Parker, and afterwards bishop of Bangor; by Bickley, another of the archbishop's chaplains, afterwards bishop of Chichester, and one Hill. Two other divines, who seem willing to conceal their names under the letters “N. N.” subscribed with this qualifying clause: “Modo omnis cultus opinio et necessitatis amoveatur, eorumque quibus persuasum non est, ratio, juxta charitatis regulam a divo Paulo prescriptam, habeatur¹.”

A resolution subscribed by the bishops, and other divines.

Nowel, dean of St. Paul's, went farther towards the Dissenters; he granted the lawfulness of the habit, but moved against the wearing it, for fear it might open a way to farther abuses. His second reason was for a stronger declaration against superstition. Thirdly, that the liberty of the Christian religion might be more fully asserted; and, Fourthly, to put an end to the disputes with their brethren. The relaxing part of his opinion begins with these words: “Optamus tamen hoc vestium discrimen propter has causas tolli;” and then his four reasons already related follow. In short, he refused to subscribe, unless his opinion might stand at length without alteration.

Nowel's exceptions.

Humphreys and Sampson subscribed the bishop's determination, but in an equivocating, or rather dissenting manner. They seem to allow the lawfulness of wearing the habit; but then believing it wanted the recommendation of expediency, they declined using it. Their subscription stands thus :—

Humphrey's and Sampson's equivocating subscription.

¹ That all controversy concerning dress and its necessity might cease, and that men's practice in such questionable points should be left free, according to St. Paul's rule of charity.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.
Life of
Archbishop
Parker,
p. 173.

“ Omnia mihi licent, sed non omnia expediunt. Omnia mihi
licent, sed non omnia edificant.

“ LAURENTIUS HUMPHREDUS.
THOS. SAMPSON.”

October the second, the funeral of Ferdinand II. emperor of Germany, was celebrated with great solemnity in St. Paul's, London. The marquess of Winchester was chief mourner, and represented the queen; the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, the bishop of Rochester, the dean of St. Paul's, together with the whole chapter, made part of the appearance. Besides these, there was a considerable number of quality belonging to the court.

The sermon was preached by Grindal, bishop of London. In his discourse, he touched first upon this prince's royal ancestors, and the lustre of his genealogy. “ He mentions his advances from archduke of Austria to king of Bohemia and the Romans; from thence to the crown of Hungary; and at last to the German empire; from hence, he proceeds to commend him for his abilities and moral qualifications. He represents him as a lover of justice and truth, that he was remarkable for clemency, temper, and condescension; that he was well-skilled in Latin, and most other languages of Christendom; that he was particularly eminent for three virtues:—First, for his martial fortitude, and supporting the war against the Ottoman infidels, those sworn enemies of the Christian name. Secondly, for his peaceable disposition towards the princes of Christendom. It was not his method to project the enlarging his empire with the effusion of Christian blood. He brought no armies into the field, nor embroiled the empire upon pretence of religion: he made it his endeavour to keep a good understanding amongst the princes of the empire, and settled the public repose. And thus he left Germany in a better condition, both for men and money, than it had been for one hundred years before. Thirdly, he dilates upon the sobriety of his private life, and his keeping true to the engagements of marriage. And for this he declares God had blessed him with a numerous and promising issue. At last, he commends him for moderation of principle, and being far from a bigot to the court of Rome. He takes notice, this emperor promised the electors never to be crowned by the pope; that

he made his word good, and reigned all along with this liberty ; that his ambassador made a speech in the council of Trent, for granting the laity the communion under both kinds. And, to conclude, the bishop added, that in August last past, he saw a letter from a good hand, that this emperor Ferdinand, not long before his death, gave all the subjects of his hereditary dominions the liberty of receiving the cup.”

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Printed by John Day.

From this honourable character of a Roman Catholic emperor, and from the part managed by him in this solemnity, it is plain Grindal was no Precisian, no Protestant of Knox's complexion.

To go back a little, and say something of Scotland :

The queen of Scots had now resolved to marry the lord Darnley, son to the earl of Lennox. This young nobleman was recommended from several regards. He was of the royal blood, and stood next the queen on the line. This, beside the advantage of his person and temper, was looked on as a consideration of weight ; for if he should happen to match into one of the greatest families of England, it was to be feared the queen of Scots' succession to that kingdom might be somewhat embarrassed. Besides, her marrying the lord Darnley, born in England, would be a compliance with queen Elizabeth's motion, who advised her to marry some Englishman. That a business of this nature might be concluded with general satisfaction, a convention was summoned to Sterling. The majority of the estates voted for the marriage without making any exception to the queen's choice. None made any opposition, excepting Andrew, lord Ochiltrey, who took the freedom to protest, “he would never consent to admit a king of the popish religion.”

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The assent of the estates being published, the duke of Chatelherault, the earl of Murray, and three other noblemen of the same quality, formed an association to prevent the marriage, pretending danger and public inconvenience might follow upon it. The burghers of Edinburgh broke out in a mutiny, and ran to arms. The queen proclaimed the chief incendiaries rebels ; but afterwards restored their effects, and gave them her pardon.

Spotswood.

At this time there was an assembly of the Church at Edinburgh. Secretary Lethington opened the meeting with a speech. He told them, the liberty of conscience they enjoyed ought to be reckoned a great blessing, and that the queen's

An assembly at Edinburgh, A. D. 1564.

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allowing them their religion, though different from her own, was a proof of a gracious administration; that this favour called for a return, and that the ministers, especially, were obliged to promote her majesty's interest, and recommend themselves to her good opinion; and, lastly, that their disagreeing in the form of prayer for her majesty was a thing of ill consequence. He desired them all to be very careful and inoffensive upon these heads; and, particularly, John Knox was requested to soften his prayer for the queen, and make his doctrine touching obedience to sovereigns more unexceptionable. As for his prayer, it was extremely shocking and coarse. To give the reader a little of it:—

“O Lord, if thy good pleasure be, purge the heart of the queen's majesty from the venom of idolatry, and deliver her from the bondage and thralldom of Satan, into the which she has been brought up, and yet remains, for the lack of true doctrine.—And that this realm may also escape that plague and vengeance which inevitably follows idolatry.”

*Knox's lame
defence of
his prayer
and doctrine.*

Knox maintaining his practice and opinion, Lethington argued with him upon this subject. Knox justified his coarse usage of the queen by resembling freedoms taken by the prophets in the Old Testament. Now, unless Knox was a prophet, he had no privilege for that liberty, by his own reasoning. If he was a prophet, he ought to have proved his mission by prediction and miracles. But this was a test, I presume, he had not assurance enough to be tried by.

*Hist. Ref. of
Scotland.
p. 382. et
deinc.*

Knox had argued with Lethington to a considerable length, and endeavoured to prove, from several instances in the Old Testament, that princes may be treated with the last degree of freedom upon occasion; and, more than that, called to an account and punished for mal-administration. After he had misconstrued and misapplied several texts, he concluded, with the utmost assurance, that he had made good these five things, which I shall set down in his own words: “First, That subjects have delivered an innocent from the hands of their king, and therefore [or in doing so] offended not God; secondly, that subjects have refused to strike innocents when the king commanded, and in so doing denied no just obedience; thirdly, that such as struck at the commandment of the king were reputed murderers; fourthly, that God has not only of a subject made a king, but also he armed subjects against their natural king, and commanded them to take vengeance upon

*Knox's three
treasonable
assertions.*

him according to his law ; fifthly, and lastly, that God's people have executed God's law against their king, having no farther regard to him in that behalf than if he had been the most simple subject in the realm." To which he adds, that God's people not only may take the liberty of such executions, but they are bound to it, where the same crimes are committed, and when God has given them the same power. The second and third of Knox's propositions may hold, in some cases ; but the other three are scandalous, and subversive of all government.

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After Knox had delivered himself in this extraordinary manner, Mr. John Dowglass, rector of St. Andrew's, being required to declare his opinion, referred himself to the superintendant of Fife, as being of the same sentiment. They both agreed, that, in case the queen opposed the Reformation, the nobility and estates might lawfully resist her ; but, as to her religion, though they knew there was idolatry in it, yet whether her highness might be barred the exercise of it by force, was farther than they could affirm at present. Some of the nobility concurred with this suspension of judgment ; but others were bolder in their resolution, and declared, without hesitancy or reserve, that the mass ought to be every where suppressed, and that, to deny the queen the liberty of such devotions, was no more injury to her majesty than if they should snatch a glass of poison from her against her will. When master John Craig, a preacher at Edinburgh, was called upon to give his judgment, he premised a protestation, that nothing delivered should affect the freedom of the general assembly. After this he made a report of a determination in the university of Bononia upon a solemn occasion. It was made at a general chapter of the Black Friars, in the year 1554, Craig being then present. The proposition maintained and determined for was this : " All rulers, be they supreme or inferior, may and ought to be reformed, or bridled (to speak moderately), by them by whom they are chosen, confirmed, or admitted to their office, so oft as they break that promise made by oath to their subjects, because that the prince is no less bound by oath to the subjects than are the subjects to the prince ; and, therefore, it ought to be kept and reformed equally, according to law and condition of the oath that is made of either party." And here, to make the application serviceable, Knox and his brethren must take it for granted,

A determination at Bononia.

Id. p. 397, et deinceps.

PARKER, that the kingdom of Scotland is elective, and that, in the coronation-oath, there is a plain clause for resistance in case of mal-administration.

Abp. Cant.

To proceed to the assembly, who by their commissioners, addressed the queen with the following petitions :—

The assembly's petition to the queen.

First. That the mass, with all the appurtenances of popish idolatry, should be suppressed through the whole kingdom ; that the queen's person and family should be included in this reformation ; and that offenders, upon conviction, should be punished according to law.

Secondly. That the true religion should be professed by the queen, as well as by the subject ; and that people of all ranks should be obliged to come to church upon Sundays at least, to join in the prayers, and hear sermons.

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Thirdly. That a settled provision should be made for a competent and independent maintenance of the ministry ; and that vacant benefices should be disposed of to qualified persons, that is, to such as have passed the test of the superintendent.

Fourthly. That no bishopric, abbey, priory, deanery, or other benefice having more churches than one annexed, should be bestowed for the future on any single person ; but that the plurality of the foundation being disincorporated and dissolved, the incumbents might equal the number of the parishes ; and that glebes and manses, or parsonage-houses, might be assigned for the ministers, and for repairing the churches ; and that an act of parliament might be made for that purpose.

Fifthly. That none should be permitted to teach in public schools, to be heads of colleges and universities, or to have the care of the education of young children in private houses, till they had been tried and passed by the superintendents.

Sixthly. That all lands founded for hospitality should be restored, and applied to the benefit of the poor ; and that the lands, rent-charges, and other revenues, formerly belonging to the monks, of what order soever, and likewise the annuities, obits, and other perquisites, settled upon priests, should be employed to the same uses, and for the support and encouragement of scholars within their situation.

Seventhly. That idolatry, blasphemy, witchcraft, adultery, murder, theft, oppression, &c., may be severely punished.

Eighthly. That some remedy may be thought on for the case of poor husbandmen.

Her majesty's answer.

To these petitions the queen returned them an answer in

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writing: "First, As to the pulling down mass with respect to her own person and family, she told them she was not at all convinced there was any impiety in that service: and she hoped her subjects would not solicit her to act against her conscience. And, to deal plainly with them, she was resolved not to quit the religion in which she was bred, being well assured it was founded on the word of God; and that as it was her duty, so it was no less her interest, to keep firm to her present belief: that by throwing up her religion, the king of France, and other great princes and confederates, would break with her; and that no new alliance could come up to an equivalent. She therefore desired her loving subjects to recollect her indulgence, and treat her at least upon the level; and that as she had always resigned her people to their own persuasion, that as she never intends to force any body's conscience, so they would not grudge their sovereign the same privilege, nor press her to any thing she could not understand'.

"As for the establishment of their religion amongst the subjects, she told them that could only be effected by the consent of the three estates in parliament; and that, when the parliament met, she should be ready to sign the bills, and concur with the resolutions of the house. And, in the mean time they might be assured nobody should be disturbed for their conscience, or distressed in their fortunes."

To the third and fourth articles it was answered, her majesty did not think it reasonable to quit so considerable a branch of the patrimony of the crown, as the patronage of benefices: that the exigencies of government required that a great part of the revenues of spiritual promotions should remain in her hands. However, when her own necessary occasions were answered, she was willing a competent assignment should be made to the ministers, and that upon such places and revenues as might be most commodious for them.

As to the provision suggested for the poor, she promised to be as kind to them as could be reasonably expected.

For the rest of the articles, she engaged to comply with the measures agreed in parliament.

The queen being related to the lord Darnley within the pro-

Spotswood's
Hist. p. 190.
MS. acts of
the assembly.
A. D. 1564.
July.

The queen
marries the
lord Darn-
ley.

¹ Mary's offer of reciprocity was most fair and reasonable, but her subjects determined to have it all their own way, and by their *ex parte* reasoning they did the greatest injury both to their monarch and themselves.—See Whitaker's "Mary Queen of Scots vindicated."

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hibited degrees, sent to Rome for a dispensation. When she received this instrument, she was solemnly married in the chapel of Holyrood-house; the dean of Resthalrig performing the ceremony. The next day the lord Darnley was proclaimed king by sound of trumpet, and joined with her majesty in the government.

*Knox's mis-
behaviour.*

The discontented lords declared against the marriage, but found no account in their remonstrance. The king, to ingratiate himself with the people, to unmask the faction, and take off the objection of a counter-religion, went to St. Giles's church, in Edinburgh, and heard a sermon. John Knox, whether out of distrust of his majesty's sincerity, or friendship to the faction, is uncertain; whatever his motive was, he fell upon the king with his usual warmth and coarseness. For this he was cited before the queen and council, where he justified his misbehaviour, and ventured to say over and above, "That as the king for her pleasure had gone to mass, and dishonoured the Lord God, so should he in his justice make her the instrument of his ruin." But upon what grounds Knox could affirm the king went to mass for the queen's pleasure, is hard to conjecture, since he was bred in the communion of the Church of Rome, and had all along professed that religion. The queen was much disturbed with this rash unmannerly answer. And Knox, to bring him to better temper and decency, was silenced for some months by the council.

*The assembly's
reply to
her majesty's
answer.*

The general assembly, now convened again at Edinburgh, receiving the queen's answer to their address, replied to this effect. After a commendation of the reformed doctrine, they take the liberty to tell her majesty that Turkism stood upon as good a bottom as popery, and Judaism upon a better: that antiquity, countenance of princes, number of proselytes, or any other pretences, made use of to recommend the communion of the Church of Rome, might with equal advantage be urged by Jews and Mahometans: wherefore they require her, in the name of the eternal God, to make use of the ordinary means for better information; such as frequenting their sermons, and conferences with learned men. And here they offer to dispute with their adversaries, when and where her majesty shall appoint them.

Touching the queen's answer to the article for maintaining the ministry, they declare that it was never their intention that her majesty, or any other patron, should suffer in their right.

They only desired, that upon the avoidance of any benefice, a qualified person should be presented to the superintendent, in order to be examined: for as presenting a person is the patron's privilege, so the collating and instituting belongs to the Church. Without this check upon presentations, there could be no security for the fitness of the incumbent; for if the patron's choice was to stand without trial or inquiry into the merits, all places might be filled with ignorance and confusion.

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As to what her majesty mentioned concerning keeping a great part of the benefices in her own hands, they replied, that such measures were inconsistent with good conscience, and a breach upon the laws of God and man: that if this course was pursued, a great many more poor people must perish for want of instruction.

And as to her majesty's offer for making assignments to the Church when her own necessities were satisfied, their answer was, that this was inverting order, and beginning at the wrong end. That the ministers ought to have a provision in the first place: that the schools and the poor should be supported, and the churches repaired: that the tithes, being the proper patrimony of the Church, ought to be applied for these purposes: that when all this was done, if there was any remainder, it might be disposed of as her majesty and the council should think fit. They conclude with thanks to her majesty for the offer of assignments, and humbly desire she would please to alter her answer in the rest of the articles to farther satisfaction.

To return to England: Sampson and Humphreys, above mentioned, being summoned, and refusing to comply with the habit, were both confined; and Sampson was turned out of his deanery of Christ-church, the archbishop and the other commissioners having received a special order from the queen for that purpose. Humphreys was enlarged, and suffered to keep his preferment: and after ten or eleven years recollection broke through his scruples, and complied.

Some of the common lawyers disputed the legality of Sampson's deprivation, and would have brought a præmunire upon the commissioners. They argued, that Barlow, bishop of Bath and Wells, incurred a præmunire in the reign of Edward VI., and was obliged to sue out his pardon for depriving the dean. The reason of his falling under this penalty was because the

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deanery of that church was a donative. From hence the case is brought to a parallel, and the question is asked, by what authority Sampson was deprived of the donative deanery of Christ-church? of a preferment which he had *pro termino vitæ*, under the broad seal? If the deanery of Christ-church is a lay-fee, and the ecclesiastical commission reaches only to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in ecclesiastical causes, it must follow, the stretch in the one case is as great as that in the other.

Biblioth.
Cotton.
Life of
Archbishop
Parker.

Thus far the argument.

Notwithstanding these prosecutions upon Sampson and Humphreys, the queen and her commissioners connived in many instances, and suffered several non-complying divines to hold dignities in the Church. Upon this indulgence John Fox, the martyrologist, sent her a panegyric in Latin.

Fox's panegyric upon the queen.

“In the beginning of his address he mentions her majesty’s recalling the exiles, and retrieving the kingdom from the last degree of misery and declension: that she had reformed religion and the statute-book: that she had corrected idleness, suppressed robbing, and made the country orthodox and quiet: that she had recovered the mint to the old standard: and that the manners of her subjects were no less refined and brightened than the coin. That these state regulations, though very valuable in their kind, came short of the blessings in religion: that now truth was no longer persecuted, conscience had its just liberty, and superstition gave way to the Gospel. And of this,” said he, “we have a remarkable instance in your majesty’s answer to the petition of some divines concerning the ecclesiastical habit. What satisfaction this gracious indulgence gave the universal Church, what an advantage after-ages would receive by it, and what an immortal honour would descend upon her memory, is scarcely to be imagined.” From hence he proceeds to commend her for her encouragement of learning, and the expectations of favour she had given to the university of Cambridge.

Cambrd.
Eliz.

By the way, when she took her leave of that university in a Latin speech, she promised them not to come short of her ancestors in some public benefaction.

Fox in the close acquaints her majesty he “designed to write her history, and had prepared some materials for that purpose: but that these advances would be imperfect without farther information from her majesty: and after all, he thought her own

Foxii MS.

genius nobly furnished to describe her reign ; and that nobody could do her justice better than herself."

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To return to the controversy about the habit : notwithstanding Sampson preferred deprivation to compliance, he was not always of this narrow opinion ; for upon his retiring to Strasburg in the late reign, he wrote to his parishioners of All-Hallows, Bread-street, London, to conform to the ceremonies settled in the reign of king Edward. He told them, that these things not being matters of faith, might be altered at the discretion of their spiritual governors : and that provided nothing prejudicial to piety and edification was enjoined, they ought to comply. This last condition was thrown in to distinguish the reformed Common Prayer-book from the missals and breviaries then used under queen Mary.

But Sampson's travelling made him suffer in the compass of his judgment, and filled him with unserviceable scruples. Humphreys and himself consulted Gualter and Bullinger, two eminent divines of Zurich, upon this question. The answers they received were in favour of conformity. Gualter declared that for such circumstantialia they ought not to perplex their conscience, and throw up their function : and that the Church might probably suffer very much for such non-compliance.

Gualter and Bullinger's answer to the question concerning the habit.

In their letter to Bullinger they broke the controversy into several heads ; that by this means all their objections might be considered, and the answer made more distinct and satisfactory.

Bullinger gratifies them in their method, and replies in the first place to the queries proposed by Humphreys. The first *Humphrey's queries.* question is, " Whether a particular habit ought to be imposed on ecclesiastics to distinguish them from the laity ?" Bullinger answers, That the term 'ought' is capable of two senses : if we take it for a business of necessity, and that it is essential to salvation, he believes the imposers never intended to be understood in this sense. But if there is no more meant than that this ought to be done for the sake of decency, distinction, and regard ; in this case, he cannot conceive which way either those that command the habit, or those that comply, are guilty of any fault."

In the next place it is inquired, " Whether it is lawful to bring the ceremonial worship of the Levitical priesthood into the Christian Church ?" To this Bullinger answers, " That the use

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of cap, gown, and surplice is no manner of revival of Judaism. To this he adds something of Peter Martyr's reply to this objection. He owns the sacraments of the Mosaic law ought not to be continued in Christianity: but notwithstanding this restraint, he believes there were several customs in the Jewish economy which may be serviceably retained. For instance, the apostles, for the better coalition of the Jewish and Gentile converts, commanded the latter to abstain from 'things strangled, and from blood:' but these were plainly legal observances. Besides, in many places the tithes are assigned for the support of the ministry, and singing of psalms is customary in religious assemblies. These are plainly Levitical usages taken into the Church. Now, who can affirm this practice ought to be censured and set aside upon the score of its being a remainder and imitation of the old law? From whence it follows, that all Levitical observances are not forbidden under the Gospel."

To the question, "Whether we may comply with the Papists as far as the circumstance of habit?" he answers, "It does not appear this distinction of dress was any Papal order. He affirms this discrimination was long before the encroachments of the Church of Rome. Besides, he cannot apprehend why we may not correspond with the Papists in matters of decency and civil regard. If we are bound from all resemblance and conformity with them, it will follow we must be obliged to quit our churches, to receive no settled maintenance, to forbear the sacrament of baptism; neither to repeat the apostles' nor the Nicene Creed, and discharge the Lord's Prayer. And over and above, he puts them in mind they do not borrow their ceremonies from the Papists. The distinction of habit was all along kept on from the first of the Reformation, and is still continued, not by any Papal constitution, but in virtue of her majesty's injunctions."

"If therefore this habit is worn only as a civil regulation, and a mark of character, there is neither Judaism nor monkery in it. Thus Eustachius, bishop of Sebastia, was not condemned for the peculiarity of his habit, but for tacking something of merit and religion to it. And here he refers them to the canons of the synods of Gangra, of Laodicea, and the Quinisex council. The laity who make Judaism or popery of these matters, must be better instructed; but as for those who clamour upon this head, and harangue the vulgar to scruple and dis-

content, let them take care they do not drag more weight upon their shoulders, provoke her majesty, and involve a great many of the ministry in inexplicable difficulties.” ELIZABETH.

The rest of Humphreys' questions have been mentioned already, I shall therefore proceed to some of those put by Sampson.

And first, “Whether any particular habit distinct from the laity was ever appointed the ministry? and whether any such constitution is lawful in a reformed Church?” To this Bullinger answers, “That in the ancient Church the clergy were distinguished from the laity in their dress; and for this he cites Socrates and Theodoret. He takes notice from Eusebius that the apostle St. John wore a gold plate at Ephesus in resemblance of that on the high priest's forehead: that St. Cyprian appeared in a clerical dress at his martyrdom; and that St. Chrysostom makes mention of a white garment belonging to the hierarchy.” Sampson's queries.
Socrat. lib. 6. c. 22.
Theod. lib. 2. c. 27.
Pontius Diaconus in Vit. Cyprian.

Sampson desired to know, “Whether the prescribing a habit was consistent with Christian liberty?” Bullinger answers, “That indifferent things lie within the limits of authority, and may fairly come under command: for instance, times and places for religious assemblies may be ranged amongst things indifferent, and yet unless these circumstances were settled, what disorder and confusion must follow?”

To the question, “Whether any new ceremonies uncommanded in holy writ may be put upon the Church?” he answers in the affirmative, “provided the appointment is made only for the sake of order and discipline.” To maintain his resolution, he suggests that our Saviour kept the dedication feast, though unprescribed by the law. In short, he would by no means have the controversy about these matters indulged so far as to make misunderstandings, and break the union of the Church.

Sampson demands further, “Whether those ceremonies which give offence, and draw scandal along with them, may be retained?” The answer is, “Giving offence ought to be avoided, but then they ought to take care not to cover their passions under this pretence. Besides, it is one thing to give scandal, and another to be passive under it without just occasion; and whether out of disgust to an indifferent circumstance they can throw up their commission, and desert the flock without great scandal, he leaves to their consideration.”

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To the query, "Whether any constitutions which have no tendency to edification are to be tolerated in the Church?" To this he replies, "that appointments of this kind, when imposed by sovereign authority, should be borne with, rather than quit the ministry; that the Church will suffer much more by being disfurnished with pastors, than by conformity to the habit; that where there is nothing impious in the command, we ought to give way to authority, and acquiesce under something of oppression. Though by the way this does not seem to be the present case; for what servitude is there in a cap or surplice? in wearing a habit designed only for ornament and distinction?"

The last question I shall mention is, "Whether the prince has power to prescribe any Church ceremonies, without the consent of the ecclesiastics?" To this he replies, "That if the consent of the hierarchy had been always necessary, Jehoshaphat and Hezekiah, Asah and Josiah, and other good princes, could never have reformed the Jewish, or Christian clergy. However, he would by no means have the bishops shut out from consultations relating to the Church. On the other hand, he will not allow them to strain their character upon the state, encroach upon princes, and carry their claim to a resemblance of popish pretensions. And to prevent being over passive, and resigning too far, he adds, bishops ought not to be silent under rigours upon conscience, nor give their consent to the unrighteous constitutions of princes."

Strype
Annal.
Append.
num. 24.

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This controversy about the habit disturbed the university of Cambridge, and made no small impression amongst the young people. Secretary Cecil, their chancellor, being informed of the disorder, wrote to the vice-chancellor to discountenance this clashing, and press conformity. He likewise wrote to St. John's-college, which was particularly remarkable for non-compliance. He reprimanded them sharply for their singularities; told them their scruples had nothing but vanity and affectation, popularity and contempt of government, at the bottom. He admonished them to acquiesce, to recover their former practice, and return to the use of the ceremony. On the other hand, they appealed to God for their sincerity; and told the secretary, that nothing but motives of duty and dint of conscience made them dissent.

MS. Cecil-
ian, Strype
Annal.
A. D. 1565.

These Dissenters in the university growing warm and un-

manageable in the cause, were so hardy as to draw up two letters, one to the queen, and the other to the chancellor, in unexpected language. And here they are said to have failed both in truth and discretion. But this rash application was stopped, and a third letter sent to the chancellor in terms of more decency and respect; it is subscribed by Robert Beaumont, Roger Kelk, Matthew Hutton, Richard Longworth, and John Whitgift. Some of these were heads of colleges, and all of them persons of character. In their address they acquaint the chancellor, that a great many persons of piety and learning in their society were fully persuaded of the unlawfulness of the habit; and therefore if conformity was urged upon them, they would be forced to disengage: and thus the university would be in a manner deserted. They intreat him to use his interest with the queen; that in their humble opinion, indulgence in this matter could be attended with no inconvenience; but, on the other hand, they were afraid religion and learning would suffer very much by rigour and imposition.

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Some of the university of Cambridge scruple the habit.

But notwithstanding this countenance from some persons of distinction, the majority of the heads and seniors were of a different sentiment. For instance: one Bartholomew Clerk, a doctor of law of King's-college, and afterwards official in the arches. This gentleman, in a letter to the chancellor, endeavoured to vindicate the main of the university, and throw off the scandal to a small party. He calls these Dissenters, "Fanatici superpelliceani et galeriani¹;" that they squabbled about trifles; that had they not overvalued their own notions, and been smitten with themselves, they would have resigned to authority, and dropped the contest; that this wrangling *de lana caprina* had taken off people from useful researches, and disturbed the course of their studies; that those who first injected these scruples, though commendable in some respects, were certainly to blame for laying so much weight upon their singularities, for drawing conscience into the dispute, and poisoning young people with anabaptistical dotages; that by this management they had disserved the reputation of the university, and brought a scandal upon it; and that some people made use of the pretence of conscience to cover their misbehaviour. And here he tells a story of a sophister, who, being chid by the dean for appearing in the choir without a surplice, excused himself by saying his conscience would not give him leave;

Archbishop Parker's Life, Appen. num. 89.

¹ Cap and surplice fanatics.

PARKER, whereas, the truth was, the scholar had indulged his palate too far, and pawned his surplice to the cook for commons extraordinary¹.

Some London divines publish a book to the same purpose.

This superstitious fancy of scrupling the habit had reached some of the London clergy. I call it a superstitious fancy. For to stand off from things indifferent, is no less superstition than to lay too great stress upon them, and overcharge them with necessity and merit. However, some of the London ministers were so entangled in these cobwebs, that the Church thought it requisite to set them aside. Those deprived upon this non-compliance published a book, entitled "A Brief Discourse against the outward Apparel and Ministering Garments of the Popish Church." One of the most plausible arguments they made use of to justify their nonconformity was, that such compliance would carry an appearance of idolizing the State, and resolving all religion into the prince's pleasure.

I shall close the relation of this dispute with a letter of Beza's to Bullinger; for the Dissenters, it seems, had consulted Beza upon this subject. I shall translate part of his letter, to acquaint the reader with the temper of this divine, and how much he was disaffected to the English Reformation.

Beza's remonstrance against the Church of England.

He gives Bullinger to understand, that the English Church was in a lamentable condition; that, as he was informed from some of the brethren there, popery was never thrown out, but rather transferred from his holiness to her majesty. He formerly hoped the dispute had only been about caps and surplices; but now, to his great grief, he finds the controversy goes much farther. In the first place he makes the people's choice of their pastors fundamental to their calling. And here he complains against the bishops for giving them orders by their sole authority; and after they have sworn the queen's spiritual supremacy, and promised conformity to the laws and the Common Prayer, preferring them to any cures without distinction.

As to ecclesiastical discipline, he makes deans, chancellors, archdeacons, and officials, no better than appendages of popery. Excommunication for money matters, and absolution for satisfaction, is another of his exceptions. He falls foul upon the archbishop for granting dispensations for non-residence, for pluralities, for eating flesh in Lent, for marrying at prohibited

¹ One would have thought this man "too poor to keep a conscience at all,"—if we may quote a modern witticism.

times, and for instituting or collating persons under age by the canons; that there is nothing of more blemish and scandal than this practice in Rome itself; that women are allowed to baptize in case of necessity; that those few ministers who come up to the purity of Gospel are either thrown into jail, or deprived, or both, unless they solemnly engage to go the utmost lengths of conformity, and resemble Baal's priests in their square caps, tippets, surplices, and such sort of equipage. Neither is it possible to know how far these impositions may reach; for, by their act of parliament, the queen, without advising with any excepting the archbishop of Canterbury, is impowered to innovate and alter the Church ceremonies at discretion. For these reasons he concludes the Church of England in a miserable and intolerable condition. Afterwards he takes notice that queen Elizabeth had so strong an aversion for the Geneva Church, that she received the present of his annotations without the least sign of its being welcome; that one reason of her disgust is the rigour and censoriousness of the Genevians; for thus they are represented by those who are apprehensive of just reproof. The other ground, says he, of the queen's disaffection was, because in her sister's reign there were two books printed in English with us: one against the government of women, by Knox, and the other concerning the power of the magistrate, by Goodman. The doctrine of both these books was, upon perusal, disliked by us, and the sale of them prohibited. However, the queen, not thinking this discouragement enough, continued dissatisfied.

ELIZABETH.

504.

The dispute about the habit, and other usages of the Church, were still kept on foot at Cambridge. One George Withers, a warm Puritan¹, (for so the Dissenters were now called) and one who had a tolerable talent for the pulpit, declaimed strongly against the superstitious figures in glass windows. And thus being seconded by some zealots, a great many fine paintings were destroyed. This Withers, notwithstanding his intemperate holding-forth, was countenanced by Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich. The archbishop, being informed of the ill effects of his preaching, ordered him to appear before himself and the rest of the ecclesiastical commissioners. His licence to preach being demanded at his appearance, he pro-

Strype
Annal.
Append.
num. 29.
*Withers's
indiscreet
discourses
against the
paintings in
glass win-
dows.*

¹ The name Puritan is tautamount to Nonconformist, including all denominations of Protestant dissenters.

PARKER, Abp. Cant. duced the letters of the university, signed by Dr. Hawford, vice-chancellor. The archbishop, upon the perusal of the instrument, found it defectively penned: it was drawn only in the name of the vice-chancellor, masters, and scholars, whereas the chancellor's name ought to have been inserted. Chancellor Cecil being acquainted with this omission, sent for his vice-chancellor to justify the form: and that Cecil might be the better prepared to argue the point, the archbishop furnished him with some records upon which this university privilege of granting licences was originally founded. The first precedent reaches no higher than king Henry VII.'s: in this reign, at the instance of Thomas Habold, the pope's pœnitentiary, Julian, bishop of Ostia, by commission from Alexander VI., granted Fisher, bishop of Rochester, then chancellor of the university of Cambridge, and his successors, leave to choose every year twelve doctors, masters, and graduates in priests' orders, to preach through the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. There were some limitations in the bull or charter, which the reader may see in the records.

*University
licenses for
preaching
first granted
by the pope.*

See Records,
num. 84.

That the omission of the chancellor's name was a material defect, may be farther collected by observing, that the incorporation of that society is made to the chancellor, masters, and scholars: and besides, the chancellor's name is expressly mentioned in queen Elizabeth's letters-patent for this purpose. Farther, the term in Withers's instrument ran "*durante vita,*" which was looked on as a stretch; for in authorities of this kind granted by ordinances, the style is "*quamdiu nobis placuerit, et dum laudabiliter te gesseris.*" But after all, whether Withers's instrument was recalled upon these exceptions, is more than appears. It is probable the reformation of the university statutes, sent down by the chancellor, and received by that body, might provide against inconveniencies of this kind.

*The reprint
of the
Geneva
Bible de-
ferred, and
why.*

This year there was a design for reprinting the Geneva Bible, already mentioned; and some time had been spent in review and correction. John Bodleigh, one of the principal undertakers, applied to secretary Cecil for the grant of a longer term in the property of the copy. The secretary refused to assist them until he had consulted archbishop Parker, and Grindal, bishop of London. It is probable Cecil might demur to the encouraging another impression, because the bishops intended shortly to publish a translation of their own. How-

ever, the archbishop and Grindal wrote to him in behalf of the undertakers: but this was not done without some conditions for security. They assured the secretary, to bring the undertakers under an engagement, that the impression should pass under their regulation, and not be published without their consent and advice. This caution, it is probable, was thrown in that the bishops might have it in their power to alter some mistranslated passages, and expunge some exceptionable annotations relating to civil government. The undertakers, it seems, not being willing to come under these restraints, deferred the impression until after Parker's death. That the business slept thus long appears by the author of a tract called, "The Troubles at Frankfort," printed in the year 1575. This writer complains, "that if the Geneva Bible be such as no enemy of God could justly find fault with, then may men marvel that such a work, being so profitable, should find so small favour as not to be printed again."

ELIZA-
BETH.

Troubles at
Frankfort,
p. 164.

To proceed, Fecknam, late abbot of Westminster, had been put in the custody of Horne, bishop of Winchester, partly for a gentler confinement, and partly to give him an opportunity of disengaging from his mistakes. Fecknam had lately written something in defence of his belief, to which Horne published an answer this year. The abbot stuck very much in the point of the queen's supremacy, as the parliaments in this reign had explained, and settled it. He offered to put the cause upon this issue, that provided the bishop could prove that any prince or emperor had any such authority as the queen claimed in spiritual matters, either by commission from our Saviour in the New Testament; or that the fathers and ecclesiastical writers from the first ages downwards, had asserted any such privilege in the civil magistrate; or that the point had been settled in favour of them by general councils; or that the ecclesiastical government had been lodged in the crown in any one church; or that any part of Christendom had practised upon the principle of the regale; provided these things could be made good, he promised to acquiesce, and give up the contest.

A. D. 1565.

Strype's An-
nal. p. 460.

The bishop in his answer, amongst other things, put Fecknam in mind, that this opinion touching the regale was formerly his own. That he surrendered his abbey of Evesham into king Henry VIII.'s hands, and preached up the civil supremacy during that reign, and the next. And to finish

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

what belongs to Fecknam, this abbot, about fifteen years afterwards, made a nearer approach to the Reformation, as appears by a confession under his hand, and attested by the bishop of Ely, the dean, and one of the bishop's chaplains.

Dr. Fecknam's Confession.

"First, he declares before God, that he firmly believes the fourteenth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians is to be understood of Common Prayer in the vulgar tongue, no less than of preaching or prophesying.

"Secondly, that he finds no fault with any thing in the Common Prayer-book now used in the Church of England: but then he conceives it short in the matter. He desires therefore, the old service thrown out, may be restored. And here he instances in invocation of saints, praying for the dead, the seven sacraments, and external sacrifice as he calls it; provided this book was returned to this form, he should willingly join in the offices. As for the administering the holy eucharist under both kinds to the laity, he likes it very well: but with the condition that this practice was settled by the authority of the Church.

505.

"Thirdly, he can easily reconcile his opinion to the queen's ecclesiastical supremacy, as it stands explained in her highness's injunctions: that is, that the queen, under God, is sovereign over all persons, whether ecclesiastical or temporal, born in her majesty's dominions: and that he is always ready to take the oath in this sense, whenever it shall be tendered by authority."

"Fourthly, being asked why he refused to join in the English Liturgy, since he has no exceptions to any part of it, and grants the lawfulness of having Common Prayer in the mother-tongue: to this his answer is, That he thinks himself obliged to stand off from our communion upon the score of the divisions amongst us; for, as he goes on, some of the English are Protestants, some Puritans, and some of the Family of Love¹. He objected, farther, that our Common Prayer is not set forth or confirmed by a general council.

"Lastly, the rapine and sacrilege of the reformers was another reason against his communicating with them. And unless an effectual stop be put to these depredations, ignorance

¹ The "Family of Love," *alias* the Familists, a denomination which appeared in Holland about the year 1565.

in the clergy, general dissolution of manners, and the subversion of Christianity, must inevitably follow.

ELIZABETH.

“JOHN FECKNAM, Priest.

MSS.
Burleighan.
Strype's
Annals,
Append.
num. 31.

“RICHARDE ELY.

ANDREAS PERNE.

GULYHELMUS STANTON.”

This year, Malta, in the Mediterranean, was besieged by a formidable army of the Turks. While the town and island was thus pressed, a public prayer was appointed to be said every Wednesday and Friday, for the deliverance of the Christians. The preface to this prayer, which was to be used through the whole diocese of London, sets forth, “That the isle of Malta, or Melite, where St. Paul arrived in his voyage to Rome, lay near Sicily and Italy; and was as it were the key of that part of Christendom. That it was now attacked with a great army and fleet of Turks, of infidels, and sworn enemies of the Christian religion. That the danger did not only point upon the besieged, but menaced the adjacent countries of Christendom. That since the distance would not give us leave to succour them with our arms, we ought to assist them with our prayers.”

Afterwards, when news arrived of the Turks being beaten off, and gone home, there was a form of thanksgiving for the raising the siege. It was set forth, and probably drawn by archbishop Parker. It was to be used six weeks through the province of Canterbury, on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. The office consisted of a hymn extracted from several Psalms, and a collect, which stands thus :

*A public
thanksgiving
for raising
the siege of
Malta.*

“O heavenly and most merciful Father, the defender of those who put their trust in thee, the sure fortress of all them that fly to thee for succour : who of thy most just judgments for our disobedience against thy holy word, and for our sinful and wicked living, nothing answering to our holy profession, (which hath been an occasion, that thy holy name hath been blasphemed among the heathen,) hast of late most sharply corrected and scourged our Christian brethren, thy servants, with terrible wars and dreadful invasions of most deadly and cruel enemies, Turks and infidels : but now of thy fatherly pity and merciful goodness, without any desert of ours, even for thine own name's sake, hast, by thy assistance given to divers Christian princes and potentates, at length, when all our hope

The Collect.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

was almost passed, dispersed and put to confusion those infidels, being thine and our mortal enemies, and graciously delivered thy afflicted and distressed Christians in the isle of Malta, and sundry other places in Christendom, to the glory and praise of thy name, and to the exceeding comfort of all sorrowful Christian hearts. We render unto thee most humble and hearty thanks for these thy great mercies shewed unto them that were thus afflicted and in danger. We laud and praise thee; most humbly beseeching thee to grant unto all those that profess thy holy name, that we may shew ourselves in our living, thankful to thee for these and all other thy benefits. Endue us, O Lord, and all other Christian people with thy heavenly grace, that we may truly know thee, and obediently walk in thy holy commandments; lest we again provoke thy just wrath against us. Continue thy great mercies towards us; and as in this, so in all other invasions of Turks and infidels, save and defend thy holy Church, that all posterities ensuing may continually confess thy holy name, praising and magnifying thee with thine own Son Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost, to whom be all laud, praise, glory, and empire, for ever and ever. Amen."

See Regist.
Parker.

I have transcribed this collect as an instance of the charity and Christian temper of our Church. These Maltese were all Roman Catholics. But this was no bar to the good wishes and prayers of our bishops. The collect expresses a sympathy for the calamitous condition of the garrison and inhabitants of Malta. They call them the servants of God, and their Christian brethren: they discover a generous concern for their welfare, and return solemn thanks for their deliverance. Was this precedent imitated by the different communions: did they forbear invectives, and treat each other with smooth recommending language: were there more prayers, and less heat and satire upon each other: was this healing method pursued, it is probable they might come to a good understanding at last. Thus their differences might lessen with their disaffection, and the breaches in the Church be made up¹.

This year, Cecilia, sister to the king of Sweden, with her husband, the marquess of Baden, arrived at Dover: they were honourably conveyed to London, where, after four days, the princess was delivered of a son. The child was christened in

¹ Since Collier and the Nonjurors were distinguished for this charitable sentiment, those who call them violent and implacable are grossly mistaken.

the queen's chapel, her majesty being god-mother, and the archbishop of Canterbury and duke of Norfolk god-fathers.

ELIZABETH.

Archbishop Parker having lately moved the queen and secretary Cecil to assist him in the exercise of discipline, her majesty issued out her proclamation, requiring conformity to the habit: and thus the bishop's articles or advertisements were in some measure ratified. The penalty of disobeying the order was deprivation, and disability for preaching. And since the archbishop complained the London clergy had shewn themselves more stiff in their non-conformity, and that their practice made an impression upon the country, the secretary acquainted him, the queen was willing the Reformation should begin there; and that in case of non-compliance, it would be expedient to press their authority, and proceed with resolution: and to countenance their proceedings, and take off the imputation of rigour, her majesty designed to join some secular persons of quality in commission with them.

The queen's proclamation for conformity to the habit.

Upon this encouragement, Parker and Grindal, having consulted some persons learned in the law, resolved to call all the London rectors and curates before them at Lambeth. And here it was agreed to suggest the reasons why they ought to conform, with intimation of the penalty for recusancy. After they had thus endeavoured to prevail with them altogether, they intended to deal with them apart, and bring them to a promise of compliance under their hands. That if they continued obstinate, suspension and sequestration were to follow: and if this correction proved too feeble, they were to be deprived within three months.

506.

March 20,
1565-6.

The 26th of March was appointed for this trial; and Cecil sent the archbishop word, that the lord-keeper Bacon, the marquess of Northampton, and himself, intended to be there: but none of them came: it seems they recollected themselves, and declined having a share in such unacceptable business. The city clergy appeared at Lambeth, and several of them were persuaded to quit their prejudices and preserve themselves. The archbishop sent the secretary a particular account of the proceedings. The issue was this; sixty-one of them promised conformity, nine or ten refused to appear, and thirty-seven could not be brought to compliance. Some of this last number were preachers, and men otherwise not ill distinguished. But several of them, as the archbishop reports,

March 26,
A.D. 1566.

The London clergy summoned to Lambeth upon this occasion.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

April 23.

*Life of Abp. Parker.
The queen of Scots delivered of a son, afterwards king James 6.*

seemed to have a great deal of zeal and good meaning, but with a very moderate proportion of learning and judgment. And now, according to the measures preconcerted, those who continued unreclaimed, had the discipline driven home upon them. Cox, bishop of Ely, approved the archbishop's proceedings; and, which is somewhat remarkable, Grindal concurred with him thus far. And now the penalties of silencing and sequestration being executed, and no signs of relaxation upon what was to follow, the Dissenters broke out into remonstrance, and complained loudly of hard usage. Dr. Humphreys wrote a moving letter to the secretary to stop the execution, and wave the advertisements. That the silencing the pulpit was a most calamitous rigour: that people were astonished at this management: that such measures for unity would split the Reformation into parties, disconcert the common harmony, and make more disagreement than ever.

In June this year, the queen of Scots was delivered of a son in the castle of Edinburgh. Sir James Melvil was dispatched with this news to queen Elizabeth, who sent sir Henry Killigrew to the Scottish court to congratulate upon the occasion. The general assembly now convened in Edinburgh, sent the superintendent to Lothian to pay their duty to the queen, and to request the prince might be baptized by the reformed. To this the queen returned no answer, but the rest of their address was kindly received. Her majesty calling for the prince that the superintendent might see him, he took him in his arms, fell upon his knees, made a short prayer, and then spoke to the infant to say amen for himself: this the queen was particularly pleased with, and the prince, when he was grown up, always called him his amen, and treated him with the regard of his spiritual father.

About the end of August, the prince was conveyed to Stirling, and preparation made for his christening. To honour this solemnity, the count de Briance was sent ambassador from the French king, monsieur de Croque from the duke of Savoy, and the earl of Bedford from the queen of England. This earl brought a font of gold of two stone weight, with a bason and ewer. The ceremonies of the Roman Church were made use of upon this occasion; and thus none but the nobility and gentry of that persuasion appeared in the chapel. The prince was carried thither by the French ambassador, and received

by the archbishop of St. Andrew's, the bishops of Dunkeld, Dunblain, and Ross, with several other ecclesiastics of distinction, being present. ELIZABETH.

The countess of Argyle was the queen of England's deputy, and held the child at the font. This sacrament, as I observed, was administered with all the customary ceremonies of the Roman communion, excepting spittle, which was omitted by the queen's order. When the religious part of the ceremony was over, the prince was proclaimed by his name and titles, Charles James, prince and steward of Scotland¹, duke of Rothesay, earl of Carrick, lord of the Isles, and baron of Renfrew. Then the music began, and having played for some time, the prince was conveyed to his apartment.

The assembly, it seems, took it ill that the queen refused their request relating to the prince, and would not suffer her son should be baptized into a communion different from her own. But that which disoblged them most, was a commission granted to the archbishop of St. Andrew's. By this instrument he was restored to his former jurisdiction in the probate of wills, in collating to benefices, and other branches of jurisdiction in the spiritual courts. This being highly resented, they drew a petition to the reformed nobility of the secret council. In this address, they acquaint the lords, "that the causes tried in these courts did most of them belong to the cognizance of the true Church: that notwithstanding they had hitherto connived at royal commissions of this kind, yet this acquiescence was, because the majority of the persons empowered were of their own profession: but they could never resign so far to a known enemy of Christ and his truth, as they express themselves: that this jurisdiction would give him a colour of recovering his pretended authority: thus he might usurp the cognizance of heresy, and then it is easy to guess what sentence he would pass upon the reformed. Their request was, therefore, that the queen should be acquainted this commission was a revival of the papal supremacy, a breach upon the constitution, and acting counter to several proclamations published by her majesty." What answer they received to this address, or whether the archbishop acted upon his commission, or not, is farther

The assembly address the privy-council against a commission granted to the archbishop of St. Andrews.

¹ The steward of Scotland was an officer of the highest dignity, from whose office the royal house of Stuart took its name. On their advancement to the throne this office was sunk, and was never after revived.

PARKER, than Spotswood could discover. But, whatever he might do
Abp. Cant. for the present, it is certain the state-revolution, which hap-
Spotswood. pened the next year, put an end to his privilege.

About this time, Knox had leave from the assembly to travel into England, and make his sons a visit at Cambridge. At his going off he brought a letter from the assembly in favour of the dissenting ministers. By the superscription and contents of their letter, it appears they had a good opinion of episcopal government, and were far from the censure of the modern Presbyterians. The superscription runs thus :

“The superintendents, ministers and commissioners of the Church within the realm of Scotland, to their brethren the bishops and pastors of England,” &c.

507.

The assembly's letter to the English bishops, &c. in favour of the Dissenting ministers.

In their letter they complain, that several of their brethren are silenced in the pulpit, and barred the exercise of their function : that this was only because their conscience would not give them leave to wear the appendages of idolatry. They have no intention to enter into the merits of the cause, or dispute the question at present, which, as they are informed, is argued with too much heat on both sides. Waiving the controversy, therefore, they conjure them to tenderness and charity, and that they would not put such usage upon others as they could not but dislike in the return. They put them in mind that people's understandings are different ; that conscience is a nice thing, and ought to be gently treated.

They suggest that the non-conforming ministers in England do not censure those who wear the habit, nor give them any disturbance upon that score. They desire, therefore, the same liberty may be allowed them ; and they hope that bishops and other conformists will be more prudent than to trouble the godly for such “vain trifles.” And now, to use the words of the letter, “if the commandment of the authority,” say they, “urged the consciences of you and your brethren farther than they can bear, we pray you remember that ye are called ‘the light of the world, and the salt of the earth.’ All civil authorities have not ever the light of God shining before their eyes in their statutes and commandments, but their affections savour too much sometimes of the earth and of worldly wisdom ; therefore, we think that ye ought boldly oppose yourselves, not only to all power that dare extol itself against God, but also against all such as dare burthen the consciences of the

faithful, farther than God hath burthened them in his own Word.”

ELIZABETH.

In the close, they renew their application for lenity and forbearance, and hope the bishops will not disown them for brethren, nor give them the less consideration for the slenderness of their figure, and because they do not appear with equipage and grandeur.

Dec. 27.
1566.
Id. p. 198.
MS. Acts of
the Assembly,
fol. 183.
penes
Honorab.
Archibald
Campbell,
Armig.

The reader may perceive this application was not every where guarded with ceremony and address: for they make no difficulty to determine for the Dissenters, to call the distinctions of the habit “vain trifles,” and to exhort the bishops “to deal more wisely than to trouble the godly with such vanities.”

And now, to give some satisfaction to the Scotch ministers, who were strongly soliciting for a maintenance, the court offered the assembly certain assignments for present relief. These terms were accepted, with a protestation for saving their right to the tithes; for these they looked on as an inalienable branch of the Church’s patronage, and that no part of them ought to be detained by the laity upon any pretence whatever.

To return to England: about this time an answer came out to a book printed under the name of the London ministers. The book is called, “A Brief Examination of the Dissenters’ Declaration.” It is supposed to be either archbishop Parker’s performance, or at least written by his direction. The author, amongst other things, complains the Puritans had made their title too bulky, and swelled it beyond matter of fact; that many of the London ministers were of a different sentiment; that, though some of them might pause upon the habit, yet they were far from thinking there was any downright immorality in it, neither did they censure their brethren who conformed in this particular; and, lastly, he tells them that those who appeared with so much warmth in these singularities were but a small number, most of them mechanics, and much more remarkable for their assurance than their learning; and that, if they continued to indulge their fancies, he was afraid they would turn Anabaptists, or libertines, at last.

Spotswood,
p. 200.
*An answer
to a book
published
by the Dis-
senter.*

Another paper, upon the same subject, was written this year. It is called, “A Brief and Lamentable Consideration of the Apparel now used by the Clergy of England.” By the style,

Strype’s
Annals,
p. 481.
*Another an-
swer, sup-
posed to be*

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

*written by
Jewel.*

it seems to have been penned by bishop Jewel. His reasoning against the Dissenters is much the same with what has been mentioned already. But his address to them in the close is particularly remarkable.

"Do not suffer Satan," says he, "to perplex your consciences: but throw up your contest, and make for unity. Be not ashamed to repent, nor afraid of losing your credit with the people. We are commanded to go to Nineveh, and denounce the judgments of God. Instead of this, we desert our business and lie idle in the hold. This misbehaviour draws the storm upon us; and, unless Jonah repents, the ship is in danger of being lost. You have churches," continues the author, "why do ye quit them, and run to field-conventicles! You have public places to officiate in, what makes ye affect private meetings! You have the Christian religion preached to you in its original purity, what reason then can ye have to be disgusted! Are not the Holy Scriptures read to you? Have ye not the liberty of perusing them at pleasure? And is not popery discharged? As for those who conform to the habit, were they not banished for their orthodoxy? And did they not give up their fortune with all the resignation imaginable! Who takes more pains in preaching, who writes to better purpose, who manages with more vigilance and vigour in their respective stations, than these men? You talk of reformation, but they practise it. If you love Christ, feed his sheep, and do not quarrel in his vineyard. Let us help to bear one another's burthens, love our brethren, and not disturb the public repose."

Life of
Parker,
Append.
num. 49.

Archbishop Parker, not being seconded with that vigour by Grindal which might be expected, was much embarrassed with the Dissenters. He acquainted Dr. Haddon, the queen's ambassador at Bruges, with the state of this affair, and sent him the opinion of Bucer and Peter Martyr upon the controversy. Haddon, in his answer to the archbishop's letter, affirms, that, though the bare authority of these two learned divines was sufficient to disable the novelists and bring such peasants to submission, yet the intrinsic strength of the argument was such, that all persons of probity and without prejudice must be satisfied with it. It was his opinion, therefore, the bishops had gone far enough in their instructions; that doctrine should be supported with discipline; and that such troublesome people, who took the freedom to make a noise against the con-

MS.
C. C. C. C.
inter Epist.
Life of
Archbishop
Parker,
p. 222.

stitutions of Church and State, should be restrained, and taught more modesty.

ELIZABETH.

Some of the most clamorous Dissenting ministers were put under gentle confinements; some were sent to the bishop of Winchester, some to Ely, and some to Norwich. They were thus disposed of, partly for better instruction, and partly to prevent the spreading their singularities and doing disservice in the capital of the kingdom. But it was not long ere they were enlarged from this durance. John Fox, the martyrologist, held with the Dissenters in this controversy. However, he was not for carrying the dispute to a schism. In his letter to the ecclesiastical commissioners, in favour of one West, his acquaintance, he laments the distractions in the Church, and that we had neither peace with enemies or friends. From hence he goes on to a satire upon the times. He complains, scepticism was bold and insulting; that licentiousness had neither shame nor punishment; that covetousness was rampant, and simony common; with several other instances of scandalous practice.

The Dissenters complain of archbishop Parker's rigour.

508.

Id. Append.
num. 1.

Some of the London ministers being suspended or deprived for non-conformity, the Dissenters complained the Church doors were shut, and nobody to officiate in several parishes. And though the archbishop and bishop of London had taken care to supply the vacancies by their own chaplains, yet the clamour was kept on, and the odium thrown upon the archbishop. Parker vindicated himself in a letter to secretary Cecil, and returned the charge upon the peevishness and misbehaviour of the Dissenters. He complained of his being burdened with foreign business, and glanced at the remissness of the bishop of London. As to the London Puritans, they had been very disorderly and mutinous: there had been fighting in the church about the habit. The elements had been sacrilegiously snatched from the communion-table, because the bread was wafers, and not in the common figure. The clergy when officiating had been violently thrust out of the Church, only because they appeared in surplices: and to expose the conformists, they made a scandalous person do penance in a square cap. These intemperate sallies were ill symptoms, and unless timely prevented, might end in something worse. This was an open contempt, both of the bishops and the queen: I

Outrages committed by the Puritans.

PARKER, say of the queen, for her majesty, besides her former injunctions and proclamations, had lately sent orders to the archbishop of York, to press conformity through that province. **Abp. Cant.** Parker, therefore, being well apprised of the stomach and stubbornness of that party, desired the countenance of the government, and that the privy council would support him in the execution of discipline. This favour, he told the secretary, had been formerly afforded Cranmer and Hooper upon a resembling occasion. There are some strokes in the archbishop's letter to Cecil, which discover he had been menaced by some of the Dissenters, and was not without apprehension of losing his life, by discharging his office. However, he declares himself resolved to maintain his post, exert his character, and run the utmost hazard.

May,
A. D. 1566.

Joshua, i.
6. 8, 9.

Life of
Archbishop
Parker,
p. 229.
See Records,
num. 86.

*They are
supported by
great men at
court.*

*Some of the
bishops
willing to
indulge the
omission of
the habit.*

Cox, bishop of Ely, and Grindal, of London, concurred with the archbishop against the Dissenters. The first wrote him a letter not to sink under fatigues, nor be disheartened at a dark prospect. "Be strong," says he, "and of a good courage, for the Lord thy God is with thee." "Time and truth shall put folly to flight." And Grindal, bishop of London, who had moved very gently hitherto, finding the Dissenters extravagantly perverse, endeavoured to reclaim them. To this purpose he published Bullinger's judgment concerning the habit in Latin and English. The resolution of this learned divine was not without its effect. Several, both of the ministers and laity, were brought off their prejudices by it. This the reader may see in bishop Grindal's letter to Bullinger, in which there are some passages particularly remarkable.

However, the bulk of the Puritan party stood firm in their old mistakes. And for their encouragement, they were not without countenance at court. The great earl of Leicester, and sir Francis Knowles, vice-chamberlain, were their friends: and to mention no more, sir Francis Walsingham, afterwards secretary of state, is reckoned in the same interest. These men, the two first at least, were great politicians, had designs upon the church estates, and made tools of the Puritans. To this I may add, that Parkhurst, Sandys, and Pilkington, bishops of Norwich, Worcester, and Durham, leaned to the Dissenters' side in this controversy. Some of these prelates, out of an excessive aversion to Popery, would have the Church

metamorphosed to a strange degree, and the old ceremonies discharged. But the queen had more ballast, and would not endure any such innovation.

ELIZABETH.

Strype's
Annal.
Append.
num. 35, 36.

Nicholas Robinson, doctor of divinity, and chaplain to archbishop Parker, was consecrated bishop of Bangor. He was a person of elocution and learning, and had suffered for his religion in the late reign. There is a remarkable discourse of his in manuscript marked with the archbishop's hand. It was preached before some great audience, either at court, or at St. Paul's-cross, about this time. I shall give the reader a sight of his manner, of his bold honesty, and of the prevailing disorders of the times. He complains "the pulpit made no impression: that prayers were frequented without devotion: that people fasted without mortification, and kept holidays without any godliness: that there was no discipline in Lent: that people came to church to satisfy the statute, heard sermons, and received the sacrament, to avoid singularity. That religion was little more than mode and decency with a great many. That some people pretended to orthodoxy for secular views, and liberty of practice. This man," says he, "is a great enemy to superstition, because he has a mind to live at large. He is for the Reformation, because a monastery, or some part of it, has fallen to his share. And thus Popish lands make Protestant landlords." And thus he goes on in his satire upon hypocrisy to a considerable length.

In August this summer, the queen went a progress, and made a visit to the university of Oxford. She was entertained for a week with great solemnity. The beauty of the buildings, and the public exercises, gave her great satisfaction. She took leave of them in a Latin speech, and thanked them for their entertainment.

Id.
Archbishop
Parker's
Life.
MS.
C. C. C.
p. 234.

Upon the 30th of September the parliament, after several prorogations, met at Westminster. On the 7th of October a bill to avoid sanctuaries for debt was read a second time, and ordered to be engrossed. Upon this, the dean of Westminster pleaded the exemption of his church, and desired to be heard by himself and his counsel in defence of that privilege. This being granted, on the 16th of October the dean appeared at the bar of the house of Commons, made an argument, and endeavoured to support his claim by alleging several grants from king Lucius downwards. His counsel were Mr. Plow-

Camden,
Eliz.

*The dean of
Westminster
pleads him-
self for the
exemption of
his Church.*

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

509.

D'Ewes's
Journal of
the House
of Com-
mons.

den, of the Middle-Temple, and Mr. Ford, a civilian. Plowden pleaded Edward the Confessor's charter, and offered several other authorities from history and law. Ford likewise insisted upon resembling topics. Upon this, the bill was committed to the master of the rolls, and some others, to peruse the grants and report the sense of the law. Upon the third reading the bill was thrown out by a majority of seventeen voices.

The next thing I shall mention, as being the only Church business in this parliament, is the making a statute for confirming all the consecrations of this reign. Bonner's exceptions against the legality of Horne's character gave occasion to this provision. Now this act being particularly remarkable, both for the weight of the case and the drawing the bill, I shall transcribe the greatest part of it. It begins thus:—

*An act for
confirming
the consecra-
tion of
bishops.*

“Forasmuch as divers questions, by overmuch boldnesse of speach and talke amongs many of the common sort of people, beyng unlearned, hath lately growen upon the makynge and consecratyng of archbishops and bishops within this realme, whether the same were and be duely and orderly done, according to the law, or not, which is much tending to the slaunder of all the state of the clergy, beyng one of the greatest states of this realme: therefore, for the avoyding of such slaunderous speach, and to the intent that every man that is willing to know the trueth may plainly understande that the same evylle speach and talke is not grounded upon any just matter or cause, it is thought convenient hereby partly to touche such authorities as doth allowe and approve the makynge and consecratyng of the same archbishops and bishops to be duely and orderly done, according to the laws of this realme, and thereupon farther to provide for the more surety thereof as hereafter shall be expressed.

“First. It is very well known to all degrees of this realme, that the late king of most famous memorie, king Henrie the eight, as well by all the clergie then of this realme, in theyr severall convocations, as also by all the lords spirituall and temporall, and commons assembled in diverse of his parliametes, was justly and ryghtfully recognized and acknowledged to have the supreme power, jurisdiction, order, rule, and authoritie, over all the state ecclesiastical of the same, and the same power, jurisdiction, and authoritie, did use accordingly; and

ELIZABETH.

that also the sayd late king, in the xxvth yeere of his raigne, did, by authority of parliament, amonges other thyngs, set foorth a certain order of the manner and fourme how archbishops and bishops within this realme, and other his dominions, should be elected and made, as by the same more plainly appears. And that also the late king of worthy memorie, king Edward the syxth, did lawfully succeed the late king Henrie his father in his imperial crown of this realme, and did justly possesse and enjoye all the same power, jurisdiction, and authoritie before mentioned, as a thing to him descended with the same imperial crown, and so used the same duryng his life. And that also the said late king Edward the syxth, in his tyme, by authoritie of parliament, caused a godly and vertuose book, entituled 'The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of Sacraments, and other Rytes and Ceremonies in the Church of England,' to be made and set foorth, not only for one uniforme order of service, common prayer, and the administration of the sacraments, to be used within all this realme, and other his dominions, but also did adde and put to the same book a very good and godly order of the manner and fourme howe archbishops, bishops, priests, deacons, and ministers, should from tyme to tyme be consecrated, made, and ordered within this realme, and other his dominions, as by the same more plainly will and may appear. And although in the tyme of the late queen Mary, as well the said act and statute made in the xxvth yeere of the raigne of the said late king Henry the eight, as also the several acts and statutes made in the second, third, fourth, fyfth, and syxth yeeres of the raigne of the said late king Edward, for the authorizing and allowyng of the said Book of Common Prayer, and other the premisses, amonges divers other acts and statutes touching the said supreme authoritie, were repealed. Yet, never the lesse, at the parliament holden at Westminster, in the first yeere of the raigne of our sovereigne lady, the queen's majesty that now is, by one other act and statute there made, all such jurisdictions, privileges, superiorities, and preheminences, spiritual and ecclesiastical, as by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or authoritie hath heretofore been, or may lawfully be used over the ecclesiastical state of this realme, and the order, reformation, and correction of the same, is fully and absolutely, by the authoritie of the same parliament, united and annexed to the imperial crown

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

510.

of this realme. And by the same act and statute there is also given to the queen's highnesse, her heyres and successors, kings or queens of this realme, full power and authoritie by letters-patents, under the great seale of England, from tyme to tyme, to assign, name, and authorize such person or persons as she or they shall think meete and conveniente, to exercise, use, occupie, and execute under her highnesse, all manner of jurisdictions, privileges, preheminences, and authorities, in any wyse touching or concerning any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or jurisdiction within this realme, or any other her highnesse's dominions or countreys. And also by the same acte and statute, the said acte made in the xxv yeere of the raigne of the said late king Henrie the eyght, for the order and fourme of the electing and makyng of the said archbishops and bishops, togeather with divers other statutes touching the jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical is revived, and made in full force and effect, as by the same acte and statute more plainly appeareth. And that also by an other acte and statute made in the sayde parliament, in the first yeere of the raigne of our sayde sovereigne lady, entituled 'An Acte for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and Service in the Church, and Administration of Sacramentes, the said Book of Common Prayer and Administration of Sacraments and other the said Orders, Rytes, and Ceremonies beforementioned, and all things therein conteyned, with certayne additions therein newly added and appoynted by the sayde Statute, is fully established and authorized to be used in all Places within this Realme, and all other the Queen's Majesty's Dominions and Countreys, as by the same Acte amonges other thinges more plainly appeareth.' Whereupon, our sayde sovereigne lady, the queen's most excellent majestie, being most justly and lawfully invested in the imperial crown of this realme, with all authorities, preheminencies, and dignities thereunto apperteyning; and thereby havynge in her majesty's order and disposition all the sayde jurisdictions, power, and authorities, over the state ecclesiastical and temporal, as well in causes ecclesiastical as temporal, within this realme, and other her majesty's dominions and countreys, hath by her supream authoritie, at divers tymes, sythence the beginning of her majesty's raigne, caused divers and sundry grave and well learned men to be duely elected, made, and consecrated archbishops and bishops, of divers

ELIZA-
BETH.

archbishopricks and bishopricks within this realme, and other her majesty's dominions and countreyes, according to such order and fourme, and with such ceremonies, in and about their consecrations, as were allowed and set forth by the sayde actes, and statutes, and orders annexed to the sayde Booke of Common Prayer before mentioned. And further, for the avoyding of all ambiguities and questions that might be objected against the lawfull confyrms, investyng, and consecrations of the sayde archbishops and bishops, her highness in her letters patents, under the great seale of Englande, directed to any archbishop, bishop, or others, for the confyrming, investing, and consecratyng of any person, elected to the office or dignitie of any archbishop or bishop, hath not only used such woordes and sentences as were accustomed to be used by the said late king Henrie and king Edwarde, her majestie's father and brother, in their like letters patents, made for such causes: but also hath used and put in her majestie's said letters patents, divers other general woordes and sentences, whereby her highness, by her supream power and authoritie, hath dispensed with all causes or doubts of any imperfection or disabilitie, that can, or may, in anywise be objected agaynst the same, as by her majestie's sayde letters patents remayning of recorde, more plainly will appear. So that to all those that will well consider of the effect and true intent of the sayde laws and statutes, and of the supream and absolute authority of the queen's highness, and which she by her majestie's sayde letters patents hath used and put in ure, in and about the making and consecratyng of the said archbishops and bishops; it is, and may be very evident and apparant, that no cause of scruple, ambiguitie, or doubt, can or may justly be objected against the said elections, confyrms, or consecrations, or any other material thing, meet to be used or had, in or aboute the same: but that every thyng requisite and material for that purpose, hath been made and done as precisely, and with as great care and diligence, or rather more, as ever the like was doone before her majestie's tyme, as by the recordes of her majestie's sayd father and brother's tyme, and also of her own tyme, wyl more plainly testifie and declare."

Thus far the preamble. By the enacting part, the 1st of

*The act of
1 Eliz.
cap.2. an. 5.*

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

§ 6 Edw. 6,
cap. 1. con-
firmed or
revived.

Eliz. cap. 2. touching the book of Common Prayer and the administration of the sacraments, is confirmed, and the form for consecrating archbishops and bishops, and for ordaining priests and deacons, is declared to stand in full force and effect pursuant to the act passed in the 5th and 6th of Ed. 6. cap. 1.

“It is farther enacted, that all consecrations, confirmations, and elections, made by virtue of the queen’s letters-patent or commission since the beginning of her reign shall be judged good and perfect, to all respects and purposes; and all persons that have been or shall be consecrated archbishops and bishops, and ordained priests and deacons, pursuant to the form or ordinal above mentioned, are declared and enacted to be rightly consecrated and ordained; any statute, law, canon, or other thing to the contrary notwithstanding.”

*A proviso
in favour of
recusants.*

The statute concludes with a proviso in favour of Bonner and other recusants. By this proviso it is enacted, that nobody should suffer in person or property for having refused the oath of supremacy, or by means of any certificate made by any archbishop or bishop, or to be made before the last day of this session of parliament. And that all tenders of the said oath made within the term last mentioned shall be void, and of non-effect.

8 Eliz. c. 1.
Statutes at
Large.
*The bishops’
character
not parlia-
mentary.*

Notwithstanding this state provision for consecration, there is no reason to reproach the English hierarchy upon this score, or call the bishops parliamentary prelates: there is no just ground, I say, for any railery or reflection of this kind. For as to the English bishops of the Reformation, the force of their character and the authority of their mission depend upon consecration and spiritual conveyance; neither doth such consecration derive its significancy from any regulations of the civil legislature. Thus much I conceive may be collected from the act in which the bishops and priests are called the ministers of God’s holy word and sacraments. Now this denomination supposes a divine commission; for as nobody can represent a prince without a deputation, so neither can any person seal covenants in our Saviour’s name, and govern in his Church, without a delegated power for that purpose. Farther, by the statutes confirming all consecrations, confirmations, &c. made by the direction of the queen’s letters-patent, we can fairly infer no more, than that the bishops so constituted lie under the protection of the state, are guarded in their legal privileges, and covered from cavil and prosecution in the temporal courts.

The convocation sat with this parliament, but no business was done excepting the grant of a subsidy.

ELIZABETH.

The Dutch Church, settled at Austin-friars, London, complained of some of their members to the commissioners for causes ecclesiastical. Some of these foreigners, it seems, had misbehaved themselves, refused to submit to their pastors, and for fear of censure revolted from their communion. This case coming frequently up, made the governing part address the commissioners, that those who had thus deserted might be obliged to return and make their submission. The bishop of London, with other commissioners, made a decree in favour of the complainants. The substance of this order was, that this Dutch Church should continue in its discipline and government. And here the ministers, deacons, and elders, are confirmed in their respective functions. There is likewise an exhortation to all reformed foreigners in the city of London to communicate with this Church, and acquiesce in its regulations. And lastly, all those who had occasioned any disturbance or broke loose from this communion, are declared refractory persons; and unless they recollect themselves, and make satisfaction, are threatened with discipline.

A decree in favour of the Dutch Church.

511.

This year the controversy touching the habit occasioned farther misunderstandings, and ended in an open rupture: for now the Puritans drew off from the Church, formed separate congregations, and laid the Common Prayer-book wholly aside. They pretended that methods of compulsion, and tying the "ceremonies of antichrist to the service of God," were the reasons of their going off. However, they did not at first trust to extemporary effusions, but officiated by the book made use of by the English refugees at Geneva, already mentioned. To this there are some additional prayers subjoined. And thus they quitted the communion of the Church, and framed a schism. However, some of their ministers thought they carried their exceptions too far, and refused to join them in their revolt.

MS. in Eccl. Latino Belg. Strype Annal. *The Puritans form separate congregations.*

These separate meetings provoked the government, and put the ecclesiastical commissioners upon looking after them. About a hundred of these Dissenters met in Plummer's-hall, under the pretence of a wedding; but this excuse being thought too slender, about fifteen of them were committed. The next day seven of them, viz. Smith, Nixon, White, Ireland, Hawkins, Rowland, and Morecraft, were examined. They were

June 19, 1567.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

*Some of them
convented
before the
bishop of
London.*

brought before the bishop of London, sir Roger Marten, mayor, the dean of Westminster, and other commissioners.

The queen and council being informed of these meetings, wrote to the bishop of London to bring them to conformity by gentleness and persuasion; but that, in case of obstinacy, they should first lose their city freedom, and be afterwards farther punished. The bishop laid his instructions before them, and told them, over and above, that in separating from the public communion, they not only condemned the present Church, but likewise the whole Reformation in the reign of king Edward: a Reformation for which many good men had sacrificed their lives. He demanded of them, whether they had not the Gospel preached in its purity, and the sacraments unexceptionably administered? That the Church of England's differing from other communions in circumstance and ceremony, was no just ground for desertion: that these were things indifferent, settled for the sake of order, and lay within the prince's power.

*The re-
formed
abroad de-
clare against
the English
Dissenters.*

And, because they insisted on the model of foreign Churches, and pretended to be governed by their precedent, the dean of Westminster told them, all the men of learning in Europe were of a different sentiment as to their case. To this the bishop of London added, that even the learned in Geneva were against them. He produced a letter from some of the ministers in that city. The expression which most affected them was this, "That they should exercise their office against the will of their prince and bishops, we do so much the more tremble at."

Archbishop
Parker's
Life.

The bishop of London, to reconcile them to the establishment, asked them this question: "Have we not a godly prince? Speak: is she evil?" To this three of them made their several answers thus:

William White. "What a question is that, the fruits do show."

Thomas Rowland. "No; but the servants of God are persecuted under her."

Robert Hawkins. "Why this question the prophet answereth in the Psalms: 'How can they have understanding that work iniquity, spoiling my people, and that extol vanity?'"

Regist.
Grindal,
fol. 33.

In the progress of their examination they objected against the form of the consecrated bread. Their cavil was because it

was given in wafers : this, they said, was going too near the Roman Communion. The bishop of London replied, that the Church of Geneva, for whose practice they had so great a regard, received in wafer-cakes. When arguing and gentle applications made no impression ; when, instead of promising to forbear their meetings, they discovered a resolution of maintaining their sentiments and schism, some of them were remanded to prison ; but it was not long before they were discharged.

ELIZABETH.

The more learned and considerable ministers of this party disliked these excesses, as has been already observed. It is true, they scrupled the practice of the ceremonies, suffered in their preferments, and chose rather to throw up their business than to comply : but, notwithstanding their disagreement in these matters, they would by no means drive the contest to a schism. They avoided the lengths of these Separatists, and would neither preach nor pray with them. Amongst these men of some moderation, Sampson and Leaver, Coverdale, Fox, and Humphreys may be reckoned. These men had gentle usage : their preaching was overlooked, and some of them were suffered to hold preferments.

Some of the dissenting ministers condemned the practice of the Separatists.

The Dissenters had sent to Beza for his judgment upon the case. What freedom he took in censuring the constitutions of the Church, has been already observed from his letter to Bullinger. But, notwithstanding his singularities against the habit, though he complained of it as tinged with superstition : notwithstanding he was so hardy as to affirm that those who introduced it, disserved the Church, and must account for it another day : notwithstanding all this scruple and vehemence, he pronounced against the Separatists, and declared the ministers should rather comply than quit their business. And that the laity were to blame who chose rather to lose the benefit of public service, than hear a preacher that wore a surplice. However, he advised the pastors to disburthen their conscience, to publish their dislike of these ceremonies before their congregation : and, over and above, to address the queen and bishops with a modest remonstrance against them. He will by no means have them subscribe the justifiableness of these ceremonies, or so much as to stand neuter and silent in the controversy. And yet, after all this dissuasive distance, he conjures the brethren, that laying aside animosities and disaffection,

Archbishop Parker's Life.

Beza's opinion.

PARKER, *Abp. Cant.*
512. they would patiently bear with one another, and submit to the orders of the queen and bishops: that they would keep a good correspondence with the Conformists, though at present they differed from them in some matters.

Beza, *Epist.*
12.

Beza recommends the subscribing a confession of faith as- sented to by the reformed churches abroad.

This year Beza, who succeeded Calvin at Geneva, made a present to bishop Grindal of his Annotations upon the New Testament. The bishop returned him an acknowledgment, with a commendation upon his performance. Beza, writing him another letter of thanks, took an opportunity of suggesting a closer correspondence. He put him in mind that the last year the reformed Churches of France, of Geneva, and Switzerland, had subscribed a common confession of faith. And since the Church of England, as he seemed to be well assured, was of the same sentiment, he thought a public attestation of such an union might be a serviceable expedient. He desired the bishop therefore to recommend this business to the queen and the rest of his order. But this proposal of Beza came to nothing: the English hierarchy thought it more advisable to stand upon their own bottom, than incorporate their belief with foreign systems, and make themselves answerable for every thing defined by the reformed abroad.

Beza,
Epist. 8.

Camden,
Eliz. p. 129.

This year Nicholas Wootton, doctor of civil and canon law, and dean of Canterbury and York, departed this life. He was a gentleman of condition, but more considerable for distinguishing himself in eminent stations both at home and abroad. He was privy counsellor to Henry VIII., and Edward VI., to queen Mary, and Elizabeth: he had performed nine embassies to the emperor, the courts of France and Spain, and other princes. He was plenipotentiary at the concluding three treaties between the English, French, and Scotch: and by king Henry VIII.'s will was constituted one of the sixteen governors, during the minority of Edward VI.

To say something of the Scottish Church history of this year. And here, by way of introduction, I shall briefly touch some passages relating to the State.

The king of Scots, lodged in Edinburgh in order to his recovery, was found murdered at some distance in a garden. The house, to conceal the villany, was blown up with gunpowder. James Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, being suspected of this practice, was brought to his trial, and acquitted. Not long after, he projected marrying the queen, and procured a sub-

scription from several noblemen to consent to the enterprise. The queen making a visit to the prince at Stirling, Bothwell seized her in her return, and carried her to the castle of Dunbar. It was commonly said her majesty was in the concert: for, soon after, Bothwell was not only pardoned all misdemeanours, but gained her consent for the marriage. To make way for this sovereign relation, Bothwell sued a divorce from his wife, the lady Jane Gordon. The cause was heard in the bishop of St. Andrew's court. It was likewise tried by judges commissioned by the queen. The sentence was given for the divorce in both courts, but the grounds were different. In the archbishop's court, it was proved Bothwell and his lady were of kin in the fourth degree; and that they had procured no dispensation of the pope to remove this obstruction. In the other court, sentence passed upon the proof of the earl's adultery.

ELIZA-
BETH.

Spotswood.

The queen now returned to the castle of Edinburgh. Bothwell sent to the church to publish the banns between her majesty and himself. The reader refusing, John Craig, the preacher, was desired to perform that office. Craig answered, "he could ask no banns, especially such as these were, without the knowledge and consent of the Church." The business was propounded in a session of the Church; and, after some length of dispute with the justice-clerk, it was at last concluded that the three next preaching-days the queen's pleasure should be published.

Craig protested he could resign to their order only upon condition of having the liberty to speak his own mind, and that he should not be obliged to officiate in the solemnity. The first preaching-day, before an audience of noblemen and privy-counsellors, he declared, "that, in his opinion, the marriage between the queen and the earl was unlawful; that he was prepared to give his reasons to the parties themselves; that, in case he was denied this liberty, he would desist from publishing the banns, or else acquaint the congregation with the grounds of his remonstrance."

Craig, a Scotch minister, declares against the marriage between the queen and earl Bothwell.

In the afternoon, being brought before the council, Bothwell called for the reasons pretended against his marriage. Craig answered, first, "that, in the last assembly, the Church had prohibited the marriage of persons divorced for adultery." Secondly, he let him know, "that the divorce from his lady

His hardy expressions before the council.

PARKER, *Abp. Cant.* was managed by concert ; that the unfairness of the practice was apparent, by the precipitation of the sentence, and subsequent contract with the queen." And lastly, he had the courage to charge Bothwell with forcing the queen, and a suspicion of being guilty of the king's murder.

The Sunday following, he publicly repeated his discourse to the council, told this congregation that he had now discharged his conscience, and that he detested the marriage as a most scandalous engagement ; but, since the flattery or silence of the great men seemed to approve it, he desired the people to pray that God would turn so unrighteous a resolve to the benefit of the Church and kingdom. These were looked on as excessive freedoms, and extremely shocking to the court. And, being sent for before the council, and reprimanded for going beyond his bounds, he told them, "the bounds of his commission were natural reason, good laws, and the Word of God ; that he had kept himself within due compass ; and that, from all these topics, he was ready to prove the marriage, if it went on, would be foul and scandalous." He was going to say something more, but Bothwell commanded him silence ; and thus he went off without farther punishment.

May 15,
1567.
*The queen
married to
earl Both-
well.*

To proceed : the queen and Bothwell were married, in Holyrood-house, by Adam, bishop of Orkney ; and, to make the manner more agreeable to the people, the solemnity was performed with the ceremonies of the reformed Church. There was but a slender appearance of the nobility ; and those who were present seemed displeased. Mons. le Crock, the French ambassador, excused his absence from the entertainment : for both his master and the queen of England had earnestly dissuaded the match. But the queen was ill advised, and betrayed to this error. In short, the people were generally disgusted ; and several noblemen, apprehensive of foul practice from Bothwell, entered into an association for the preservation of the young prince. The queen set forth a declaration to assure them of her care for her son's safety and education, and that she intended no alterations in the government. But she was unbelieving : the associated noblemen ran to arms, and, making an unexpected march, sat down before the castle of Borthwick, where the court then resided ; but, not having sufficient force to invest the place, both Bothwell and the queen made their escape.

Upon this rough treatment, her majesty provided for her defence, levied forces, marched towards Edinburgh, and drew up her army against the lords at Carberry-hill; but perceiving her men disinclined to engage, she surrendered to the association, and was sent prisoner to Lochleven under a guard.

ELIZABETH.

She is imprisoned at Lochleven.

These noblemen, having thus disposed of the queen, began to break amongst themselves. The earls of Argyle, Huntley, and others, were displeased with the outrages committed by the earl of Glencairn, in the chapel of Holyrood-house: they lamented the queen's misfortune, and were willing to retrieve her affairs.

The lords of the faction being thus disappointed, applied to the general assembly to bring off the other party from their adherence to the queen. The assembly approving the motion, wrote to the earls of Argyle, Huntley, Caithness, Rothes, Crawford, Menteith, and others, to repair to Edinburgh, for the settling of matters in Church and State. To make their address more considered, John Knox, Mr. John Douglas, Mr. John Roe, and Mr. John Craig, were appointed commissioners. These agents had instructions to acquaint the lords that the assembly was prorogued to the 20th of July: that this was done to give the noblemen, barons, and burghesses, an opportunity of convening at Edinburgh: that now the juncture presented fair for discharging the remains of popery, for establishing the polity, and restoring the patrimony of the Church. And therefore since Providence had favoured them so far, and brought things to so happy a crisis, they entreated them to appear and give their assistance: not forgetting to intermix something of menace and ill character, in case they failed. Thus far the commissioners' instructions.

The letters they brought with them, besides their being much of the same tenor, suggested a union or league amongst the professors: that by such a conjunction they might be in a condition of defence against the violence of their enemies. *Id. p. 209.* Their meaning was, that they might be strong enough to crush the royal party.

But neither these commissioners, nor the letters they were charged with, did any business. The lords at Hamilton (for there the commissioners found them) excused themselves upon the score of the public distractions, occasioned by the queen's imprisonment: that Edinburgh, appointed for the place of

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

meeting, having a considerable body of disciplined men in it, they did not think it safe to venture their persons there. However, they declared themselves willing to concur with the Church in any expedient that might be serviceable to religion.

Idem.

This in general : but the earl of Argyle, and the lord Boyd, were more particular in their answers. The first delivered his mind with reference to the public scheme, and desired that resolutions of this kind might be postponed, and nothing altered before a general meeting of the estates. The lord Boyd promised to subscribe their policy, as they called their book of discipline, but with the limitation of this phrase, "so far as it might stand with law."

The noblemen at Edinburgh, perceiving the other party were not to be gained, resolved to finish without them. And to recommend themselves to the assembly, they agreed to all the articles proposed. I shall mention some of them.

*Articles
agreed be-
tween the
assembly and
the lords of
the faction.*

First, that the acts made in the parliament held at Edinburgh in August, 1560 ; that these acts touching religion, and the discharge of the pope's authority, should be copied from the registers, and have the force of law. And that this parliament, so far as matters of religion were concerned, should be declared a lawful parliament.

Secondly, that until a settlement was made for recovering the patrimony of the Church, the assignments of the thirds of benefices should be duly paid for the maintenance of the ministry. By the way, after the year 1560, the Roman Catholic clergy were allowed to enjoy two-thirds of the profits of their preferment. As to the other third, it was paid into the exchequer for the benefit of the reformed. But the ministers found great difficulty to get part of this slender subsistence out of the courtiers' hands¹.

Thirdly, to proceed : it was agreed that in the first ensuing parliament, or sooner if the matter was practicable, the patrimony of the Church should be fully restored, and nothing done till this and other Church business was perfectly settled.

Fourthly, that all crimes against the law of God, should be punished by the direction of God's word, and judges assigned for that purpose. And in case the constitution happens to be short in either of these points, that then a supplemental provision be made in the first parliament. To explain this matter,

¹ A remarkable distribution of ecclesiastical property.

the reader is to observe, that the Scotch Kirk thought Christians obliged to proceed by the standard of the judaical law : and that, for instance, idolatry, murder, and adultery, ought to be punished as Moses prescribed.

ELIZABETH.

Fifthly, that for the future, all kings of Scotland, before they are crowned, should take an oath to maintain the true religion now professed in the realm.

The last article I shall mention, provides, "that the nobility, barons, and others, shall faithfully engage to appear in arms for the extirpating idolatry, without exception of place or person." By this clause the queen is particularly struck at. "They were likewise to promise the removing all idolaters and others not admitted to the preaching of the word, from executing any function in the Church, which may disserve the ministry in any respect." And in the place of the Roman Catholic clergy thus cashiered and disabled, there should be a substitution of superintendents, ministers, and other necessary distinctions in the Church.

These articles, and some others I have passed over, being Idem. unanimously agreed, were subscribed in the assembly by the earls of Morton, Glencairn, and Marr, the lords Home, Ruthven, Sanghar, Lindsay, Graham, Innermaith, Ochiltrie, a great many barons, besides commissioners of boroughs.

Thus the assembly had fair promises for lending their credit. But when the lords had mastered the difficulties, and gained their point, they disappointed the Kirk, forgot their engagement, and ran counter to the main articles.

Spotswood's Hist. p. 209.

Queen Elizabeth, being informed of the outrages upon the queen her cousin, resented the indignity, gave the Scotch, that thus maltreated their sovereign, the hardest names imaginable, and sent sir Nicholas Throgmorton to expostulate with them, and concert measures for restoring the queen.

514.

When the ambassador arrived in Scotland, he perceived the queen had a great many enemies ; and that her confinement was so close, that neither himself, nor the French ambassador, were permitted to wait on her. The rebels were somewhat divided, and at a loss how to dispose of her majesty. Lethington, and some few others, moved for her being restored upon these conditions:—that the regicides should be prosecuted and punished according to law ; that care should be taken for the security of the young prince ; that Bothwell should be

The English ambassador remonstrates against the usage put upon the queen of Scots.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

divorced from her, and that the reformed religion should be firmly settled. Others suggested perpetual banishment, either into France or England; but with this proviso, that the French king, or queen Elizabeth, would engage to prevail with her to resign the crown, and transfer the government upon her son. A third party were still more extravagantly unjust and barbarous: they were for bringing the queen to a formal trial; and taking it for granted she would be cast, their sentence was for perpetual imprisonment, and that her son should be crowned immediately. The fourth division thought this punishment too little, and declared for her execution. And this doom was thundered out of the pulpits by John Knox, and some others of his brethren.

Cambden,
Eliz. from
the Ambas-
sador Throg-
morton's
Letters,
p. 118.
Rom. xiii.

Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, on the other side, interposed for the queen with a great deal of vehemence and argument. He insisted on the apostle's commanding "every soul to be subject to the higher powers: that the powers were ordained of God, that they ought to be subject, not only for wrath but for conscience sake." That the queen was accountable to none but God Almighty for her administration: that no court upon earth had any warrantable pretence to bring her before them: that all the power of the Scottish magistracy was derived from the queen, and revocable at pleasure. To this the confederate revolvers replied, that by the Scottish constitution the subjects had a particular provision, and that in extraordinary cases, they were to apply to extraordinary expedients. They were furnished with a colour for their disloyalty by George Buchanan: who, at the instance of the earl of Murray, had lately written his damnable dialogue, as Cambden calls it, "*De jure regni apud Scotos.*" In this tract, continues Cambden, he affirms a right in the Scots for making and deposing their princes, which is no less than a downright contradiction to the history and records of that kingdom.

Cambden,
Eliz. p. 118.
*The queen of
Scots forced to
resign the govern-
ment to her son,
and declare
the earl of
Murray
regent.*

But the queen's enemies were too numerous, and had gone too far, to alter their resolves: and therefore, upon the recess of the assembly, the lords Ruthven and Lindsay were sent to persuade her to resign to the prince: and that she would comply so far as to appoint a regent during his minority. The queen, as she had reason, was extremely shocked at the proposal, and replied with an air of majesty and resentment, that she would rather part with her life, than her crown. But

being menaced, and roughly treated by the lord Lindsay, and advised by the earl of Athol and Lethington, of the danger of standing her ground, she subscribed the resignation instrument. She was farther disposed to yield this length, by a letter delivered to her by Robert Melvil, from Sir Nicholas Throgmorton. In this letter the ambassador assured her, that a resignation made under such duresse was void, and of no force either in justice or law.

ELIZABETH.

The queen being thus constrained to resign her sovereignty, the prince was immediately crowned, and anointed in the church at Stirling; the bishop of Orkney, assisted by two superintendents, officiating at the solemnity. John Knox preached the sermon. The earl of Morton and the lord Home swore for the king, that he would maintain the reformed religion, and do justice impartially to his subjects. The English ambassador, though in town, refused to appear at the ceremony: he thought his presence might be interpreted an approbation of the proceedings against the queen. When the news of this revolution was brought to France, the earl of Murray made haste to embark, and arrived at Edinburgh the eleventh of August following. As to Bothwell, and the fate attending him, a word or two may not be amiss. After his retreat from Carberry, and a short stay in the fort of Dunbar, he went on board, and set sail for Orkney with two or three ships: and being denied entrance into the castle of Kirkwall, he was obliged to put to sea again, and lived upon piracy: but not long after being chased by a greater force manned out by the regent, he was seized upon the coast of Norway, and conveyed to Denmark: where, being discovered by some Scotch merchants, he was confined in a very offensive prison. This misfortune threw him into a frenzy, as Spotswood reports. However, he lived ten years, but without his liberty.

*The prince crowned.
July 29,
1567.*

The regent, now established, convened a parliament, which met in December following. The first act sets forth the queen's resignation of the crown, with the consent and approbation of the earls, lords, prelates, barons, &c. And here the form of the resignation is inserted: I shall give the reader part of it, to show the hypocrisy of the instrument, and that the queen was forced to declare she was willing. It begins thus:

The parliament convened at Edinburgh.

"Marie be the grace of God queen of Scots, to all and sindrie our judges, and ministers of our lawes, liegis and sub-

The form of the queen's resignation.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

jects, quhom it effeiris, to quhais knaledge, thir our letters sall cum, greeting: forasmeikle, as after lange greate and intoltable paines, and labours taken bee us, sen our arrival within our realme, for government thereof, and keeping of the leigis of the samin quietness, we have not only beene vexed in our spirite, body, and senses thereby, bot als at length are altogidder sa wearyed thereof, that our habilitie and strength of body is not abil langer to indure the samin.

"Therefoir, and because nathing earthlie can be more comfortabil and happy to us in this earth, than to see our deare son the native prince of this our realme, placed in the kingdom thereof, and the crown royal set on his head, wee of our awin free will, and special motive, have dimitted and renounced the government, guyding and governing of this our realme of Scotland, lieges and subjects thereof, in favours of our said sonne, &c."

James 6.
parl. 1.
cap. 1.

By another act, the pope's authority is discharged, and the act made by the parliament held at Edinburgh, August 24, 1560, for renouncing the pretended jurisdiction of the court of Rome, is confirmed, and all acts passed in former reigns for the maintenance of idolatry and superstition, are annulled and extinguished, so far as any of the foresaid acts are repugnant and contrary to the confession of faith and word of God, ratified and approved by the estates in this present parliament.

515.

Then their confession of faith and doctrine follows; of which I have given some account already.

*The general
assembly the
last judge of
the qualifica-
tions of
ministers.*

Saying or hearing mass is made death upon the third offence by this parliament. The Protestant ministers, and those of their communion, are by another act declared to be the only true and holy Kirk within this realm. It is farther enacted, that "the examination and admission of ministers shall be only in the power and disposition of the Church." And then follows a saving clause for the right of lay patrons: "And in case of any dispute between the patron and superintendent concerning the qualifications of the person presented, it is lawful for the patron to appeal to the superintendent and ministers of the province where the benefice lies; and if the person presented is refused by them, the patron may appeal to the general assembly, where the cause is to be finally decided."

James 6.
parl. 1.
cap. 7.

By another act made this parliament, the kings at their coro-

nation were to take an oath to maintain the reformed religion then professed. The next act I shall mention provides for the punishment of fornication. For the first offence, upon conviction, the parties were to pay forty pounds Scotch, or be imprisoned eight days with no better diet than bread and small beer; after this they were to stand bare-headed at the market-place. For the second offence they were to forfeit a hundred marks, their imprisonment was to be doubled, and both of them to stand in the market-place with their heads shaven. For the third fault, a hundred pounds, or else their imprisonment was to be tripled, with discipline in diet above-mentioned; after this they were to be ducked thrice in foul water, and for ever banished the town where they lived. These corporal punishments of imprisonment, banishment, and the rest, were to be executed upon all those who either refused, or were unable to pay the forfeiture in money. As to the fines, they were to be disposed of to pious uses in the place where the crime was committed. Incest,—that is, as the act explains itself, cohabitation within the degrees prohibited in the eighteenth chapter of Leviticus,—is made death. But all other approaches of consanguinity, unforbidden in the Old Testament, are no bar against marriage.

ELIZABETH.

An act for punishing fornication and incest.

James 6.
parl. 1.
cap. 14, 15,
16.

There is another remarkable provision relating to the terms of communion; it is intituled, “Anent the True and Holy Kirk, and of them that are declared not to be of the same.”

“Item. Forasmeikle as the ministers of the blessed evangel of Jesus Christ, whome God of his mercy hes now raised up amongst us, or heirafter sall rayse, agreeing with them that now livis, in doctrine and administratioun of the sacraments, and the peopil of this realme, that professis Christ, as he now is offered in his evangel, and do communicat with the holy sacraments (as in the reformed Kirkes of this realme they are publiklie administrat), according to the confessioun of the faith: our sovereigne lord, with the advice of my lord regent, and three estaitis of this present parliament, hes declared, and declaris the foresaid persons to be the only true and halie Kirk of Jesus Christ within this realme; and decernis and declaris that all and sindrie, quha outhir gaynsayis the word of the evangel, received and approved, as the heads of the confessioun of faith professed in parliament of before, in the year of God 1560 yeares, as also specified in the actes of

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

this parliament mair particularlie dois expresse, and now ratified and approved in this present parliament, or that refuses the participatioun of the halie sacramentes as they are now ministrated, to be na members of the said Kirke within this realme now presently professed, sa lang as they keep themselves sa divided fra the society of Christ's body."

James 6.
parl. 1.
cap. 6.

By the last act of this parliament, which I shall mention, none but those who profess the religion established are allowed to be judges, proctors, or public notaries, or to practise under any qualification in the courts of justice. But this act has a proviso for saving the rights of offices, either hereditary or for life.

Ibid. cap. 8.

*The bishop
of Orkney
brought to
penance by
the assembly.*
Knox's
Hist. p. 127.
Lealey,
p. 496.

About this time the bishop of Orkney was convented before the assembly for marrying the queen to Bothwell. And here these men, who, as far as it appears, were most of them self-originated, and had not so much as the character of canonical priesthood, took the freedom to depose a bishop. They likewise cited the countess of Argyle for assisting at the king's christening, performed with the ceremonies of the Church of Rome. This lady, though no farther concerned than by representing queen Elizabeth, submitted to their discipline. She was ordered to make such public satisfaction in the chapel at Stirling, as the superintendent should appoint.

In January following, one John Hepburn, and three servants of Bothwell's, were tried for the king's murder. Spotswood reports, they confessed the crime; but their speech at the place of execution was more than the regent expected. Here they declared before God, that Bothwell informed them the murder of the king was suggested and carried on by the earls of Murray and Morton: and as for the queen, they cleared her from all suspicion of any such practice. Bothwell, likewise, did her the same justice, though a prisoner in Denmark; and to his last hour solemnly averred she was wholly unacquainted with what happened to the king. And fourteen years after, when Morton was beheaded for misprision of treason, and concealing the design of murdering the king, he confessed that Bothwell had tampered with him to come into the plot; and that he refused to engage, unless he had an order to secure him under the queen's hand. Upon which Bothwell replied, his demand was impracticable; for the queen was by

*The queen
cleared from
having any
knowledge of
the king's
murder.*

Camden,
Eliz. p. 121.

no means to be acquainted with the enterprise. I grant Spots-

wood's narrative is short upon this occasion ; but this prelate's Church History was printed after his death, and the manuscript not well used, as I am credibly informed.

ELIZABETH.

Fundamental
Charter of
Presbytery
Examined,
&c. p. 118.
*She makes
her escape
from Lock-
leven.*
A. D. 1568.

The next spring the queen, making her escape from Lockleven, was conveyed to Hamilton, and joined by the earls of Argyle, Cassils, Eglinton, and Rothes ; by the lords Somerville, Yester, Borthwick, Livingston, Herris, Maxwell, Sanghar, and Ross, and by a great number of barons and gentlemen. A council being called, the queen declared the resignation of the crown extorted, which allegation was confirmed by the testimony of Robert Melvil, and others then present.

516.

Upon this, the instruments for resigning the government were declared void, and proclamations set forth in her majesty's name, commanding all the lieges to rendezvous at Hamilton, and assist the queen against the rebels. In short, the queen fought the regent near Glasgow, and lost the battle. After this misfortune, she made towards the borders ; and, contrary to the best advice, put to sea, set sail for England, and landed at Workinton, in Cumberland. She fell into these measures in confidence of queen Elizabeth's friendship. The queen of England had given her a strong expectation of shelter in case of distress, and had presented her with a diamond, as a mark of her affection. The queen of Scots, some days before she quitted her dominions, sent one Beaton, a gentleman of her train, to queen Elizabeth with this ring. He was instructed to acquaint our queen that his mistress intended to cast herself upon her protection, if she happened to be farther pressed. This gentleman returned with large promises of favour and kind usage ; but when queen Elizabeth understood her sister was actually in England, she drew in her kindness, and sent down orders not very inviting. For now the lord-lieutenant of Cumberland was required to convey the queen of Scots to Carlisle, where, under pretence of more security, she was desired to stay till queen Elizabeth was farther informed of the justice of her cause.

May 13.

*Retires into
England,
where she is
kept a pri-
soner.*

Melvil's
Memoirs,
p. 92.

The queen of Scots, who had wrote to queen Elizabeth to be conveyed with all speed to court, was somewhat shocked at this restraint. She was now sensible of her mistake in venturing the chance, and relying so far upon the assistance of England ; but that wrong step was past retrieving. And thus being in no condition to complain, she dissembled her disappointment, and sent the lord Herris to solicit queen Elizabeth

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

for admission to her person, and to hear her defence; that she was prepared to vindicate her conduct, and prove the misbehaviour of her subjects; that in case queen Elizabeth refused to see her, she desired the liberty of quitting the kingdom; that it was choice, and not necessity, which brought her hither; and for this she mentioned queen Elizabeth's kind assurances, both by messages and letters.

Camden,
Eliz. p. 137.

How our queen stood affected is uncertain: it must be granted her mind was somewhat mysterious. But how friendly soever she might be disposed in her own fancy, her council advised her not to part with this princess. And thus, as far as it appears, the queen of Scots was kept at a distance and made prisoner upon reasons of state. As to this resolution, though of no bright appearance, I shall determine nothing, however I cannot forbear suggesting that interest has oftentimes too much the ascendant in public debates; and thus politics prove the bane of conscience and honour, of good nature and good faith. As to the detail of this princess's misfortune, it not being the business of a church-historian, I shall pass it over ¹.

This year Thomas Harding and Nicholas Sanders, doctors in divinity, lately received an authority from the pope to absolve all the English who returned to their communion; they were likewise empowered to dispense in cases of irregularity, wilful murder excepted; their commission extended to absolution for heresy, provided the person reconciled abstained three years from officiating at the altar. The Church of England was no less battered from another quarter, for now Coleman, Button, Halingham, Benson, and some others, professed an ardent zeal for farther degrees of reformation. These men would endure nothing, not so much as in government or ceremonies, but what lay upon the letter of the Holy Scriptures; and thus, either out of a principle of conscience, novelty, or faction, they declared strongly against the Liturgy and discipline established. They went upon this false ground, that all manner of resemblance and conformity to the Church of Rome was plainly wicked: and though some of these men were imprisoned, as has been related, yet what through the obstinacy of the party, the remissness of the bishops, and the countenance of some great courtiers, who lay at catch for the patrimony of the Church,

¹ Collier's censure on this atrocious piece of perfidy is not less severe than that of other historians, though the expression of it be more guarded.

they came strangely forward, and increased to a formidable number in a small time.

ELIZA-
BETH.

Id. p. 133.

The discouragement the universities lay under for the study of divinity, was a circumstance of service to both papists and puritans. The seizing the Church revenues, and bestowing a great part of the remainder on court clergy and noblemen's chaplains, made young students very backward in spending their time and their fortunes this way. The queen being sensible that people of the most promising genius would stand off from the priesthood and fasten upon other professions, sent a countenancing letter to Cecil, chancellor of Cambridge. She let him know that those who studied divinity should receive particular marks of regard; that upon a recommendation from the heads, their merits should be answered; that she would see them preferred to places of dignity and wealth; and that she intended to promote none but such as had a fair testimony either from the bishops or the university. This letter, sent down to the vice-chancellor and communicated to the body, determined their studies, raised their inclinations, and pushed them upon improvement.

The universities encouraged to study divinity.

Strype's
Annals,
p. 515.

About this time there happened a misunderstanding between the members of the Dutch congregation in London. The contest began about the use of godfathers and godmothers. The ministers were for keeping on this custom, which no small number of the people would have laid aside. There were several attempts and overtures made to adjust these differences, but to no effect. At last they drew up certain "Theological Propositions," in some of which they declared their opinion touching the obligation of things indifferent, and how far the members of a church ought to resign to their governors in such matters. To procure a greater regard to this draught, it was sent to the Church at Geneva for their approbation. Beza, with the rest of the Genevans, agreed with them in the main, as appears by their letter, but some articles they objected to as crudely or obscurely expressed; and something they wished had been wholly omitted. The Dutch Church brought this letter from Geneva to bishop Grindal, their superintendent. And because some of the articles were determined for the English Church against the Dissenters, it was thought fit to publish them in Latin and English. The articles are thirty-two, and are likewise printed in Beza's epistles, with some notes and

Articles drawn up by the Dutch congregation in Geneva, with some animadversions of Beza and the rest of that Church.

They were printed by Jagg, the queen's printer.

PARKER, Abp. Cant. corrections upon them. I shall only mention some few of these propositions, which seem remarkable.

517.

To begin, in their 15th article, they maintain "the Church is sometimes hidden," by which it is supposed they must mean invisible. The 20th article asserts, "that the government of the Church is lodged with the ministers and elders; and that the authority of the universal Church is no less represented by these persons, than that of the state is by the magistracy." The 30th article sets forth, "that as it is the duty of the magistrate to maintain and defend the church of God with the sword, even so it is the duty of the ministers of the Church in behalf of the same to crave his help against rebels, heretics and tyrants, as often as they think need shall require."

The next article is somewhat more remarkable. It stands thus :

"If any man, against the laws and privileges of his country, advance himself as a lord or magistrate; or if he who is confirmed in the office of a magistrate, do wrongfully spoil his subjects of the privileges and liberty which he hath sworn unto them, or by open tyranny oppress them; then ought the ordinary magistrates to oppose him, who, according to God and their duty, ought to defend the subjects as well against domestical as foreign tyrants."

Upon the last clause of this article Beza and the Genevan Church make some remarks. I shall transcribe the words as they stand in the English translation.

"Your conclusions," say they, "concerning the authority of magistrates, as ye sent them to us, we do not doubt in general to approve as godly and orthodox. Only we could not conjecture why in article thirty ye make mention of tyrants. And in article thirty-one, which seems to arm inferior magistrates against the superior, we are forced [ἐπ' ἑαυτοῖς] to forbear our assent; not only because it is very dangerous, in our times especially, to open such a window, but also because this matter seems not simply to be argued, (as the thing is handled of you in this thesis) but from very many and very weighty circumstances. In this aphorism, therefore, we abstain; and that not at all out of any fear of men, but that we pronounce nothing rashly in a matter of so great moment."

Strype's Life
of Archbp.
Grindal,
Append.
num. 18.
from Bishop
Moor's Li-
brary.
Beza,
Epist. 24.

These animadversions are surprisingly extraordinary. In the first place they palliate the doctrine, and soften the sense

of the thirty-first article: "It only seems," as they express themselves, "to arm inferior magistrates against the superior;" whereas the last clause is sufficiently plain and positive for resistance in case of open tyranny, of which the people must be the judges. This proposition has an odd face, and appears very ill, both in sound and sense. The Church of Geneva declare themselves sensible of the destructive consequences. What remedy, then, do they apply to prevent the mischief? Do they censure the doctrine as directly unlawful? By no means: this would be deserting from their great master Calvin. What then? Are they hardy enough to defend it? Not so neither; they are too cautious to venture their credit thus far. They think it most prudential to pitch upon a compromise, to keep in a state of neutrality, and suspend their assent. And why are they thus reserved and unpronouncing? One reason is, because, say they, the "doctrine is very dangerous, in our times especially, and opens a window to injustice and rebellion." Why did they not, then, proceed to a categorical censure, and stop the passage? Their next words explain this mystery: they do not believe the doctrine of resistance absolutely unlawful; but find fault with the London Dutch Church for asserting the proposition in too general terms; whereas it ought to have been guarded with distinctions, restrained to particular cases, and laid under the protection of "many very weighty circumstances." In short, the remarks upon this article are strangely artificial and evasive, and not much becoming the pretensions to clear dealing of those who sent them.

ELIZABETH.

To proceed: the duke of Alva, governor for the king of Spain in the Netherlands, was barbarously cruel against those of a different religion. This persecution drove several of the reformed into England, where they were hospitably entertained. But all these refugees were not of the same innocence and complexion. Some were extremely wrong in their belief, and others no less scandalous in their manners. This general entertainment of all comers brought a reproach upon the government; as if England not only encouraged all sorts of heresies, but afforded protection to thieves, murderers, and rebels. The queen thought it was time to wipe off this calumny, and distinguish in her compassion. To this purpose she wrote to the archbishop, with orders that himself and his suffragans should

An inquiry into the behaviour and belief of foreigners.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

make diligent inquiry into the character and religion of these foreigners: that a visitation should be made in every parish, and the names of all strangers entered in a register, together with their country, quality, and circumstances. They were likewise to inquire into the probable motives of their coming over, the manner of their behaviour, and what churches they frequented. And where any persons were suspected, they were to give notice of them to the justices of peace, in order to trial and punishment. And here they were not only to suffer for crimes against the state, but likewise for non-conformity to the religion established, provided they did not belong to places particularly privileged for foreign worship. This provision was no more than necessary; for the Dutch Anabaptists held private conventicles in London, and perverted a great many.

Strype's
Annals,
and Life of
Abp. Parker.
Regist.
Parker.
*A general
assembly at
Edinburgh.*

In July this year a general assembly of the Church was held at Edinburgh. Mr. John Willock, superintendent of the west, was elected moderator. He refused to manage that business, unless upon the promise of better order than had formerly been kept: for the great numbers and indiscreet behaviour of some people, made the meeting very noisy and ill-governed. But upon an engagement of more temper and submission he undertook the function.

*Who were
allowed the
privilege of
voting.*

At this assembly an act passed, "That none should vote in these general meetings excepting superintendents, visitors of churches, commissioners of shires and universities, and such ministers as the superintendents should choose in the diocesan synod, and bring along with them."

And that the assembly might not be troubled with unnecessary business, it was ordained, "That no business should be proposed which lay within the cognizance of the superintendents, and ought to be determined in their synods."

*Constitutions
for discipline.*

And as for acts of discipline, it was decreed, "That Papists continuing obstinate after due admonition should be excommunicated: and that those who were guilty of murder, incest, adultery, and other such heinous crimes, should not be admitted to make satisfaction in any particular church, till they had made their appearance in a penitential habit before the general assembly, and received orders there for a course of discipline."

A petition was likewise put up to the regent and council,

that the committee nominated in parliament for adjusting the polity or jurisdiction of the Church, should have instructions to meet at a day prefixed for finishing that matter.

ELIZABETH.

518.

At the breaking up of the assembly, the bishop of Orkney, who had been deposed for marrying the queen and Bothwell, was restored upon his submission. However, this favour was not without a mixture of penance; for in his first sermon he was enjoined to make a public acknowledgment of his fault, and ask God, the Church, and the State forgiveness.

The bishop of Orkney makes his submission.

And here it must not be omitted, that at a convention of the estates this year, in which, besides the commissioners of boroughs, the greatest part of the nobility and barons were present, there was a settlement agreed for restoring the patrimony of the Church, and particularly the tithes, by whomsoever detained since the Reformation. This article was signed by all the nobility, barons, and commissioners of boroughs, who solemnly promised it should be passed into an act the next parliament.

Spotswood's Church Hist. p. 219. MS. Acts of the Assembly.

This year one Thomas Heath, a Jesuit, brother to the late archbishop of York, was seized at Rochester. He was sent over missionary by his superiors, with instructions to pretend himself a Dissenter. He was furnished with several Anabaptistical and Arian tracts; and was to throw in a mixture of Puritan doctrines. This Heath, after six years' preaching about the country in the habit of a poor minister, applied himself to the dean of Rochester for preferment. The dean, to try his talent, gave him a turn in the cathedral. In his sermon he refined a little upon the Church of England, and warped towards Puritanism. His text was, that "Prayer was made without ceasing unto God for St. Peter." From hence he took occasion to observe, that these prayers were not such as were then used in the English Liturgy. As it happened, a letter dropped out of his pocket from the pulpit, which was taken up by the sexton, and delivered to Guest the bishop. It was superscribed to him by the name of Thomas Fine, from one Malt, a Jesuit of character in Madrid. The purport of it was to instruct him in the management of his mission. Upon this discovery the bishop examined him closely. At first he owned no more than that he had been a Jesuit, but was now of another persuasion: that he was not entirely of the sentiment of the episcopal party, but endeavoured to carry Protest-

Spotswood, Refutatio Libel de Regim Eccles. Scotie. p. 25. *Thomas Heath, a Jesuit, taken in the disguise of a Puritan.*

Acts xii. 5.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant. any to a farther improvement, and set the reformed at more distance from the Church of Rome. After this, upon searching his chamber, they found a licence from the Jesuits, and a bull from pope Pius V. In this instrument there was a discretionary latitude for preaching what doctrine his superiors thought fit. This compass was allowed in order to make misunderstandings amongst the Protestants. In his trunk there were several books against infant baptism, with other heterodoxies. For this foul practice he was sentenced to stand three days in the pillory at Rochester, his ears were cut off, his nose slit, and his forehead marked with the letter R. He was over and above condemned to perpetual imprisonment, but death released him in a few months after.

Regist.
Rochester,
Foxes and
Firebrands,
pt. 1.
*A proclamation
for eating fish on
Wednesdays.*

5 El. cap. 5.
De Schismat. Anglicano.

*A complaint
against the
bishop of
Gloucester.*

This year a proclamation was set forth for keeping fish-days, and particularly Wednesday. This order was to enforce the execution of an act made the fifth of this reign. By this statute, all Wednesdays, excepting in Christmas and Easter weeks, are to be kept with the same restraint of diet as Saturdays, and no person allowed to eat flesh. This provision was not upon the score of discipline, but for politic reasons. It was, as the preamble speaks, for the better maintenance and increase of the navy. However, the penalty ran high; for every breach of the statute was three pounds forfeiture, or three months imprisonment. This fast is rallied by Sanders according to his custom. He says it was called Cecil's fast, and that this minister was supposed to suggest the clause.

To proceed: Cheney, bishop of Gloucester, and commendatory of Bristol, had lain under the imputation of being popishly affected; though the charge, as far as it appears, was only ignorance or ill will. He preached three sermons at Bristol in vindication of himself; but was so far from giving satisfaction, that Dr. Calfill, and one Norbrook, took the freedom to attempt a confutation of his doctrine in his own hearing, at the cathedral: and more than this, some of the aldermen, and other burghers, sent a letter of complaint against him to the privy council. There were several pretended exceptionable clauses inclosed, which were likewise transmitted to the ecclesiastical commissioners. The expressions were extracted from his sermons preached in that city. I shall give the reader some of the most remarkable.

He begins with acquainting the audience that he was not

come to retract any thing he had formerly asserted: that as to matters of controversy, his opinion was still the same; and that if he had one foot in the grave, he should deliver the same doctrine: that he gave them no other directions than what he followed himself, and rested his own happiness upon. After this introduction, he cautioned them not to resign too implicitly to the new writers; for as yet they had not stood the test of time, neither was their credit so well established as that of the Fathers.

ELIZA-
BETH.

To report the bishop in his own words: "These new writers, in matters of controversy, as Mr. Calvin, and others, agree not together, but are at dissension amongst themselves, and are together by the ears: therefore take heed of them. Yet read them: for in opening the text they do pass many of the old Fathers. And they are excellently well learned in the tongues. But in matters now in controversy follow them not, but follow the old Fathers and Doctors, though Mr. Calvin denies some of them. As for your new Doctors, it is good to pick a sallet out of them now and then. Oct. 1568.

"Scriptures, Scriptures do you cry? Be not too hasty: for so the heretics always cried, and had the Scriptures. I would ask this question; I have to do with an heretic: I bring Scripture against him. And he will confess it to be Scripture. But he will deny the sense that I bring it for. How now? How shall this be tried? Marry, by consent of the Fathers only, and not by others.

*His doctrine
mostly unex-
ceptionable.*

Strype's
Annals.

"In reading the Scriptures be you like the snail; which is a goodly figure. For when he feels a hard thing against his horns, he pulls them in again. So do you; read Scripture, of God's name, but when you come to matters of controversy, go back again: pull in your horns. I never brought free-will into the pulpit. I would to God it had never been brought into that place. Luther wrote a very ill book against free-will; wherein he did very much hurt. But Erasmus answered him very learnedly. In this point I am of Erasmus's opinion¹.

"— Let them not say, as was lately preached here, that the Fathers had their faults; which they had indeed: but let them all bring me the consent of the Fathers for these matters now in controversy; otherwise I will not yield to them, nor be of their judgment."

519.

¹ It is a pity that Erasmus's admirable work on the "Freedom of the Will" is not translated into English, as Luther's "Bondage of the Will," though less meritorious, has received this compliment.

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Abp. Cant.

His mistake.
2 Kings v.

The last article I shall mention seems a paradox, to speak softly. "A question may be asked (continues the bishop) between the young maid and Nahaman: whether a godly man may be at idol-service with his body, his heart being with God, without offence or sin? I say he may; and because you shall not think I am of this opinion only, I will bring you Peter Martyr, a learned man, and as famous as ever was in our time, being your own doctor. He says, a man may be present without offence. His words are these: 'Non enim simpliciter et omnibus modis interdictum est hominibus ne in fanis præsentes adsint, dum profani et execrandi ritus exercentur.'"

v. 18, 19.

This instance of Nahaman supposes Elisha gave him leave to attend his master in the house of Rimmon: this is inferred from the prophet bidding him "go in peace," after he had declared his case, and asked pardon. But, in answer to this, it is observed by some expositors, that the 18th verse is not rightly translated as to the marks of time; and that Nahaman did not ask leave for any future latitude, but begged pardon for the former liberty he had taken, by bearing a part in idolatrous worship. And this sense, say they, seems to be confirmed by the 17th verse, where he makes a profession, that from henceforth he would offer "neither burnt-offering nor sacrifice unto other gods, but unto the Lord¹."

The advantages of the Fathers with respect to the moderns.

To return: thus the main of the charge against this bishop, was his vindicating the Fathers, and preferring their authority to the Novelists. Now one would think the bishop laid down a very safe rule for direction. The Fathers lived nearest the Apostles, and some of them conversed with them. From this circumstance they had the advantage of traditionary expositions. They must be best acquainted with the proverbial expressions of the Jewish nation, with the customs to which the Scriptures allude, with the force and phraseology of the language; besides, extraordinary illumination, and supernatural effusions of the Holy Spirit, were not uncommon in the first ages. And as for matters of government and ceremonies, the ancients have still a farther claim to regard: for here the Apostles' practice, and that of their immediate successors, was an

¹ Dr. Lightfoot would thus render the passage in the past tense; but all of the ancient versions, as well as our own vulgate, are against him. If the act be considered in a civil light, Naaman might bend in respect to the king without regarding the idol.—Vide Boothroyd, *in loco*.

evidence of their approbation, and the best comment on their writings.

ELIZABETH.

As to the remonstrance, it is supposed the privy-council saw through the weakness of it. To prevent an ill impression, the bishop wrote to secretary Cecil, acquainted him with the case, and that some of the Bristol preachers had misbehaved themselves. This Cheney, in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, was one of the Protestant divines who argued in the convocation.

The next year the civil war between the Hugonots and the French king was revived. The queen, by secretary Cecil's advice, treated with the prince of Conde's agent, and agreed to assist these Protestants: though, by the way, they overlooked her in the late pacification between them and their prince. The queen suffered in her honour upon this score. The abetting subjects against their sovereign was not every where understood. For instance, seignior Bertano, an Italian gentleman, wrote an expostulatory letter to Cecil upon this head. The secretary, in his answer, acquaints the gentleman, that the queen had done nothing indefensible, and that her conduct might easily be justified to indifferent judges: but he neither argued the point, nor assigned the reasons for satisfaction.

*The queen
assists the
French
Hugonots.
Camden.
Eliz.*

A.D. 1569.

This summer, one Tilney, a gentleman, moved for a marriage dispensation. The case was at last brought into the Arches, where the archbishop, the lord keeper, and the secretary Cecil, were present. The question was double, whether the case would admit of a dispensation, and if so, who had a right to give it. The secretary affirmed the queen might do it, "for she," says he, "may do as much as the pope." The archbishop looked upon this as a crude assertion, and discovered his dislike: but afterwards, to prevent misconstruction, he explained himself on this head in a letter to the secretary. He told this minister, "he would by no means dispute the queen's absolute power, or prerogative royal; nor how far her highness might claim a papal jurisdiction, or act upon precedents in the court of Rome: but yet, if a subject should receive a dispensation from the crown, not warranted by the laws made by her majesty, and the three estates, in this case he questions whether the subject might not some time or other be called to account, and lose the benefit of such a grant; especially since the extent of dispensations is precisely settled by act of parliament: it is true, during the prince's life such grants might

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

be covered from dispute; but then another reign might call for retrospection." And here he declares himself disgusted with some lawyers, who make the injunctions of a prince during his own life, not to have equal force with the canon law upon the same question. He instances the queen's injunctions upon all ministers, relating to their marriage: and puts the question whether they are capable of any ecclesiastical preferment, in case they happen to omit the circumstances prescribed. This order already related the archbishop approves, provided the printer had not made a gross mistake in publishing it. For the injunctions in the original manuscript run thus: "That the parties marriable must be so allowed by two justices of the peace, or by the ordinary. Whereas it is printed, "*and* by the ordinary." Now this latter reading makes the order much more remarkable, and severe upon the clergy. However, the lawyers were of opinion an overlooking or contempt of this part of the injunctions drew no incapacity along with it, nor was any disabling omission.

A gross mistake in the queen's printed injunctions relating to the marriage of the clergy.

Styke's Life
of Archbp.
Parker,
p. 277.

About this time the duke of Alva sent an agent to the English court: his pretence was to adjust some differences relating to commerce: but the bottom design was to countenance an intended insurrection, to give advice of the progress, and head the reinforcement which was to be sent from Flanders. To touch upon this matter, the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland were suspected for malcontents, and commanded to court to purge themselves: but, instead of obeying the queen's summons, they discovered their practice, rung the bells backwards to raise the country, and formed an army. To impose upon the people, and bring them into a revolt, they threw out several specious pretences. Some of them were made to believe these forces were levied to guard the queen. Others were told all the English quality had engaged to restore the Roman Catholic religion: and to others they pleaded a necessity of appearing in arms to rescue the ancient nobility from the insults of upstarts, and to secure the country from being betrayed to foreign interest. One Nicholas Morton was a great incendiary in this commotion. He is said to have been sent from the pope for this purpose, and had instructions to declare the queen an heretic, and that she had forfeited her dominions for her misbelief.

The earls of Northumberland and Westmorland raise a rebellion in the North.

520.

Cramden,
Eliz.

The rebels now increased to a considerable number: and,

ranged in military order, published a declaration, "that they had taken the field only to restore the religion of their ancestors, to remove evil counsellors, to enlarge the duke of Norfolk lately imprisoned, and recommend other discountenanced men of quality to the queen's favour. As for her majesty, they were, and resolved to be always, her most obedient subjects, and should never attempt anything against her."

ELIZABETH.

Besides this manifesto, they sent circular-letters to the Roman Catholics, to exert themselves, and join them. But these men, as Cambden reports, were so far from closing with the invitation, that most of them sent up their letters, with those that brought them, to the queen, and, from all quarters of the kingdom, offered the crown their assistance against the rebels of their religion.

However, the insurrection went on, and the rebels made their first march to Durham. And here, going into the churches, they tore the English Bible and the Common Prayer. They officiated in the service of the mass, had the five wounds of Christ represented in some of their colours, and a chalice in others. One Richard Norton, an ancient gentleman, carried the standard with a cross in it. And thus they came to Clifford-moor, not far from Wetherby. Here they mustered their army, and found themselves no more than six hundred horse, and four thousand foot. When they understood the queen of Scots, whose rescue they designed, was conveyed from Tutberry to Coventry, and that the queen's forces were almost ready to inclose them, they countermarched to Raby, the earl of Westmorland's seat. From hence they set down before Bernard-castle, and had it surrendered. But now the earl of Sussex, moving towards them with seven thousand effective men, they retreated, first to Auckland, then to Hexham, and afterwards to Naworth-castle. And here, receiving intelligence that the earl of Warwick and the lord

Their outrages at Durham.

admiral Clinton were coming down upon them from the south, with a body of twelve thousand, the two earls, with a few of their friends, slipped away into Scotland. When those who headed the revolt were missing, the rest quickly dispersed. There were three-score and six constables and others executed at Durham, amongst which, Plumtree, a priest, and Struther, an alderman, were the most remarkable. Simon Digby, John Fulthorpe, Thomas Bishop, and Robert Pennyman, suffered at York; and Christopher and Thomas Norton, at London. The

The rebellion miscommences.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

Cambden,
Eliz.

De Schia-
mate An-
glicano,
lib. 3.
p. 417.

*English
seminaries
founded in
Flanders,
and else-
where.*

earl of Westmorland made his escape into Flanders, where he commanded a regiment under the king of Spain ; but the earl of Northumberland was afterwards discovered, put into the hands of the English by the earl of Murray, and beheaded at York.

Sanders makes a martyr of the earl of Northumberland, and reports that his life was promised him on condition of changing his religion. This historian, whose principles are desperate, and his zeal almost mounted to distraction, lays the miscarriage upon the defect of conduct, and the immaturity of the project. "It was because," says he, "the pope had not publicly excommunicated the queen, and absolved her subjects from their allegiance;" but Cambden, as hath been observed, though of a different religion, reports the Papists to better advantage, and gives a more honourable account of this matter. "Upon this disappointment," continues Sanders, "the Catholics began to be apprehensive that time and persecution might wear off the remainder of their party. To prevent this misfortune, they projected the founding the transmarine seminaries ; that by such a reserve, they might be furnished with English missionaries to perpetuate and increase their communion. This scheme was executed, and the college of Douay founded this year, at the charge of Philip II., king of Spain. Dr. William Allen, an Englishman, was made head of it. In the year 1579, a college at Rome was founded for the same purpose by Gregory XIII., who settled four thousand crowns per annum to subsist the society. The famous Robert Persons, an English Jesuit, was rector of this college. King Philip founded another of these nurseries at Valladolid, in the year 1589 ; and one at Seville, in 1593. The same prince founded St. Omers, in Artois, in the year 1596. Besides these, in the next century, Madrid, Louvain, Liege, and Ghent, afforded each of them a foundation for the same business.

The two colleges of Douay and Rome received such encouragement, and flourished to that degree, that, when Sanders wrote, above three hundred priests had been sent off from thence into England. And here he breaks out into admiration of the zeal and resolution of these missionaries : that, in Catholic countries, the priesthood was often courted for interest and honour ; but those who were sent over hither had no such mercenary regards to tempt them. On the contrary, they had nothing but poverty, reproach, and the utmost hardship to expect. But no dissuasives of their parents, no

Id. p. 420.

loss in their fortunes, no prospect of danger and death, could shake their constancy, or discourage them from the enterprise.

ELIZABETH.

To engage the members of these societies more firmly, and harden them for the business to which they were bred, they obliged them to take the following oath at their admission, provided they were grown up to man's estate :—

“ I, A. B., one bred in this English college, considering how great benefits God hath bestowed upon me, but then, especially, when he brought me out of mine own country, so much infected with heresy, and made me a member of the Catholic Church,—as, also, desiring with a thankful heart to improve so great a mercy of God,—have resolved to offer myself wholly up to divine service, as much as I may, to fulfil the end for which this our college was founded ; I promise, therefore, and swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that I am prepared from mine heart, with the assistance of divine grace, in due time to receive holy orders, and to return into England, to convert the souls of my countrymen and kindred, when, and as often as, it shall seem good to the superior of this college,” &c.

The oath taken by the members of the English seminaries.

To give farther encouragement, pope Pius V. sent his brief to the students of these colleges, to execute the scheme, and undertake the mission for England : and, that they might act without clashing, and with the better harmony, he put them all under the direction of Dr. Allen, afterwards cardinal.

Continuation of Sanders's De Schismate Anglicano. Fuller's Church Hist. book 9, p. 92.

And now the court of Rome, having waited a long time for queen Elizabeth's recollection, and despairing of her recovery, resolved to proceed to extremities, and declare her excommunicated. I shall translate the bull as it stands in Sanders's book, “ De Schismate Anglicano ¹.”

521.

p. 423.

“ A declaratory sentence of our holy lord pope Pius V., against Elizabeth, pretended queen of England, and all heretics adhering to her. By virtue of which sentence all her subjects are absolved from their oath of allegiance, and all other engagements whatsoever : and those who for the future shall obey her, are pronounced excommunicated.

The pope's bull for excommunicating the queen and absolving the subjects from their allegiance.

“ Pius, bishop, servant to the servants of God, for a memorial of the matter.

“ He that reigns above, to whom all power in heaven and in earth is given, has consigned his one holy Catholic Church,

¹ This book, “ De Origine et Progressu Schismatis Anglicani,” conferred on its author the disagreeable soubriquet, “lying Sanders.” It has been exposed by Bayle, Burnet, &c.

PARKER, out of which there is no salvation, to the sole government of
Abp. Cant. St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, and his successor the
 bishop of Rome. This successor he has constituted supreme
 over all nations and kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down,
 to destroy, to build, and to plant; to the end, that the faithful,
 being incorporated by mutual charity, may be preserved in
 the unity of the Spirit, and presented unblemished and acceptable
 to their Saviour. The goodness of God having pleased to set us at the helm,
 and entrust us with the presidency in his Church, we have omitted no opportunities,
 but exerted ourselves to the utmost that unity and Catholic religion might
 be inviolably maintained, which God for the trial of integrity, and
 for the punishment of misbehaviour, has suffered to labour under
 so great a calamity.

Jer. i.

“But now the ungodly are grown up to such a degree of power,
 that there is no part of Christendom in which they have not endeavoured
 to scatter their infection and poison with their heterodoxies; that vassal
 of iniquity, the pretended queen Elizabeth of England, being particularly
 active, and affording shelter and sanctuary to the most criminal of this kind.
 This woman, having seized the crown, and by a monstrous usurpation
 challenging the authority and jurisdiction of supreme head of the Church
 of England, has brought the kingdom, lately recovered to the Catholic faith,
 to a lamentable condition: and thus having by force prohibited the profession
 of the true religion, formerly suppressed by that revolter king Henry VIII.,
 and with the assistance of this see, restored by the lawful queen Mary,
 of famous memory, she has given into the misbelief of the heretics,
 dismissed the nobility from the council board, and furnishing it with people
 who have neither birth nor principles to recommend them, has discountenanced
 the Catholics, and restored the scandalous preachers and ministers of iniquity
 to their former posts. The sacrifice of the mass, the stated prayers and fasts,
 the distinctions of diet, celibacy, and other Catholic ceremonies, are thrown
 out of use: and instead of these, she has ordered books stuffed with downright
 heresy, to be publicly recommended to the kingdom, and commanded her
 subjects to comply with ungodly mysteries, practised by herself upon Calvin’s
 directions: she has farther presumed to deprive the bishops, rectors of churches,
 and other Catholic priests of their churches and benefices, and barred them
 the exercise of their function, disposed of their prefer-

ments to heretics, undertaken the cognizance of ecclesiastical causes, forbid the prelates, clergy, and laity, the acknowledgment of the superiority of the Church of Rome, or to obey the precepts and canonical sanctions of that communion, brought a great many to a compliance with her scandalous laws, to a renunciation of the bishop of Rome, to forswear all obedience to him, and by the same solemn engagement of an oath, to acknowledge her sole sovereign, both in temporal and spiritual matters: executing the penalties of her statutes upon those who continue in the unity of the Catholic faith, pay their customary obedience to us, and refuse to submit to her innovations: to which may be added her imprisoning the Catholic bishops and priests: in which durance, a great many, after a long hardship, have ended their days.

“All these things being so notorious over all Europe, and proved by so much unquestionable evidence, as not to admit of any excuse, apology, or colour of evasion: considering wicked and intolerable practice has been multiplied to so many instances, that the persecution of the faithful grows worse and worse, and the batteries are played with more force upon religion, and all by the means and instigation of the said Elizabeth; considering her mind is so far hardened, as not only to despise the wholesome advice and solicitations of Catholic princes, for her conversion, but likewise to refuse admitting the nuncio sent to her from this see: these things considered, we are constrained to have recourse to those remedies which justice suggests, being extremely troubled at the necessity of such an application; and that we should be driven to the use of rugged expedients against a lady, whose ancestors have been so serviceable to the interest of Christianity.

“In virtue therefore of his authority, who has been pleased to advance us to the supreme seat of justice, though under-proportioned to support so great a weight, we out of the plenitude of our apostolical authority, declare the aforesaid Elizabeth an heretic, and an encourager of heretics. And that those who adhere to her in the practices above-mentioned, lie under the censure of an anathema, and are cut off from the unity of the body of Christ: we likewise declare the said Elizabeth deprived of the pretended right to the kingdom above-mentioned, and of all dominion, dignity, and privilege whatsoever: and that all the nobility and subjects of the said

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522.

realm, who have sworn to her in any manner whatsoever, are for ever absolved from any such oath, and from all obligation of fidelity and allegiance; and by virtue of these presents we actually absolve them, and deprive the said Elizabeth of the pretended right to the crown, and all other pre-eminencies and privileges above-mentioned. We likewise command all the nobility, subjects, and others above-mentioned, that they do not presume to obey her orders, commands, or laws for the future: and those who act otherwise, are involved in the same sentence of excommunication. And because the conveying this original instrument to all places requisite, may be impracticable, our pleasure is, that a transcript, attested by a public notary, and sealed with the seal of a prelate, or that of his court, shall have the same credit every where, both judicially and extra-judicially, as if the original itself was exhibited. Dated at Rome, at St. Peter's, in the year of the incarnation of our Lord, one thousand five hundred and sixty-nine, and the fifth year of our popedom¹.

"CÆ. GLORIERIUS.
H. CUMYN."

De Schism.
Anglic.
p. 427.
Camden,
Eliz. p. 182.

About two years after, one John Felton was hanged, drawn, and quartered, for publishing this bull, and pasting it up on the gates of the bishop of London's palace. Sanders takes the freedom to commend him for his zeal and constancy in suffering; but he is not so well pleased with the passiveness and loyal behaviour of others of his communion. "The rest of the Catholics," says he, "either because they did not believe the bull published in form, or that they perceived foreign princes of the communion of the Church of Rome continued their correspondence with queen Elizabeth, or that because Pius V. dying soon after, they were not assured of the bull's being confirmed by his successor, or out of fear of exposing their lives and fortunes,"—in short, Sanders is at a loss upon which of these motives the Roman Catholics governed themselves. However, he grants they kept on their allegiance, and owned the queen for their sovereign. And, as to the grounds of their acquiescence, it is charitable to interpret them to the best sense; especially since some of them, as will appear afterwards, have solemnly declared for unexceptionable principles.

¹ A consummately impudent bull, usually called the bull "regnans in excelsis," which occasioned much mischief.—Vide Dodd's Church History, vol. iii. p. 12.

This excommunicating bull, and the late rebellion in the north, made the government more strict in looking after the Papists. The Inner and Middle Temple in London was marked for persons of this communion who declared against the Reformation. It was thought fit, therefore, to put interrogatories to some of the students. To this purpose, they were brought before archbishop Parker and some other commissioners of the Star-chamber. And here, some of them, not giving satisfaction, were committed to the Fleet. These commissioners were furnished with instructions from the privy council, amongst which the questions to be asked are mentioned. These interrogatories are interlined with the archbishop's hand. Some of them are these:—

ELIZABETH.

Interrogatories put to the students in the inns of court.

A. D. 1569.

“First. Whether you have commonly frequented the Temple-church at service time? Item. Whether you have received the communion in the Temple-church as others of the house have done? Item. Whether you said, of late time, that the marriage of priests was unlawful, and their children bastards? Item. Whether you have in your keeping a certain lewd libel, entitled, ‘An Act to know a Knave,’ or any other such like, or whether any other to your knowledge has any such? Item. You being requested in your chamber to go to a sermon at Paul’s-cross, whether you said, ‘You would not hear one knave of them all?’—and that Mr. Alvey, master of the Temple, stood in the pulpit like a crow-keeper?”

Petit's MSS. Parker's Life, p. 287.

The two first interrogatories, and the last but one, were to be put to all the disaffected persons convented before them. Paget and Stone, students of the Temple, were examined upon more questions,—that is, whether they heard mass in the Temple, White-friars, or the Spital? Whether, at mass, they prayed for the queen? Whether they had the books of Harding and Dorman against her majesty's supremacy? Whether they had no bulls of absolution in their custody?

And, to prevent the spreading of popery, and press conformity in the country, the privy council wrote to the respective sheriffs of counties, that all such as were in commission for the peace should subscribe an instrument for observing the Uniformity Act, and for frequenting divine service in the parish-churches. These papers were signed by the justices in many counties, and sent up to the privy council, with letters of information touching their proceedings and the issue of this affair.

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*Instruments
for conformity
signed
by the justices
of peace.*

One of the instruments runs thus :—

“ Our humble duties remembered unto your lordships. This is to signify to the same, that we, whose names are by ourselves underwritten, do acknowledge that it is our bounden duty to observe the contents of the act of parliament, entitled, ‘ An Act for the Uniformity of the Common Prayer and Service in the Church and the Administration of the Sacraments.’ And, for observation of the same law, we do hereby firmly promise, and every of us and our families will and shall repair and resort at all times convenient to our own parish-churches, and, upon reasonable impediment, to other usual chapels and places, for the same Common Prayers, and there shall devoutly and duly hear and take part of the same Common Prayers, and all other divine service : and shall also receive the holy sacrament from time to time, according to the tenor of the said act of parliament : neither shall any of us that hath subscribed do, or say, or assent, or suffer, anything to be done or said by our procurement or allowance in contempt, lack, or reproof of any part of religion established by the foresaid act. In witness whereof we have subscribed this present writing.”

Strype's
Annals,
p. 556.

On the other hand, the Puritans, believing the juncture favourable, were busy in projecting new schemes, and bringing the Reformation to the Geneva standard.

One Christopher Forster, *alias* Coleman, took the freedom to remonstrate against the Church, in a letter to secretary Cecil, and solicit for a great many amendments. And, since he delivers the sense of his party, speaks in their phrase, and argues in their manner, I shall transcribe part of his letter.

*The Dis-
senter Cole-
man's letter
to secretary
Cecil.*

“ Right Honourable,

“ I write in zeal, and love has compelled me out of a simple heart ; praying your honour that you will not be offended with anything, beseeching God to make your honour zealous in promoting hereafter. The godly prophets have been many times ignorant of God's will, and have done things of their own affection : as when David asked Nathan of the building of the temple, the prophet, knowing that he was a godly king, and that God did prosper him in many things, bid him do what his heart thought good ; and yet afterwards forbade him. Again, Samuel would have anointed the eldest son of Saul.

*He means
Jesse.*

“ Even so, the prophet told Hezekiah that he should die :

yet, afterwards, he came again, and told him that he should live. It is the nature of the godly, when they know further of God's will revealed, they are not ashamed to tell it, and amend it. The Lord knoweth what great imperfection is in the holiest. David had a great zeal in bringing home the ark ; yet he failed in the means. Gideon made an ephod ; it was the destruction of his house. Uzzah, in touching the ark, did not well ; for God will not have man's devices in his business, but obedience to his word. Jeroboam's policy, in setting up the calves, the Lord despised it. The altar that Achaz would have in Samaria, it was to garnish the temple ; and a fairer altar than the first, was a jolly show for worldly men, desiring always outward things to please their senses. Manasses built a new altar, and was reprov'd for it," &c.

ELIZABETH.
523.

Styve's
Annals.

This is sufficient to give a sketch of the performance, the rest, which I have omitted, runs in the same strain. The address, it is probable, was honestly intended ; but notwithstanding this air of sincerity and concern, the man had no talent for logic and close thinking ; his reasonings are incoherent, and his instances foreign to his purpose.

In September, this year, Gilbert Bourn, late bishop of Bath and Wells, departed this life. He was a person of good learning, of a gentle unpersecuting temper, and recovered several estates to his see which had been sacrilegiously wrested from it. After his being deprived for refusing the oath of supremacy, he was committed to the custody of the dean of Exeter, where he was well used.

In the latter end of this year the earl of Murray, regent of Scotland, was pistolled as he rode through Lithgow, and died of the wound. He was shot by one Hamilton, upon a private quarrel. This gentleman, who was in the queen's interest, had been imprisoned by Murray, and menaced with execution ; and at last he was glad to make his peace by parting with an estate to one of Murray's dependants. His wife, by whom this estate came, fell distracted upon the loss. Hamilton, being enraged with this usage, broke prison, and assassinated Murray. After this, he made his escape into France ; and being taken notice of for a bold enterprising person, he was solicited to repeat the same practice upon admiral Coligny. But he refused the service, and told them, he had no warrant

Godwin de
Presul.
Angl.

*The earl of
Murray
assassinated.*

PARKER, from Scotland to murder in France; and that though he had
 Abp. Cant. taken satisfaction for the injury done to himself, he should not
 engage this way upon any motive in other men's disputes.

Camden,
 Eliz.
 Spotswood.

As to the character of the earl of Murray, it is differently drawn. Those who overturned the government and forced the queen to resign, commended him for suppressing Popery, for preserving the young prince, for the justice of his administration, for his bounty to men of learning, and particularly to Buchanan. On the other side, the queen's friends, who were the loyal party, loaded his memory. They made him no better than a hypocrite in religion; that he pretended a zeal for the Reformation only to carry on his designs of sacrilege, and to enrich himself and his favourites with the church-lands; that he had been shamefully ungrateful to the queen his sister, and insulted the disadvantage of her sex; and that there was little reason to expect that he who had used the mother thus barbarously, would have ever proved true to the son. The queen of Scots was troubled at the news of his being thus suddenly taken off; she lamented his not having time to recollect himself, and repent his misbehaviour to his prince and country.

Camden,
 Ibid.
*Hamilton
 excommunicated by the
 assembly.*

The assembly of the Church at Edinburgh published an abhorrence of the regent's murder, and ordered the assassin should be declared excommunicated in all the chief boroughs of the kingdom; and that whoever afterwards were convicted of being either principal or accessary, should lie under the same censure. At this meeting, amongst other regulations for discipline, an act passed for the public inauguration of ministers. This solemnity was designed to tie them to their functions, and keep them from rambling into foreign professions; for it seems some of them had deserted from the pulpit to the bar, and pleaded before the lords of session.

A. D. 1570.
 Spotswood's
 Church
 Hist.

Upon the death of Murray, the earls of Arran, Argyle, and Huntley, with some other noblemen, attempted to restore the queen, published a proclamation in her majesty's name, and summoned a parliament, to be held at Lithgow, in August following; but, by queen Elizabeth's assistance, this party was overborne, and the earl of Lennox, the young prince's grandfather, declared regent.

Id. p. 241.

The Church held a general assembly in Edinburgh at the same time: and here one Mr. James Carmitchel, master of the school of St. Andrew's, preferred an information against

Mr. Robert Hambleton, minister of the city. The charge related to some points of doctrine delivered by Hambleton in the pulpit. The articles are not particularly mentioned. But in the sixth session of this assembly, Mr. James Mackgill, clerk of the register: M. John Bellanden, of Aucknoule, justice clerk; and Mr. Archibald Dowglass, one of the lords of the college of justice, were sent from the chancellor and council to require them "to forbear deciding anything upon the matter in hand; that the king's authority was concerned in the case; that some of the articles bordered upon treason; and that things of this nature belong to the cognizance of the nobility and council." Notwithstanding this restraint, the message gave them liberty to proceed in the management of such things as lay within the verge of their jurisdiction.

ELIZABETH.

July 11,
1570.

This order was thought reasonable, and agreed to by the Church. In the same assembly, Mr. David Lindsey and Mr. Andrew Hay were commissioned to solicit the duke of Chatelherault, the earls of Argyle, Eglinton, and Cassils, the lord Boyd, and other barons and gentlemen in the west parts, to quit the queen's interest. The laird of Dun had another resembling commission to gain the earl of Crawford, the lord Ogilvy, and their abettors in Angus. And here they had instructions to add menaces to persuasion, and to acquaint these noblemen, &c. that in case they did not return to the king's obedience, the sword of excommunication should be drawn, and the thunder of the Church discharged upon them.

MS. Acts of the Assembly, fol. 433. Spotswood. *The assembly threatens to excommunicate the lords in the queen's interest.*

Ibid.

As to state matters, the regent's party, by countenance of the English court, gained upon their enemies, and with other advantages surprised the castle of Dunbarton. There were several persons of quality in this place, and amongst others, John Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, who was afterwards conveyed to Stirling, and executed on a gibbet set up for that purpose.

The archbishop of St. Andrew's executed.

He was the first bishop that suffered by forms of justice in this kingdom. As to his character, he had a competent share of learning, a good head for business, and was of an enterprising temper. The ignominy of his death was much censured, as very unsuitable to his quality and station; but his lying under a suspicion of encouraging the murder of the king and regent, made him fall unpitied by the generality. It is said that, being questioned for the regent's murder, he confessed he might have prevented it for some time at least, and

524.

PARKER, Abp. Cant. was sorry for not doing what lay in his power; but as to the king's death, he denied his being the least guilty in that matter. But this relation seems somewhat without ground; for it is certain the archbishop moved earnestly for a trial, and was refused; but the regent's parliament had declared him a rebel, and for this he suffered, without other formalities: and to make sure of him, his execution was hurried, for fear queen Elizabeth should interpose for his rescue.

Id. p. 252.

The Kirk ministers refuse to pray for the queen as their sovereign.

The regent having summoned a parliament to meet at Edinburgh, the duke of Chatelherault, the earls of Argyle and Huntley, the lords Herris, Boyd, and others, who stood for the queen, marched hither. And here, to prevent the meeting of the estates, they ordered the clerks to deliver up the council-books and records of parliament, and seized everything which they conceived might make the meeting impracticable. The ministers were likewise commanded to pray publicly for the queen as their sovereign; but this order was disobeyed by Knox, and the rest. And here, setting aside the debate of the question, not examining whether they were right or wrong, I cannot help commending them for the consistency of their practice. They might be rebels, but it is certain they were no hypocrites; they had courage to maintain their sentiment, to face the danger, and stand the event.

The queen's declaration published in the Star-chamber.

To return to England: the queen, notwithstanding the provocations from the court of Rome, was willing to screen the Roman Catholics from unnecessary persecutions, and assure them of her protection upon peaceable behaviour. To this purpose, the secretary had directions to draw a declaration in her majesty's name, to be published by the lord keeper in the star-chamber. The substance of it was—"That whereas certain rumours had been spread, that her majesty intended to make inquiry into the consciences of her subjects, and examine them strictly in matters of belief, she would have them understand that these reports were altogether groundless, and suggestions of malice or mistake; for though some persons have been lately brought before her majesty's council, and questioned in matters of religion; yet this trouble was altogether occasioned by their own misbehaviour; it was because they had broke the laws; because they declined coming to church to common prayer and divine service, as they had usually done for nine or ten years together: and that, unless

The Roman Catholics come to church for nine or ten years together.

they had broke off their conformity and lived in open contempt of her majesty's laws, they had never been in the least molested.

ELIZABETH.

"The queen, therefore, warns all her subjects not to entertain any jealousies of rigour, nor give credit to false reports: for that it is not her intention to press into the retirements of conscience; but that all who conform to her laws shall be looked on as good subjects, and treated accordingly."

While the government was watching the motions of the Roman Catholics, and standing upon their guard against the court of Rome, the Puritans gained ground another way. Under the favour of this juncture they started new scruples, beat out their scheme farther, and played their force against the Church; for now more objections were advanced, and the breach made wider. The habit of the clergy, and the sign of the cross, were formerly the only things they stuck at: but now their consciences grew more narrow and perplexed: now they came forward in their demands of Reformation, and attacked the government of the Church. These malcontents were numerous in the university of Cambridge, and headed by

Thomas Cartwright, already mentioned. This man, at his return from Geneva, had a strong party in the university, inso-much that, upon Dr. William Chaderton's resignation of the divinity lecture, founded by the lady Margaret, Cartwright succeeded in the chair. And here he managed in a very heterodox manner; and, as Chaderton wrote to chancellor Cecil, read dangerous lectures, and maintained opinions intolerable in a Christian commonwealth. Cartwright was now fellow of Trinity College, where there was one Chapman, who at a divinity act denied Christ's descent into hell, and asserted the unlawfulness of having two livings. About this time one

Cartwright attacks the government of the Church in his lectures at Cambridge.

Some, another of Cartwright's party, preached a sermon at St. Mary's against non-residence and pluralities. In this discourse he threw out several scandalous assertions against the government, both in Church and State. With reference to the State, he declared the queen's laws not only permitted, but enacted a great many damnable and devilish things. As to the Church, he declaimed against the court of Faculties, and called it a devilish and detestable regulation, and that he hoped to see it pulled down. 2. The episcopal function he liked well enough, but the modern method of election displeased him: and besides,

Some's intemperate discourse.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

he thought they grasped too much jurisdiction, and stretched their authority too far over the clergy. 3. He maintained that those who had pastoral charges were obliged to constant residence, unless their parish would sometimes give them leave to be absent. But prebendaries, he said, were only exhibitioners, and at liberty to live where they pleased. 4. That excommunication, as it was now managed, had no warrant from Scripture, neither should such censures be lodged in any single hand.

*Disorders
in the uni-
versity.*

To second these singularities, seditious libels were publicly scattered in the schools: they contained a remonstrance against wealth and distinction, revived something of the frenzies of Jack Straw and Wat Tyler, and moved for levelling. Poor men, they said, were held to labour and servitude; but the prince and the doctors carried off the product, and made their figure out of the common calamity. In short, this university grew mutinous to a remarkable degree, seemed prepared to fly in the face of the government, and attempt an alteration both in Church and State.

Dr. Chaderton acquainted the chancellor Cecil with this ill condition of affairs, and pressed for a speedy remedy: that, according as he thought proper, he might either act upon his single authority, or strengthen his character by an order of council: that Cambridge was in a great measure disturbed with a turbulent humour: that schism and error were openly maintained without modesty and reserve: that this mischief, unless seasonably checked, would not only destroy the repose of the university, but might spread from thence through the whole Church and kingdom.

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Grindal, now archbishop of York, foreseeing the consequences of these disputes, wrote to Cecil upon the same subject. And here, to do justice to the bishop's memory, and clear him from all imputations of puritanism, I shall give the reader the letter in his own words.

*Archbishop
Grindal's
letter to
Cecil
concerning
Cartwright.*

"I am to move you for the university of Cambridge; which if you help not speedily your authority will shortly grow to great disorder. There is one Cartwright, B.D. and reader of my lady Margaret's divinity lecture, who, as I am very credibly informed, maketh in his lectures daily invectives against the extern policy and distinction of states, in the ecclesiastical government of this realm. His own positions, and some other assertions, which have been uttered by him, I send herewith.

ELIZA-
BETH.June 24,
A. D. 1570.

The youth of the university, which is at this time very toward in learning, doth frequent his lectures in great numbers; and therefore in danger to be poisoned by him with love of contention, and liking of novelties; and so become hereafter not only unprofitable, but also hurtful to the Church. The vice-chancellor and heads of houses proceed not so roundly in this case as were requisite, in my judgment. For reforming whereof, if it please you to know my opinion, I wish you wrote your letters to the vice-chancellor with expedition, willing him to command the said Cartwright and all his adherents to silence, both in schools and pulpits; and afterward, upon examining and hearing the matters past, before him and some of the heads, or all, either to reduce the offenders to conformity, or to proceed to their punishment by expulsion out of their colleges, or out of the university, as the cause shall require. And also, that the vice-chancellor do not suffer the said Cartwright to proceed doctor of divinity at this commencement, which he now sueth for. For, besides the singularity above rehearsed, the said Cartwright is not conformable in his apparel, contemning also many other laudable orders of the university. Thus I cease to trouble, and commend you heartily to the grace of God."

Paper-office.

To this letter these assertions of Cartwright are subjoined, viz.

"Archiepiscoporum et archidiaconorum nomina suspecta sunt.

"1. Archiepiscoporum, archidiaconorum, cancellariorum, commissariorum, &c. (ut hodie apud nos sunt) munera, apostolica institutione non nituntur, cui restituendæ quisque pro sua vocatione studere debet; (intelligo autem id pro vocatione sua) ut magistratus autoritate, ecclesiæ ministri verbo, singuli eam promoveant. Ita tamen ut nihil tumultuariè aut seditiosè fiat.

*Some of
Cartwright's
opinions.*

"2. Ministrorum electio quæ apud nos est ab institutione apostolica deflexit, cui restituendæ, sic ut prædictum est, singuli studere debent. Nolim autem me putet quispiam omnes damnare, tanquàm a ministerio alienos, qui ad illam institutionem hactenus non fuerint cooptati."

These propositions were delivered by Cartwright to the vice-chancellor as his opinion. The archbishop informed the chancellor of some other heterodoxies held by this divine; but

PARKER, those shall be postponed a little to be mentioned with the
 {*Abp. Cant.* rest.

On the other hand, Cartwright and his friends wrote to the chancellor, and endeavoured to justify their conduct.

Being thus solicited, Cecil endeavoured to make up the controversy, and give satisfaction, by gentle applications. In his letter written to the heads of the university, he premised a favourable construction of Cartwright's singularities: that he seemed to advance these novelties out of no ill-meaning or pride: that he thought it part of his business to examine the resemblance of the present Church, with that in the apostles' time, and draw a comparison between them. After this gentle representation of Cartwright's case, he in direct terms forbids him discussing these questions, either in his lectures or sermons, until farther order: and that in the interim, the other party should forbear disputing upon the points contested. And as for silencing and settling the controversy, the chancellor is willing to refer that matter to the decision of the heads.

Aug. 1570.

The matter being thus put into the hands of the vice-chancellor and doctors, Cartwright was enjoined to forbear reading, not only upon the points debated, but had orders not to appear in the chair. During this suspension endeavours were used to bring him off his erroneous opinions. But it seems favour and application was lost upon him: he grew more hardened in his mistakes by kind usage; so that at last they concluded it necessary to remove him from the chair. And with this resolution Whitgift, the vice-chancellor, and the rest of the heads, acquainted Cecil. In their letter to this chancellor, they enclosed a copy of Cartwright's propositions, signed by himself. These were more crudely expressed, and more liable to censure, than those complained of by archbishop Grindal: for Cartwright was now gone to remoter distance, and grew worse upon time. The assertions are these:

He goes farther in his heterodoxies.

I. The names and functions of archbishops and archdeacons ought to be suppressed.

II. The names of lawful ministers in the Church, such as bishops and deacons, when abstracted from the office described in the Holy Scripture, are likewise to be rejected, and the

whole brought back to apostolical institution. And thus the bishops' function ought to be limited to praying and preaching, and the deacons' to taking care of the poor.

ELIZABETH.
Assertions maintained by him and his party.

III. The government of the Church ought not to be entrusted with bishops' chancellors, or archdeacons' officials, but lodged in the hands of the minister and elders of the same Church.

IV. That the ministry ought not to go loose and at large ; but that every one ought to be tied to a particular congregation.

V. That nobody ought to solicit for the function of a minister, nor stand candidate, as it were, for that employment.

VI. That ministers ought not to be ordained by the sole authority of the bishop, much less are they to receive orders in a study, or such private place ; but this office ought to be conferred by a public choice of the congregation.

Besides these heterodoxies and misrepresentations of the government of the Church, there were several unsound propositions maintained by Cartwright and his party. And of these the chancellor had an account sent him this year. They are ranged under the following articles :

I. In reforming the Church it is necessary to proceed upon the first model, and bring every thing up to apostolical institution.

II. None ought to be admitted into the ministry unless qualified for teaching. And those who have no talent for this function, ought to forfeit their character, and be discharged.

III. Preaching, prayers, and administering the sacraments, ought to be performed by the same person. From hence it follows, that those who are not ministers of the word, that is, those who cannot preach, ought neither to pray publicly for the congregation, nor administer the sacraments.

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IV. Popish priests have no authority to be ministers of the Gospel by virtue of their own ordinations.

V. Nothing but canonical Scripture ought to be publicly read in the church.

VI. The Church Liturgy ought to be so formed for public service, that no allowance should be left for private prayer or

PARKER, reading ; but that all the audience should attend to the minister, whether preaching or praying.
Abp. Cant.

VII. That the office of burying the dead belongs no more to the minister than to the rest of the parish.

VIII. That all portions of Scripture, all names and distinctions of God Almighty, are to be treated with the same reverence and regard. And therefore it is against reason to enjoin the people to stand at the reading of the Gospel, or to bow and pull off their hats at the name of Jesus.

IX. That sitting at the holy communion is as lawful and defensible a posture as kneeling or standing ; and over and above, is more convenient, because it gives the better image of a supper.

X. That the sacraments ought not to be administered in private places, not by the ministers themselves, much less by women and private persons ; as baptism is sometimes administered to infants, and the Lord's Supper to those in danger of death.

XI. That to make use of the sign of the cross in the baptism of infants is a superstitious practice ; and giving the customary reasons for the use of this ceremony, makes it still more intolerable.

XII. It is very reasonable the father should present the child to the Church for baptism, and make a confession of that faith in which he intends to instruct him : and that this ought to be done without a representing form, or answering, " I will, I will not, I believe," and so forth, in the name of the infant. Neither is it to be suffered that the child's name should be given by a woman in the church, or that an ignorant boy should engage for the good education of the infant : by an ignorant one is meant a person not qualified to receive the Lord's Supper.

XIII. That in giving names at baptism all resemblance with Paganism should be avoided : and besides, the names of offices should be declined upon such occasions, such as that of Christ, angel, baptist, &c.

XIV. That to forbid matrimony at certain times of the year is a Popish fancy : but to take money for a licence within the times prohibited is still more intolerable.

XV. To give any persons liberty to marry without acquaint-

ing the congregation, who are the proper judges of the impediments, (in case there should be any) is unlawful.

ELIZABETH.

XVI. The keeping Lent, together with Friday and Saturday, either upon motives of superstition or otherwise, is unlawful; neither is it a sufficient defence to settle the keeping these fasts upon reasons of state.

XVII. Keeping holidays is unlawful; and so are fairs upon the Lord's-day.

XVIII. These words, "Receive the Holy Ghost," at the ordination of ministers, is a ridiculous and wicked expression.

XIX. Kings and bishops ought not to be anointed.

Styrie's
Annals.

As to Cartwright, there was no prevailing with him to retract his errors. Being thus incorrigible, he was deprived of his professor's place, and soon after of his preferment in the college.

This year archbishop Parker made some regulations for his court of faculties.

I. By this order no faculty was to be granted but upon petition made in writing to the archbishop, which was to be examined and signed by him, or by the master of the faculties, with these words, "Fiat petitio prout petitur." *Regulations in the archbishop's court of faculties.*

II. The stated fee for every such faculty was to be inserted at the bottom of the petition by the archbishop, or master of the faculties. The petition thus signed was to be a warrant to the clerk of the faculties to make out the instrument.

III. The clerk of the faculty was to enter at the bottom of the instrument the fee he received.

IV. The master of the faculty was to make a strict inquiry into the grounds of the dispensation, the condition and qualifications of the person, whether the representation is true, and the cause reasonable.

V. That a great register shall be kept by the master of the faculties, or such as the archbishop shall appoint, in which all dispensations sealed shall be recorded at length, with a specification of the day and time.

VI. That all bonds taken for the indemnity of the office shall be kept in the archbishop's house, in the custody of such as he shall appoint.

VII. That no dispensation shall pass *pro minore* under

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

Archiv.
Eccles.
Cantuar.
Strype's
Life of
Archbishop
Parker.

eighteen years at least, without the express assent of the archbishop. And here a true certificate of the person's age was to be given in, and his friends bound for his being a clergyman. There are some other regulations, but what is already mentioned may be sufficient to show the archbishop's precaution to prevent the mismanagement of his courts.

*Disputes
about the
form and
kind of the
sacramental
bread.*

Notwithstanding the care which had been taken for uniformity in the ceremonies of the Church, some singularities were still kept on foot, even by those who frequented our communion. For instance, there was different practice in the form of the sacramental bread. In most churches it was round like a wafer: but in others the figure was different, and like pieces of common bread. The wafer form had been settled by the archbishop, and Grindal, bishop of London: however, the people were not every where resigning enough to be governed by their authority. The court was shocked at the disagreement in so solemn a part of religion. And secretary Cecil desired Parker to inform him how the bishops had ordered this matter. The archbishop acquainted him in a letter, that the bishop of London and himself had settled this circumstance in the manner above mentioned: and that they conceived their order conformable to the queen's injunctions. He therefore desires the secretary to think upon some expedient for general compliance. And whether this was to be done by proclamation or otherwise,

MSS. Petit. is referred to the prudence of this minister.

There was a farther controversy about the kind of the bread, whether it was to be wafers or common bread. The archbishop determined for wafer-bread: and thus it was directed in his injunctions to the clergy. But though this order generally prevailed, yet in some places, both at court and elsewhere, the usage was otherwise. This diversity occasioning some disputes, the archbishop wrote another letter to secretary Cecil in defence of his conduct.

*The arch-
bishop's
letter to
secretary
Cecil.*

"He acquaints him what difference of opinion there was in the kingdom touching this matter: that the greatest part of Protestants thought it most proper to administer the holy eucharist in wafer-bread, as the injunctions prescribed, but that divers others, of what spirit he could not tell, would have the loaf-bread. That once at an assizes, one Fogg would have indicted a priest for using wafer-bread, where by consequence, the charge would have

fallen upon the archbishop for enjoining it. Mr. Southcotts and Mr. Gerrard, two of the judges, visited the archbishop and debated this matter." And here Parker gave his reasons why the controversy ought to be determined by the injunctions.

ELIZA-
BETH.

"First, he acquainted them, that the queen discoursing with him upon this point, insisted upon the proviso in the act of uniformity; by this clause, in case any contempt or irreverence should be used in the ceremonies or rites of the Church, the queen, by the advice of her commissioners or metropolitan, is empowered to ordain and publish such farther ceremonies as may be most for the reverence of Christ's holy mysteries and sacraments. That by virtue of this proviso, her majesty published farther orders in her injunctions, both for the communion-bread, and for placing the tables within the choir. That the pressing the statutes against the injunctions, and making comparisons between them, is a failure of respect to the crown; and besides, this reasoning goes upon a mistake, for these two authorities are so far from clashing, that the injunctions are supported by a proviso in the statute."

And whereas it is said in the rubric, that, "to remove the superstition which any man has or might have in the bread and wine, it shall suffice that the bread be such as is usually eaten at the table with other meats." Now these words the archbishop interprets to a toleration, rather than an appointment, and that the rubric only indulges such a latitude when either wafer-bread cannot be procured, or when there is any just fear of superstitious opinions in the use of it. These reasons determined the archbishop and others of his order for wafer-bread. He thinks the matter not very material in itself, but the queen's injunctions, as he goes on, ought to be obeyed; and over and above, the greatest part of her subjects are not reconciled to receiving the sacrament in common bread, though, as he was informed, the court had begun this usage.

Petit's MSS.
Strype's
Life of Abp.
Parker.
And to the
queen.

About this time the archbishop wrote to the queen to stop the innovations projected, and redress the grievances of the Church. He complains that some people out of mistaken opinion, and others upon mercenary views, moved for suppressing the name and function of archbishops: that if these men could compass their designs so far as to put down the office or maim the jurisdiction, he humbly conceives her majesty's privy council might be somewhat embarrassed, and that neither the

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

Dec. 27.
Idem.

*The queen of
Scots' two
letters to the
pope.*

Fuller's
Church
Hist. book 9.

clergy nor the laity would be so easily governed; and here he laments the dissolution of manners in the latter, and the avarice of patrons in presenting upon unreasonable conditions. He proceeds to put her majesty in mind to what degree the clergy were impoverished; that arrearages of tenths and subsidies paid in a great measure by their predecessors, were exacted of them; and that as far as the reign of king Henry VIII., their poverty was so remarkable that he was forced to sink his revenues, and wave the rights of his see, to make their condition more tolerable; that if the clergy were reduced to beggary, religion must suffer with them: that such circumstances of disadvantage would unqualify them for their function; and thus, as it is found upon experiment, their whole business would be not to study but to live. And of this he gives something of an instance in the university of Cambridge, where he tells the queen there were not two men able or willing to read the lady Margaret's lectures; and though they had a great many preachers, yet he was afraid several of them were but slenderly furnished for that employment.

The queen of Scots, during her restraint, had by this time written thrice to the pope. In her second letter, dated two years since, she entreats his holiness to recommend her cause to the princes of Christendom; that they would use their interest at the English court, and solicit queen Elizabeth for her enlargement; that she came into England purely upon promise of assistance; and that, provided queen Elizabeth is resolved not to part with her, she may at least be prevailed with to allow her the exercise of her religion; that, to her great regret, this liberty hath been hitherto denied her; that, being closely confined, an English minister had said certain prayers in the vulgar tongue; and that, not being at her own disposal, nor permitted the use of any other religion, she had not refused to hear him. However, if she had failed in this or any other matter, she begs his holiness's absolution, with a protestation, that, whatever her mistakes may have been, she never had any wavering intention, nor meant to act otherwise than what might be expected from a most obedient daughter of the holy Catholic Roman Church. This letter is dated from Castlebolton, November 30th, 1568.

In her third letter she mentions the pope's writing to her in July, this year. She returns his holiness thanks for endea-

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vouring to promote her interest in the courts of Christendom, and especially with the kings of France and Spain. She earnestly wishes the pope may be so successful in making up the differences between Christian princes, that they might all unite in a confederacy against the Turk; and that, in case the condition of her affairs would give leave, no person would be more forward in such service than herself. From hence she proceeds to lament her misfortune, and that she had lost the sovereignty of a prince and the liberty of a common subject; that her country had been miserably harassed by the incursions of the English; that, unless she would run the hazard of losing her life and exposing her subjects to farther calamities, she must be forced to consent to a treaty of disadvantage with the English,—though, as they said, nothing inconsistent with conscience or honour should be offered. However, she acquaints the pope one article was very shocking. The English insisted upon having the young prince her son put into their hands for security of the treaty; but, to make this condition the more easy, she might assign him what governors and household she thought fit. She had likewise the liberty of coming into England to see him, or sending what persons she pleased; and, notwithstanding he was to reside in an unfortunate nation, she desires the pope not to suspect the miscarriage of his education; for effectual care would be taken to instruct him in the Catholic faith, and form him to a regard to the apostolic see. And, because it was somewhat impracticable to report her affairs at length by way of letter, she refers the pope to her agent, the bishop of Dublin, for farther information.

528.

Oct. 31.
1570.

Idem.

This year, Barlow, formerly bishop of Bath and Wells, and now of Chichester, departed this life, and was succeeded by Dr. Richard Curtois¹, who was consecrated in May, this summer.

It has been already observed, that the Reformation was oftentimes mismanaged to the impoverishing the clergy. But England was not the only scene of oppression: the Irish Church lay under the same disadvantage, as appears by a letter of the archbishop of Dublin to secretary Cecil. His application to this minister relates to the deanery of St. Patrick's. He desires Cecil would move the queen, that this preferment might not be bestowed upon any layman, nor made a fee for the lord chancellor; but that the chapter might enjoy

*The poverty
of the Irish
reformed
clergy.*

¹ Usually spelt Curteys—he was fellow of St. John's, Cambridge.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

the privilege of their charter, and choose some learned divine. And here he complains of the great want of preachers in this kingdom; and that the disloyalty of the subjects is occasioned in a great measure by their ignorance; that the greatest number of benefices within the English pale are impropriated to her majesty, and farmed out to such as have no care for the cure, and that religion suffers very much upon this score; that it is to be wished her majesty would rather be pleased to quit some part of her impropriations for the maintenance of the ministry, who are now in a very miserable condition; it is to be wished her majesty would rather resign something upon this consideration, than convert the deanery into a fee for a civil officer, which unquestionably belongs to the Church.

Paper-office.

Upon the 2nd of April, the next year, the parliament was convened at Westminster.

The queen opened the sessions with this short speech:—

*The queen's
speech.*

“My right loving lords, and you our right faithful and obedient subjects, we, in the name of God, for his service, and for the safety of this state, are now here assembled to his glory. I hope and pray that it may be to your comfort, and the common quiet of us, yours, and all ours, for ever.”

*Part of the
lord keeper's
speech.*

After this, sir Nicholas Bacon, the lord keeper, was ordered to acquaint the houses with her majesty's reasons for summoning this parliament. This minister, delivering himself in a long harangue, told them the motives for calling them together were two: one, to make or repeal laws; the other, to pitch upon proper measures for the administration, and consider what may be most serviceable for the honour and security of the government. Under the first head he observes, that, in all public councils, the honour of God ought to have the preference; that religion is the foundation of public happiness; that the motions of the state ought to be directed by this rule; and that this world is principally supported by a regular practice with reference to the other. For the right management, therefore, of that branch of their business concerning laws, they were to consider, in the first place, whether the discipline of the Church was sufficiently guarded; and, in case there was anything wanting, the care of a supplemental provision ought chiefly to be referred to the bishops, who are best acquainted with the defects, and to whom the execution principally belongs. The rest of his speech relating to the state shall be omitted.

D'Ewes's
Journal,
p. 137.

The commons made choice of Christopher Wray, serjeant-

at-law, for their speaker. He was led up to the bar of the upper house, where, after making three reverences to the queen, he began his speech with suggesting, "that, for the good government of a commonwealth, three things were requisite,—religion, authority, and laws. By religion," says he, "we are not only directed to a right knowledge of God Almighty, but likewise instructed in our duty to the queen, whom we ought to obey, not only in temporal causes, but in spiritual or ecclesiastical, in which wholly her majesty's power is absolute." And here, leaving all proofs of divinity to the bishops, he attempts to make good his assertion from the practice of princes within this realm. But here the speaker does not seem to be aware, that the main stress of the question lies within the compass of divinity, and that all arguments from other topics are short of the point. But, having evinced this already, I shall pursue it no farther.

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He was afterwards chief justice of the Common Pleas.

Serjeant Wray's proofs of the regale insufficient.

To engage this serjeant a little in his own way :—

His first authority for the absoluteness of the regale is pope Eleutherius, his letter to Lucius, the first Christian king of Britain. In this address, he tells him he was Christ's vicegerent, and that he might extract laws out of the Holy Scriptures for his own conduct and that of his subjects. But, not to dispute the sense of this passage, this letter to king Lucius is plainly a counterfeit record, and of much later antiquity than the age for which it is cited. This I have made appear in the first part of this work, from several circumstances relating to the matter and to the style.

Church Hist. p. 14.

Secondly. He cites the Conqueror's discharging Battle-abbey from episcopal jurisdiction. But this instance has likewise been shown unserviceable to his purpose.

Id. p. 257.

His third instance is in Ranolph, or Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury. He cites part of king Henry III.'s letters-patent, in these words :—

"Rex, &c., sciatis quod, dedimus dilect. nostro Ranulpho archiepiscopo. Cantuarien. quem instituimus annulo et baculo."

From hence the speaker argues from the emblem. "The ring," says he, "denotes perfection, and the staff is a mark of pastoral authority; and therefore, since the kings gave bishops these hieroglyphics of spiritual jurisdiction, this authority must be originally lodged in the crown."

Where the speaker found this piece of a record I shall not

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

Id. p. 292.

See Coke's
Reports,
pt. 5, p. 12.
529.

D'Ewes's
Journal,
p. 140.

13 Eliz.
cap. 1.
*Treason to
put any bulls
of absolu-
tion, &c. in
ure.*

A. D. 1571.

examine ; but it is certainly good for nothing. For, first, there was no such person as Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, in Henry III.'s time. In the reign of Henry I., I grant, there was an archbishop of Canterbury of this name ; but then this king had parted with the privilege of investitures, and given up his claim to Anselm, Ralph's predecessor. And, besides, this delivery of the ring and crosier was but a late practice of the Saxon kings, as I have already proved from good authority. And thus the reader may perceive this sergeant Wray, though a good lawyer, was but a slender antiquary.

Lastly, he urges a law case in the reign of Edward I. The precedent sets forth, that the bringing an excommunication from the see of Rome, in abatement of an action at common law, was adjudged high treason. Granting all this, the inference is far from reaching home. The judges' resolution amounts to no more than that the overruling the courts of justice by a papal censure, stopping the practice of law, and making the government impracticable, was an attempt against the king's crown and dignity, and deserved death.

But though the pope had no right to check the civil administration, it does not follow they denied him a spiritual authority. It is plain, both these judges, and the rest of the kingdom, practised on a contrary belief, and owned the bishop of Rome for the head of the Christian communion.

To proceed to the business of this parliament. I shall give the reader an account of part of those statutes which relate to religion.

First, it is made high treason to publish that the queen is an heretic, a schismatic, a tyrant, an infidel, or an usurper.

The next statute sets forth, that divers bulls had been transmitted hither from the court of Rome, "to absolve and reconcile all those that will be contented to forsake their due obedience to her majesty. And that by colour of the said bulls, sundry simple and ignorant persons have not only withdrawn and absented themselves from all divine service now most godly set forth within this realm, but have also thought themselves discharged from all obedience, duty, and allegiance to her majesty, whereby most wicked and unnatural rebellion has ensued.

"For a remedy of this mischief, the putting in ure any bull of absolution or reconciliation to the bishop of Rome : the

taking the authority of absolving or reconciling by virtue of such instruments, the procuring and publishing such bulls, or receiving absolution upon them, is made high treason, and all those who aid or abet the said offenders, to the intent to uphold or allow the execution of the said usurped power, shall incur the penalties in the statute of *Præmunire*." Farther, by this statute the concealing or not discovering a bull or reconciliation offered, is made misprision of treason.

It is farther enacted, "That those who bring in *Agnus Dei*, or any crosses, pictures, or beads from the bishop of Rome, or from any persons claiming authority from him, shall fall under the forfeitures and penalties of the *Præmunire* statute. By the way, an *Agnus Dei* was a loaf of wax, with a figure of a lamb upon it, consecrated by the pope on Low-Sunday."

To prevent fraudulent conveyances to the prejudice of succession, it was enacted, "That no spiritual person, college, or hospital, shall make any leases, gifts, or grants of estates for more than one-and-twenty years, or three lives, reserving the accustomed yearly rent or more, to be paid during the said term. But here it is provided, that nothing in this act shall be construed to make good any lease made by any college or collegiate church, for more years than are limited by the private statutes of the same college."

This remedy, though not without some effect, did not reach every part of the grievance. For the crown not being expressly mentioned, was left in the same condition of receiving grants and leases from the clergy as before: and thus by the strength of the prerogative the courtiers made prize of the Church: and by this omission, the benefit of the statute was in a great measure lost.

By the next act relating to the Church, all priests or ministers under the degree of a bishop, that have been ordained by any ordinal, or form different from that set forth in the reign of king Edward VI., and now in use, are obliged "to declare their assent to all the articles of religion, which only concern the confession of the true Christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments comprised in a book, entitled, 'Articles by which it was agreed by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy and convocation holden at London in the year of our Lord 1562, for the avoiding diversi-

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Dupin's new
Eccles. Hist.
cent. 16.

under
Onuphrius
Panvinius,
13 Eliz.
cap. 2.

An act to
prevent the
alienation of
the church
revenues.

13 Eliz.
cap. 10.

An act to
oblige the
clergy to
declare their
assent to the
Thirty-nine
Articles.

PARKER, ties of opinions, and for establishing consent touching true religion, put forth by the queen's authority.'

Abp. Cant.

"If any ecclesiastical person advisedly maintains any doctrine directly contrary to any of the said articles, and refuses to revoke his error after being convented before his ordinary, or the queen's ecclesiastical commissioners, or relapses after such retractation, he is liable to be deprived by the bishop of the diocese."

The age, and other qualifications of persons to be admitted to benefices.

The statute proceeds to enact, "That no person shall be admitted to any benefice with cure, unless he is at least twenty-three years of age, and shall first have subscribed the articles in the presence of the ordinary, and publicly read them in his parish church, with a declaration of his unfeigned assent; and that every incumbent who omits the performing this condition by the space of two months after his induction, shall *ipso facto* be immediately deprived."

It is farther enacted, "That no person now permitted by any dispensation or otherwise, shall retain any benefice with cure, being under the age of one-and-twenty years, or not being deacon at the least. And that none shall be made minister, or admitted to preach or administer the sacraments, being under the age of twenty-four years, nor unless he brings the bishop of the diocese's testimonial of his regular life, and of his professing the doctrine expressed in the said articles: nor unless he is able to give the ordinary an account of his faith in Latin, according to the said articles.

"And lastly, all admissions to benefices, institutions, and inductions, contrary to the form and provision of this act, and all tolerations, dispensations, qualifications, and licences whatsoever to be made to the contrary hereof, shall be void in law."

13 Eliz.
cap. 12.

To proceed: the attainders of Charles, earl of Westmorland, Thomas, earl of Northumberland, and several others attainted for treason in the late rebellion, are confirmed. And here the lands of the said offenders which lay within the county palatine of Durham, are granted to the queen, notwithstanding Pilkington claimed *jura regalia*, in right of his Church: the trial of which challenge and claim, as the statute goes on, was then depending in suit between the queen and the bishop in the court of King's Bench, and was not yet discussed or determined. But notwithstanding the cause was undecided, the

parliament in consideration the queen had spent a great deal of treasure in suppressing the rebellion, and preserving the bishop and his diocese : for this consideration all the honours, manors, lands, &c., within the bishopric of Durham, forfeited by the rebels, and claimed by the bishop, are granted to the queen. But then, it is for this time only, and without any prejudice to his see for the future. It was farther enacted, "That in case the bishop succeeds in the trial against the queen, that then her majesty may be pleased to bestow some part of the forfeitures above-mentioned upon the said bishop, or his successors. And here the proportion is left wholly to her majesty's pleasure : that is, if by the court of King's Bench all the forfeited estates were adjudged to the bishop, then the queen might return him something of his own, and as little a part of that too as she pleased. This right of the see of Durham to forfeited estates in case of high treason, had been enjoyed by the bishops for several hundred years ; it was once contested in the reign of Edward III., and judgment given against the crown. But for the particulars I shall refer the reader to the first part of this history.

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The forfeitures of treason claimed by the bishop of Durham, granted "pro hac vice" to the crown.

13 Eliz. cap. 16. Statutes at Large.

Page 532.

To prevent dangerous practices against the state, it is provided by another statute, that those who had transported themselves into foreign countries without the queen's leave, should, unless they returned within a certain term, forfeit the profit of their manors, lands, tenements, and all their goods and chattels whatsoever : and in case they were ecclesiastical persons, all their preferments were declared void : and provided any fraudulent conveyances were made to cover their fortunes, such grants and pretended alienations are likewise declared of none effect.

An act against going beyond sea without the queen's leave.

13 Eliz. cap. 5. Statutes at Large.

There were several bills touching religion brought in, and some of them gone through in the house of Commons, viz. a bill for residence of pastors ; a bill to avoid corrupt presentations, and some others : but the proceeding upon these matters was checked by the queen, who seemed apprehensive of encroachment upon the regale. For this reason, she ordered some of the lords to report her pleasure to the committees of the commons. The message was, "To tell them she approved their good endeavours, but would not suffer these things to be ordered by parliament."

D'Ewe's Journal, p. 185.

The commons engaging so much in this way, it is probable,

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.
D'Ewes'
Journal,
p. 137.

disappointed the passing the body of ecclesiastical laws drawn up in the reign of king Edward VI. The enacting this book into law was moved in the house of Commons. The matter seems to have been concerted by some Churchmen before the session, for the book was newly printed from two manuscript copies. The one belonged to Parker, and the other to Cranmer. Fox published it with a preface, in which, after having dilated on the serviceableness of the performance, he recommended it to the countenance of parliament. But, the queen being willing to keep the whole regale in her hands, the design miscarried, and the parliament was dissolved on the 29th of May.

The convocation meets.

To go back a little to the convocation who met in the chapter-house of St. Paul's, on the 3d of April. The sermon was preached by Dr. Whitgift; his text was verse six of the fifteenth of the Acts: "The apostles and elders came together to consider of this matter." From hence he took occasion to discourse upon the institution and authority of synods, touched upon the opposition made to the Church by Puritans and Papists, dilated on the use of distinct habits and religious ornaments: and, lastly, mentioned several things which required reformation. John Ailmer, doctor of divinity, was chosen prolocutor.

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In the third session, Cheney, bishop of Gloucester, was excommunicated for not appearing at the convocation, nor constituting a proxy. The denouncing the sentence was committed to Eaton, archdeacon of Gloucester, with a pursuivant attending him.

This unusual censure was passed upon the bishop for contempt. It must be said, this prelate's conduct was extraordinary. For though he was in town at the meeting of the convocation, he never appeared: and, over and above, went into the country without leave from the archbishop: that this was the reason of proceeding against him, appears by the form of the sentence. The excommunication was pronounced by the archbishop, but not without the assent of the upper house.

See Records,
num. 87.

May 12.
Extracts of
the Convoc.
Journal.
*The canons
of discipline
passed in
this synod.*

After some little time, Higgins, the bishop of Gloucester's chaplain, exhibited letters of proxy for his lord, and moved the bishop might receive absolution, which was granted.

This convocation passed several canons for discipline, which the reader may see in Sparrow's Collection.

In the first article, *de episcopis*, the bishops are enjoined to call the preachers in their diocese before them, and demand a sight of their license, which they may either cancel or keep by them. And, after they have examined the parties, and found them qualified for their employment, they are to furnish them with a new faculty, but upon the condition of their subscribing the articles of religion passed in convocation; and solemnly engaging to maintain the doctrine contained in those articles, as altogether agreeable to the word of God.

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Notwithstanding this caution, by the first branch of the act of parliament above-mentioned, the clergy's subscription is required to such articles as "only contain the confession of the true Christian faith, and the doctrine of the holy sacraments." By this restriction in the word "only," all articles relating to the Homilies, the Ordinal, the Church's power in imposing rites and ceremonies, and her authority in controversies of faith, seems omitted on purpose, as if it had not been the design of the statute to bring these articles within the subscription. However, the following branches require subscription to the articles without any exception. And that this was the meaning of the legislature, is farther made good by sir Edward Coke's authority, who positively affirms, that the subscription required by the clergy takes in all the nine-and-thirty articles. And that by this statute the delinquent is disabled and deprived, *ipso facto*. He adds farther, "That when one Smith subscribed the nine-and-thirty articles with this addition (so far forth as the same were agreeable to the word of God), it was resolved by sir Christopher Wray, chief-justice in the King's-bench, and all the judges of England, that this subscription was not according to the statute of 13 Eliz. cap. 12:" because the statute required an absolute subscription, whereas this subscription made it conditional. And farther, this act was made for avoiding diversity of opinions, &c. But, by this qualification or addition, the party might by his own private opinion take some of the articles to be against the word of God; and so by this means diversity of opinions would not be avoided: and thus the scope of the statute, and the very act itself made touching subscription, would be of none effect. Thus far sir Edward Coke.

*The statute
requires
subscription
to all the
articles.*

Coke's
Reports,
lib. 6. fol. 29.
Green's
case.

531.

However, the Puritans took their advantage of the ambiguity of the first part of the statute, and made this their

*Institutes,
pt. 4. fol. 323,
324.*

ARKER, defence against their subscribing the whole number of the articles.
Abp. Cant.

In the last article concerning patronage, the bishop is enjoined to put the patrons in mind of the trust lodged with them; to regard the interest of religion, and recollect the account they must give of their management at the day of judgment; that they should be especially careful not to present any person but such as have learning, discretion, and unblemished life to recommend them; and that in the conduct of this affair, no indirect considerations, no motives of pride or profit, should govern them. Adding, withal, that he himself would omit no proper inquiry to find out the truth; and if any fraud or simoniacal contract is discovered, if either money or part of the issues of the living are secured to the patron; in this case the bishop is bound to make the simony public in his cathedral, and elsewhere, to the disgrace of such a scandalous patron. And as for the clerk who was thus wretchedly preferred, he is not only to lose the benefice, but be suspended the exercise of his function, and expelled the diocese.

Sparrow's
 Collection,
 p. 240.

This convocation ordered every archbishop and bishop to furnish themselves with Fox's "Martyrology;" that the deans should place it in their cathedrals; and that archdeacons, residentiaries, and the rest above-mentioned, should let it lie in some public room for the instruction of their domestics, and others who were occasionally entertained by them. But from hence it cannot be inferred that the convocation believed all the matters of fact reported, or approved all the remarks and reasoning of this historian. The Church allows the reading of the Apocrypha, and the binding it up with the rest of the canon. But to argue from hence that all the historical passages are unquestionable, the customs warrantable, and the doctrine without exception, would be a wrong consequence.

This convocation granted the queen a subsidy of six shillings in the pound, which was confirmed by the parliament. They were dissolved on the 30th of May; and thus, as they met a day after, they sat a day longer than the parliament.

Archbishop Parker being informed that Grindal designed a general visitation, sent him the canons of discipline above-mentioned. These canons, though subscribed by the bishops of both provinces, wanted the queen's ratification. The queen was acquainted with what passed in the synod, and approved

the proceedings; but, as it happened, the royal assent was not given in form. Archbishop Grindal, therefore, demurred to the execution of these canons; he was afraid a præmunire might reach him. And it seems his scruples were not without reason; for, by venturing thus far, he would have been liable to prosecution, and must have cast himself upon the queen's mercy.

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Grindal, notwithstanding he could have no assistance from these canons, went on with his visitation, and gave fifty articles in charge. And since they discovered the condition of the Church in a great measure, I shall mention some of them which are most remarkable.

25 Hen. 8.
cap. 19.
*Archbishop
Grindal's
articles of
visitation.*

By the articles in which the clergy are concerned, "Those who administer the communion are ordered not to put the consecrated bread into the people's mouths, but into their hands. The priests are likewise forbidden the using any ceremonies or gestures not appointed by the book of Common Prayer.

"They were to administer the holy eucharist to none under fourteen years old, unless they could repeat the Ten Commandments and Lord's Prayer; and to none above that age, unless they could repeat the catechism.

"Those, likewise, who either were not perfect in the catechism, or refused to rehearse it to the minister, were not to be married.

"The communion is ordered to be received three times a-year, besides Ash-Wednesday; that is, on one of the two Sundays before Easter, on one of the two Sundays before Whitsuntide, and one of the two Sundays before Christmas."

This order, in preferring common Sundays to festivals of the highest solemnity, looks somewhat particular.

To go on: "The articles of religion were to be read in Churches on some Sunday twice every year; the queen's injunctions were to be read once every quarter, and the archbishop's injunctions once every half-year.

"No minister (being unmarried) was to keep any woman in his house under sixty years of age, excepting she was his mother, aunt, sister, or niece."

The following articles concern the laity:—

"And here no person, not being a minister (that is, a priest), deacon, or at least tolerated by the ordinary in writing,

PARKER,
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should execute the office of a priest or deacon in saying divine service in any church or chapel.

“All altars were to be pulled down, and the altar-stones defaced, and put to some common use.”—Whether this was not over-reforming, and going too far from Popery, the reader must judge.

“At burials, all yearly commemorations of the dead, all ceremonies which seemed to countenance prayer for those departed, or the Popish purgatory, are forbidden.

“The minister is not permitted to make any stop between the Morning Prayer, the Litany, and the Communion; but to go through the whole service without pause or intermission. The meaning of this article is to keep the congregation together, and prevent their going out of the Church until the whole service was over.

“No persons are allowed to wear beads, or to pray upon them in Latin or English; nor to burn any candle in the church superstitiously upon the feast of the Purification.—Nor superstitiously to make the sign of the cross when they enter the church.”

But supposing they did not do these things superstitiously, it is possible they might not come within the censure of the article. But if the archbishop thought the making the sign of the cross was always superstitious, he goes counter to the practice of the primitive Church.

Tertull. de
Coron. Mil.

That in perambulation in Rogation week, the minister should use no other ceremonies than reading two Psalms beginning “Benedic, anima mea, Dominum,” add such sentences of Scripture as are appointed by the queen’s injunctions, with the Litanies and suffrages annexed. There was likewise an homily to be read, set forth for that purpose. But then there was no surplice to be worn, no banners or hand-bells carried, or any resting at crosses, allowed at these processions.

*These are the
hundred
and third
and fourth
Psalms.*

532.

And by the last which I shall mention, the ministers and churchwardens were not to suffer any fiddlers, morris-dancers, or buffoons to bring their ridiculous diversions into any church or church-yard.

Regis Ec-
cles. Eborac.
Life of Abp.
Grindal.

To secure the government from the Papists on one hand, and the Puritans on the other, there was a protestation drawn up to be taken by each of them. That for the Papists stands thus:—

"I do profess and confess before God, that I do firmly believe in my conscience, that queen Elizabeth, my sovereign lady, now reigning in England, is rightfully, and ought to be and continue queen, and lawfully beareth the legal crown and power of this realm; and so to be obeyed, notwithstanding any act or sentence that any pope or bishop hath done or given, or can do or give; and that if any pope or other say or judge the contrary, whether he say it as pope, or howsoever, he erreth, and affirmeth, holdeth, and teacheth error."

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A protestation for Papists

The other, made for the Puritans, is as follows:—

"I do profess and confess before God, that I do firmly believe in my conscience, that queen Elizabeth, my sovereign lady, now reigning in England, is, and ought to be and continue, lawful queen, and lawfully beareth the regiment, crown, and power of this realm; and so to be obeyed, notwithstanding any act or sentence that any Church, synod, consistory, or ecclesiastical assembly, hath done or given, or can do or give; and that if any say or judge the contrary, in what respect soever he saith it, he erreth, and affirmeth, holdeth, and teacheth error and falsehood."

Petit's MSS.

Whether these forms were drawn by the convocation, or how far they were executed, does not appear.

As for the Puritans, they grew more hardy against the Church Establishment: they either used the Geneva form, or maimed the English Liturgy, and misled the people by preaching or praying in churches or private houses. To stop their progress, the ecclesiastical commissioners sent down a strict order to the churchwardens throughout the province of Canterbury, not to suffer any person publicly or privately to teach, read, or preach in any churches, private houses, or other places, unless such as were licensed by the queen, the archbishop of Canterbury, or the bishop of the diocese. Another condition was, that the license of the person officiating was to be of no older date than the 1st of May last past. And, lastly, that he was not under deprivation by the ecclesiastical commissioners, or any other lawful authority. This order is signed by the archbishop of Canterbury, by the bishops of London, Winchester, Ely, Worcester, and Chichester, besides several civilians and others.

June 17, 1571.

The commissioners' order to the churchwardens, &c.

MSS. Coll. C. C. Cant. Append. to Parker's Life.

About this time, Goodman, Leaver, Sampson, Walker, Whyborne, Gouff, all leading Puritans, were cited to Lam-

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Abp. Cant.

beth : they were examined by the archbishop ; but that they either complied or lost their preferments, does not appear. Deering, another Puritan minister of note, was brought before the archbishop, and others of the high commission. He was charged with maintaining, "That breaking the laws of the civil government was no sin in its own nature, but only upon the score of the scandal ; that Christ's descent into hell relates only to the force and efficacy of his passion, but that neither his body nor his soul went to that place ; that it is lawful to take oaths when the forms are written or printed, to mark the sense of the imposer ; but to make use of the book for a circumstance of solemnity in swearing, is a sacrilegious addition." His last proposition censures the sacerdotal habit, because worn by the Papists. These assertions were drawn up in Latin, and signed by him. They stand thus :—

*Deering's
singularities.*

"In violata lege principis, peccatum est scandalis, non facti.

"Christus descendit ad inferos virtute passionis, nullo neque corporis, neque animæ itinere.

"Juramenta sunt licita, libris tanquam tessaris consignata. Librum vero ipsum ad juramenti fidem adhibere, omnino est sacrilegium.

"Vestes, quas verè papisticas vocamus, mihi videntur plenæ offensionum, ac mihi secus ad veritatem persuadere libentissimè cupiverim.

"EDWARD DERINGE."

Wittingham and Gilby, two other active dissenting preachers, were not forgotten by archbishop Parker, who desired the archbishop of York to undertake them : but as for the latter, he lived at Leicester, out of Grindal's province, neither does it appear he was successful enough to gain the other.

Robert Brown, who gave the denomination to the Brownists, began to discover some of his singularities about this time. He was cited before the ecclesiastical commissioners. What censure he received is more than I have met with. That he lay under some public discountenance may be collected by his withdrawing into Holland, where himself and one Harrison, a schoolmaster, printed a book against the Church of England.

Robert Johnson, chaplain to the lord-keeper Bacon, was marked for some disaffection to the ecclesiastical constitution.

He was convented before the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of Winchester and Ely. Being required to sign three articles tendered to those suspected for non-conformity, he refused to comply, and was suspended.

ELIZABETH.

What the articles were may be collected from his letter to the archbishop and the rest, where he endeavours to come towards the appointment, and offers his utmost for satisfaction.

First, he promises to officiate by the service-book, and keep close to the rubric; and that he would neither publicly, nor of set purpose, make any discourses against the liturgy: that he thought the imperfections in these offices might be borne with upon the score of union and charity: that this might be done until an opportunity for a thorough reformation presented; to which happy juncture every man in his vocation ought to contribute.

Three articles to be subscribed.

Secondly, the ministers' apparel he conceived might be used, though neither generally expedient, nor edifying.

The third article, requiring his assent to the thirty-nine articles, agreed by the convocation in 1562, he complied with without scruple.

Some endeavours had been used to bring the Dutch Churches, particularly those of London and Norwich, under the government of the respective dioceses.

Sandys, bishop of London, insisted on his jurisdiction over these foreigners: and in this he was fairly justifiable by the practice of antiquity, and the laws of the Church, as a spiritual society. For as a man who travels owes the prince of the country where he resides a local allegiance, so a Christian of what country soever ought to be subject to the bishop of the diocese where he dwells, provided he is catholic and orthodox; for a bishop within his precinct is an ecclesiastical prince, and has an independent commission from our Saviour.

533.

To return: Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, on the other hand, being a man of latitude and low principles, left these Dutchmen to themselves, and disclaimed all pretensions upon them. Neither was Sandys in much likelihood of succeeding in his claim; for these foreigners pleaded a privilege for liberty, and that they were exempted from the bishop's government by the virtue of their charter. This seems to have been no more than

The Dutch Churches demur to the jurisdiction of the English bishops.

PARKER, matter of fact; and thus the point was overborne by the weight of the regale.

To say something concerning the affairs in Scotland: the lord Claude Hamilton, the earl of Huntley, and some others of the queen's party, being informed that the regent passed his time in an unguarded manner at Stirling, resolved to make a night march, and endeavour to surprise him. Their motions being unsuspected, they succeeded in the enterprise, entered the town at break of day, and made the regent prisoner. But the town being alarmed before they could carry him off, he was shot by one captain Calder, for fear of a rescue. He was recovered from the enemy by his men, but died soon after of his wound, and was succeeded by the earl of Mar.

Spotswood.

Knox disappointed at St. Andrew's, and falls sick.

As to the business of the Church, where the queen's interest prevailed, the ministers owned her in the pulpit, and prayed for her as their sovereign. This was a hardy motion, and quite counter to the appointment of the general assembly. Knox, as hath been observed, withdrew from Edinburgh to St. Andrew's upon this score. And here he met with great opposition from Archibald and John Hamilton, professors of philosophy in the New College. These gentlemen stood firm to the queen, and gained over a great many of the students. Upon this disadvantage in the contest, and finding the cause somewhat unprosperous, Knox grew melancholy, and fell into a sickness, of which he never perfectly recovered. And now being acquainted with the meeting of a general assembly at Stirling, he sent them a kind of pastoral letter, in which there are some passages not unbecoming a person of integrity and courage.

His letter to the assembly.

He tells them, "That the decay of his constitution giving him certain expectation of approaching death, he thought it his duty to exhort and charge them 'to take heed to themselves, and to the flock over which the Holy Ghost had made them overseers.' As to the mention of particulars, he supposes it unnecessary: To acquit themselves well in their function, and maintain their post, will put them upon a 'hard battle,' as he calls it. But," as he goes on, "there is a second contest which will be harder; and that is to withstand the merciless devourers of the Church patrimony. If men will spoil, let them do it to their own peril and condemnation, but communi-

Aug. 13,
1571.

cate not ye with their sins, of what estate soever they be, neither by consent nor silence ; but with public protestation make known to the world that ye are innocent of such robbery, and that ye will seek redress thereof at the hands of God and man. God give you wisdom, strength, and courage, in so good a cause, and me a happy end.”

ELIZABETH.

In January following the general assembly met at Leith. *A general assembly at Leith restores episcopacy.* And here the regent and council were solicited to settle the polity of the Church, and bring things to a more perfect form. Six of the council, and the same number of the assembly, were ordered to join in a committee for concluding this business. Those who represented the council were James, earl of Morton, chancellor ; William lord Ruthven, treasurer ; Robert, abbot of Dumferling, secretary ; Mr. James Macgille, keeper of the rolls ; sir John Bellenden, justice clerk ; and Colin Campbell of Glenorchy. Those for the Church were Mr. John Erskine of Dun, superintendent of Angus ; Mr. John Winraime, superintendent of Fife ; Mr. Andrew Hay, commissioner of Clydesdale ; Mr. David Lindesay, commissioner of the West ; Mr. Robert Pont, commissioner of Orkney ; and Mr. John Craig, one of the ministers of Edinburgh. These twelve, after several meetings and debates, came to a resolution upon the following articles :

First, That the archbishoprics and bishoprics now void should be disposed of to those of the ministry best qualified.

Secondly, That the spiritual jurisdiction should be managed by the bishops within their respective dioceses.

Thirdly, That all abbots, priors, and other inferior prelates presented to benefices, should be examined by the bishop, or superintendent, within whose precinct the preferment happens to lie : That amongst other marks of their ability, their fitness to represent the Church in parliament should be examined. And lastly, that upon the bishops' or superintendents' collation or institution, they should be admitted to the benefice, and not otherwise.

Fourthly, That to sees vacant at present, or which shall happen to be void afterwards, the king and regent should nominate persons well qualified : that after such nomination the election should be made by the chapters of the respective cathedrals : and that in regard several of the chapters' churches were possessed by incumbents preferred thither before his

PARKER, Abp. Cant. majesty's coronation; and that these men in several parishes forbore the exercise of their function; to remedy this inconvenience a nomination of ministers was to be made in every diocese to supply the cures of these unofficiating clergy till the benefices should fall void.

Fifthly, That all benefices with cure, beneath prelaties, should be disposed of to none but ministers who actually officiate.

Sixthly, That the ministers should have ordination from the bishop of the diocese, and where no bishop was yet fixed, from the superintendent of the bounds.

Seventhly, That the bishops and superintendents, at their respective ordinations, should oblige the ministers to swear an oath for recognising his majesty's authority; and likewise an oath of canonical obedience to their ordinary.

These and several other serviceable orders were agreed to stand in force still the king was a major, or till the estates of the realm should otherwise determine.

Spotswood's
Ch. Hist.
p. 26

Thus the ancient ecclesiastical polity was revived, the patrimony of the Church ran much in the usual channel, and express provision was made for securing the rights and privileges of chapters, abbots, and priors.

By the first and fourth article it appears that several of the sees in Scotland were full at the sitting of the assembly. Now these must of necessity be bishops of the Roman Catholic communion; for there were very few others in Scotland before this settlement; neither do I find any bishops, excepting those of Orkney, Galaway, and Argyle, gained over to Protestantism. To make this matter clear, the reader is to observe, that at the beginning of the Reformation, though the Roman Catholic bishops who refused to come in were ousted of their jurisdiction, and barred the exercise of their office, yet they had a friendly consideration in other respects: their revenues were allowed them during life, together with their privileges of voting in parliament. And as for those few bishops who turned Protestants, these prelates, besides the privileges above mentioned, were permitted some share of jurisdiction; that is, as much as would fall in with the reformed scheme, and their "New Book of Discipline".

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The Roman Catholic bishops allowed their revenues and their right of session in parliament.

Spotswood,
Refut. Libel.
de Regim.
Eccles.
Scotic.
p. 4.

The Church all along re-

That the bishops continued to sit in parliament from the first beginning of the Reformation till several years after this

¹ This paragraph is particularly noticeable.

agreement at Leith, is plain from the Scotch history and records. Indeed, those who drew up the first book of discipline, though they had no great regard for the distinction of bishops, yet allowed the clergy to assist in parliament "when the same is called." Here the Presbyterian Calderwood interpolates the text, and throws in a false gloss; for instead of these words, "when the same is called," he puts in these, "if he be called;" as if the summoning the clergy might be dropped by the constitution. And then as to their assistance, he interprets to advice, and not to a right of voting. But this is downright misreporting the case, for nothing is more evident than that a representation of the Church was always thought essential to a Scotch parliament. Thus in the year 1560, to give the Reformation a face of law, the bishops, as hath been observed, were summoned to the parliament. To give some more instances: when the marriage between the queen and Bothwell was on foot, not only the temporal nobility were prevailed with to sign their assent, but for farther satisfaction to the kingdom, all the bishops then in Edinburgh were sent for to court, and required to subscribe the same instrument.

ELIZABETH.
presented in
the Scotch
parliaments.

Buchan.
p. 667.

In the year 1568, a charge was exhibited against the queen of Scots before the queen of England's commissioners. That this impeachment might look like the joint act of all the estates, and carry the appearance of a national consent, the bishop of Orkney and the abbot of Dunfermline were appointed to represent the spiritual estate.

Id. p. 698.
July 12.

Farther: in the year 1571, when each of the two parties pretended to hold a parliament, those in the queen's interest met at Edinburgh, where, notwithstanding the members made a thin appearance, they had two bishops in their session.

Buchan.
p. 766.
Compared
with Spots-
wood, p. 254.

In their next session, held at Edinburgh about five weeks after, though there were but five members who had a right of voting, two of this small number were bishops, as Spotswood reports. Buchanan's account is still more remarkable; for one of these two prelates appeared against his will; so that, it seems, the three temporal noblemen which made up the five forced this bishop into the house. And, if the question is asked, Why this was done?—the most probable answer is, it was out of an opinion, that the ecclesiastical estate was essential to a parliament.

Spotswood,
p. 256.

That the bishops' ancient right for voting in parliament was

PARKER,
A bp. Cant. continued by the agreement at Leith, above-mentioned, I think needs not be questioned: for, since the popish bishops enjoyed this privilege during their lives, there is no reason to suppose the reformed of that order should be denied it.

This point may be farther made good by observing, that, when the Presbyterian project for parity was set on foot by Andrew Melvil, in the year 1575, when this design was carrying on, the main difficulty to be surmounted was this: it was objected, that prelacy could not be suppressed without sinking one of the three estates of parliament. This, not to mention other evidence, appears by two letters written to Beza, one by the lord Glamis, chancellor of Scotland, about the year 1576. This lord—who, without doubt, stated the case upon the sense of the generality of the Scotch nation—speaks thus:

“Since every church has its own pastor, and the power of pastors seems to be co-ordinate by the Christian institution, the question is, Whether the episcopal function is necessary for drawing these pastors into a synod upon occasion, for ordaining pastors, and for exerting the censures of the Church?—or, Whether it is more eligible that the pastors, managing upon terms of equality, and under the check of no prelatic superiority, should elect persons into the ministry with the consent of the patron and people, and likewise be empowered to censure, depose, &c.? For keeping on the bishops,” continues this lord, “we have these two motives: first, the stiff and ungovernable temper of the people. The dealing with this stubbornness would in all likelihood be impracticable, were it not for the force of the episcopal character and jurisdiction. The other motive is, that, by the ancient constitution of the realm, nothing can pass in parliament without the bishops, who make the third estate. Now, to change this usage, and sink this third, would be extremely dangerous.”

Funda-
mental
Charter of
Presbytery
Disproved.

Melvil's letter to Beza, in the year 1579, speaks to the same sense.

“Notwithstanding,” says he, “the opposition we have met with from many of the nobility, we have attacked pseudo-episcopacy for five years together. The noblemen against us object, that, if episcopacy be put down, one of the three estates is dissolved; and that presbyteries cannot be set up without maiming the prerogative-royal.” Thus Melvil.

Idem.

And, when episcopacy was abolished by the Kirk assembly,

in the year 1580, the king sent several times to acquaint them, "he could not dispense with the loss of one of his three estates, and put the question to them, Which way they could make good this defect, and raise a new ecclesiastical estate?" To this their answer was, "That they had no dislike of churchmen's having a vote in parliament; but their opinion was, that none ought to represent the Church in parliamentary business unless the Church gave them a commission." And upon this foot they settled the point in the "Second Book of Discipline."

ELIZABETH.

Chap. 11.
art. 17, 18.

To give one instance more: the assembly held at Dundee, March the 7th, 1598, came to this resolution, "that it was necessary and expedient, for the well-being of the Kirk, that the ministry, as the third estate of this realm, in the name of the Church, have vote in parliament."

And thus, to show the ancient constitution of Scotland, and the interest the churchmen had in the legislature and public debates, I have exceeded the order of time for the sake of the unity of the matter.

MSS. Acts of the Assembly.
Petty, p. 545.
Spotswood, p. 449.
Calderwood, p. 420.

535.

The conveyance of the character of the reformed bishops in Scotland.

To return to the assembly at Leith: one reason, which seems to have disposed them to consent to a review of the Church polity, was an act of parliament lately passed, by virtue of which, those who formerly held lands of religious houses were from henceforward to hold them of the crown. This statute awakened the assembly into a jealousy of hard usage. Those of the laity, who had seized the patrimony of the Church, had hitherto nothing but possession for their title. The reformed ministers were not without hopes, therefore, of recovering these estates, and turning them to uses more serviceable; but now, since the monasteries were vested in the crown, they knew it would be no difficult matter for the courtiers to procure grants from the minor king, and thus their title would be indefeasible. The monastery-lands being thus given up for lost, they were not without apprehensions the rich laity might advance to farther inroads; they might not unreasonably suspect the bishops' lands, and other branches of the Church's revenue, might be marked for seizure by the same hands. And now, it is likely, they were sensible of their mistake in breaking the old Church scheme, and refining too far in the "First Book of Discipline;" and that the best way to retrieve their affairs, and stop the progress of sacrilege, was to

James 6.
parl. 2.
cap. 38.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

restore episcopacy: for, when episcopacy was incorporated with the Reformation,—when the bishops' authority was recovered, and the sees kept full,—the seizing their estates, and the projects of alienation, were not so practicable.

This settlement of episcopacy at Leith seems not without some remarkable omission. For it does not appear that they received their character by primitive conveyance, by consecrated hands and Catholic solemnity. It is true, there were some old bishops living who came into the Reformation: but it is pretty evident the new ones could receive no consecration from these: for by their Book of Discipline, imposition of hands was set aside, and censured as unlawful. And, as they had no new form for consecrating bishops, so we may be assured the old popish one would by no means be allowed. And, as these bishops had no more jurisdiction than the superintendents, though somewhat different in the manner and administration, so it appears clear enough they had the call to their office, and their character conveyed by no other ceremonies and authority than what was used in the making superintendents.

*The power
of superin-
tendents
more par-
ticularly
related.*

Farther, since the power of the bishops restored by the Leith assembly was the same in substance with that of the superintendents; it may not be improper to add something farther to what has been already related, concerning the power and superiority of these latter. To be somewhat particular on this subject: superintendents, by virtue of their office, were constant members of the general assemblies; they were to examine the qualifications of those who entered into the ministry. It was part of their privilege to fill benefices void: they had likewise the power of ordination, or admission, as they called it: and all parish ministers were obliged to pay them canonical obedience: it was part of their jurisdiction to visit all their churches within their precincts, to inspect the studies of the ministers, and examine their proficiency. Farther, it was within their power to oblige the ministers to residence, and to deprive them for misbehaviour: it was likewise part of their authority to nominate members for the general assembly. The superintendents were empowered to appoint the meetings of synods within their respective precincts, twice in the year: they appointed public fasts, and assigned stipends to parish ministers: they received appeals from Kirk sessions. It is true, the party

pretending to be grieved by their decision might make a farther application to a general assembly. But then, if this contest was kept up, and the last appeal made against reason and justice, the superintendent and his synod were empowered to fine the appellant. The superintendents were constituted public casuists for their precincts, and authorised to decide differences in matters relating to Church government: and in case ministers, or others, should trouble the assembly, and not acquiesce in the judgment of the superintendent, provided the case lay within the compass of their character: when the matter lay thus, such litigious applications were to be rejected by the general assembly. To take the cognizance of divorces, and give judgment upon the controversy, was another branch of the superintendent's authority. The enjoining penance for great crimes was lodged with the superintendents, and so was the power of excommunication in cases of contumacy. It belonged to superintendents to delate criminals more remarkably scandalous to the civil magistrate, in order to corporal punishment. And, to draw towards an end, they had a vote in the elections of principals of colleges, and confirmed such as were chosen, and none were allowed "to have charge of schools, colleges, or universities, but such as had passed the superintendent's examination. And, lastly, no book upon the subject of religion was to be published without the licence of the superintendent, or of such as were deputed by him for that purpose." This extent of authority and jurisdiction was granted by assembly-regulations, and all passed in favour of superintendents, between the years 1560 and 1572; that is, before the revival of episcopacy, at the Leith agreement.

ELIZABETH.

MS. Acts of the Assembly. Spotawood. Fundamental Charter of Presbytery Disproved, &c. p. 123. et deinceps. The death of bishop Jewel.

To return to England. This year John Jewel, bishop of Salisbury, departed this life. He was extracted from a gentleman's family in Devonshire, and educated in Oxford. He died on the twenty-third day of September, in the fiftieth year of his age, having governed that see almost twelve years. He was an extraordinary genius, well improved. He was thoroughly acquainted with ecclesiastical antiquity, a great master of style, and one of the best controversial divines of the English hierarchy. He was no less exemplary in his life, than eminent for his parts and learning. But his character and performance having been touched already, I shall add no more.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

536.

The queen orders no bills touching religion should be brought into the house of Commons till examined and approved by the clergy. D'Ewes' Journal, p. 213.

A sanguinary paper delivered to the queen for executing the queen of Scots.

On the 8th of May, the next year, the parliament met at Westminster. The printed statutes mention little relating to the Church: but sir Simon D'Ewes's Journal takes notice of a bill for rites and ceremonies read thrice in the house of Commons. The purport of this bill was to weaken the Establishment of the Church: to discharge several passages in the public offices, and to temper the whole to the Puritan gust. But the queen, as far as it appears, was neither pleased with the matter nor the method: and over and above, she might think herself attacked in her ecclesiastical supremacy: but, whatever the grounds of her aversion were, it is certain she sent a message to the commons to acquaint them, it was her pleasure, that for the future no bills concerning religion should be brought into the house, till they had first been examined and approved by the clergy: and that her majesty's further pleasure was, that the two last bills, touching rites and ceremonies, read in that house, should be sent to her: upon which an order passed the house that those bills should be delivered to her majesty by some of the privy council who sat there.

One Wentworth made a tragical harangue upon the subject of this message in the next parliament: but how well his freedom was taken, and in what manner he was disposed of, shall be related afterwards.

The house of Commons came to a resolution, that the speedy trial of the queen of Scots for high-treason, was necessary for the safety and preservation of the queen's person. And to prevail with her to this extraordinary motion, a paper was put into her hands upon this argument. Sir Simon D'Ewes is of opinion it was drawn up in the house of Commons; and if so, it is probable it might be Wentworth's performance; for this gentleman was a member of a warm temper, and overgrown with Puritanism. However, there is something in the paper which supposes it to be written, or suggested at least, by some bishop. Whether this was a piece of art or not, to make it pass the better, is more than I shall determine. But whoever was the author, the reasoning is weak and sanguinary. To give the reader part of the substance of it.

Rom. xiii.

The text of St. Paul to the Romans is alleged to show, that the magistrate is God's minister for the punishment of evil-doers. But what then? this punishment ought to be executed on none but subjects, and not stretched to princes

independent of the government. In the second place it is observed, that Saul lost God's protection, and had the crown transferred from his family, for sparing Agag king of the Amalekites. But here the author forgot to take notice, that Saul had an express command to destroy the Amalekites, without exception of persons. The third reason affirms, that every good prince ought to pursue those to death who endeavour to debase the people of God in their religion, and mislead them to idolatry. This is endeavoured to be made good from Deuteronomy xiii., where the nearest relations are commanded to be delated, and executed for such apostacy. In answer to this, I have formerly observed, that there is no drawing a parallel between popery and paganism.

Secondly, there is no arguing from the Old to the New Testament. The Gospel is a much gentler dispensation than the law. And therefore the disciples who went upon the precedent of Elias, and called for fire upon those of a different religion, are reprimanded by our Saviour, and charged with ignorance.

Luke ix.

It is urged farther, that Constantine the Great put Licinius to death for relapsing to paganism, and endeavouring to suppress Christianity: that he stands commended in history for this length of justice: and yet Licinius was no subject of Constantine's, but a sovereign upon the same level. To this it may be answered first, that it is a question whether Licinius was an independent prince. Eusebius, in comparing these two princes together, calls Constantine *Κραττωρ*¹, which may probably refer to the superiority of his title, and not only to the extent of his dominions. But let this be as it will, Licinius, after having given some provocation, made a peace: and here amongst other things, engaged not to molest the Christians: but not long after he failed in the performance of what had been stipulated; and thus the two emperors came to a rupture: but which was the aggressor Socrates does not relate. But Eusebius is clear in the point; he tells us Licinius acted insidiously, broke the articles of the treaty, and began the war upon Constantine. And since the fact stands thus, Constantine's making use of his victory, and taking his enemy's life, may be fairly accounted for. However, Constantine was too

Socrat. Hist.
Eccles.
lib. 1.
cap. 3, 4.
Licinius began the war upon Constantine.
Euseb. de Vit. Constantin. lib. 1. cap. 50.

¹ "Licinius (says Eusebius) daily invented all kinds of stratagems against him that was his better."

PARKER, generous to take the first forfeiture. He gave Licinius his life, and his liberty in a great measure: he did not proceed to the last extremities, till that ungrateful person endeavoured to embroil the empire, and rebelled upon his benefactor.

Joshua x. The instance of Joshua's killing five kings dragged out of the cave, is miserably misapplied: for the queen of Scots was neither enemy nor prisoner of war. She came into England upon queen Elizabeth's invitation, and in confidence of protection.

1 Kings xviii. Elijah's killing the prophets of Baal is alleged as another reason for dispatching the queen of Scots. But this princess, notwithstanding the clamour against her, had done nothing that might bring her to so scandalous a parallel. Besides, Elijah was under a supernatural direction, and had a warrant from God Almighty for these extraordinary proceedings. That he did nothing without an immediate commission from God, appears by his bringing down fire upon the sacrifice in so miraculous a manner.

The paper has several other arguments: but what has been observed may sufficiently show the unwarrantableness of the principles it goes upon.

Before the recess of the parliament, the Puritans drew up two Admonitions, as they called them, to the parliament. In their first address they represent their pretended grievances; and state that the only way of redress was to allow their scheme of discipline.

The Puritans' Second Admonition to the Parliament. This Admonition being discouraged, and the chief agents imprisoned, they take care to reinforce it with a second. In the first, Cartwright, who writ the pamphlet, had drawn up all the arguments that his reading and invention could suggest, or his friends furnish, against the government of bishops, and almost all the offices in the English liturgy. But this failing of success, he appears with more resolution in his next attempt. The second Admonition, published towards the end of the parliament, breaks out with lightning and thunder, expostulates in high terms, and menaces the government in the boldest manner imaginable. The author not only justifies the first application, but tells them plainly, "that the state did not show itself upright, allege the parliament what it will; that all honest men should find lack of equity, and all good consciences condemn that court: that it should be easier for

Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment, than for such a parliament: that there is no other thing to be looked for than some speedy vengeance to light upon the whole land, let the politic Machiavels of England provide as well as they can against divine vengeance: and finally, if they of that assembly would not follow the advice of the first Admonition, they would infallibly be their own destroyers, the Church being bound to keep God's order, and nothing was to be called God's order but their present system¹."

ELIZABETH.

Admonition, p. 61.
Bancroft's Dangerous Positions, lib. 3. cap. 1.
537.

To proceed to the convocation: they met at St. Paul's on the 9th of May, the next day after the opening of the parliament. The sermon was preached by Dr. Young, one of the residentiaries. He took his text out of the second of the Revelations, ver. 2. "I know thy works, and thy labour, and thy patience, and how thou canst not bear them which are evil." The archbishop made a speech to the two houses to the following effect.

"He began with a commendation of the sermon: from thence he proceeded to take notice of the zeal which had been shewn for the propagation of truth, and the defence of Christianity: that the circumstances of his station and character obliged him to be more particularly vigilant and concerned: that if occasion should require, he ought to hazard his reputation, and sacrifice his life and fortune in the service: that for exerting himself, he had not only the precedent of the late martyrs, but of saints of the earliest antiquity; that some of these in the first century arrived in this island, and have left us noble remains of their piety and success. And notwithstanding the instructions they left, and the usages they settled, are partly worn out by time and superstition; yet many of them have had a more happy conveyance, and reached down to the present age: and thus it appears our constitutions and ceremonies are little different from what was then established. That these remains of antiquity ought to be the more valuable, because they are, as it were, the growth of our own country: however, had Providence been less favourable, and had they sunk in the current of time, we should not have been unfurnished with the means of happiness: for the fountains of divine knowledge were open, the Hebrew and Greek originals of holy

The archbishop's speech at the opening of the convocation.

¹ In this as well as in a few other passages I have been compelled to remodel the obscure phraseology of the text.

PARKER, Abp. Cant. writ were all along preserved. And thus, when the stream was disturbed, we might go to the spring head, and have every thing in its first purity. For as that holy martyr, St. Cyprian, writes, 'If we have recourse to the oracles of God, and trace religion to its divine original, all mistakes of frailty or design will be discovered. The inspired writings will disentangle the perplexity, dispel the mist of the argument, and set the truth in a clear light. If the channel which formerly flowed plentifully, happens to fail, the way is to examine the fountain, and then we shall know what occasions the stoppage. By this method the holy bishops ought to govern themselves. If the colours are almost rubbed out, if we are at a loss in any part of belief or practice, let us apply to the holy evangelists, to the writings and traditions of the apostles. And thus let us execute closely upon the first scheme, and form our conduct upon the divine institution.'

"The great St. Basil delivers himself to the same purpose: 'It is not reasonable,' says he, 'they should over-rule the point by force of custom. Ancient usage is not always the standard of orthodoxy. Let the dispute between us be referred to the holy Scriptures. And whatever persuasion is best able to stand this test, let it be received without further debate.'

"By the reasoning of these Fathers, (continues the archbishop) we are instructed to examine the Scriptures, to rest on the divine authority, and make the most ancient records the rule to direct us. If we steer by this compass, we cannot miss making the port: and to come out of the allegory, this way we may be sure of our religion, and that we are not mistaken in what regards either notion or practice. From hence he goes on to congratulate the happiness of the Reformation; how the darkness of former ages was scattered; how religion was brightened, and the Church emerged from a state of ignorance. And lastly, he exhorts them to avoid squabbling, to manage with method, and act with harmony: and to this purpose he recommends the choosing a prolocutor to the lower house." Dr. Whitgift was accordingly elected, but the convocation was prorogued, and nothing done either this meeting, or at any other time during the life of this archbishop.

Fuller observes, that till this time the bishops had been more sparing in pressing, and others more daring in denying subscription, because the canons made in the convocation,

MSS. Synodal. penes Fra. Atterbury, S.T.P. Extracts of the Journal of Convocation.
A mistake in Fuller.

1563, were not for nine years after confirmed by act of parliament. But now the same being ratified by parliamentary authority, they urged them more severely than before: this made many Dissenters keep their private meetings in woods, fields, their friends' houses, &c.

ELIZABETH.

But here the historian is mistaken as to his first remark: for the convocation of 1563, or, to speak more properly, of 1562, made no canons. For as the learned Heylin observes, from the original records, the passing the thirty-nine articles, and granting the queen a subsidy, was all the business done this synod.

Fuller's Church Hist. book 9, p. 102.

As to the admonition above-mentioned, it was answered by Dr. Whitgift, who examined it thoroughly, and disproved it from point to point: this performance of his, entitled, "An Answer to the Admonition," was published this year. Cartwright published a reply the next year, to which Whitgift rejoined the year following. To this second book of Whitgift's, called, "A Defence of the Answer," Cartwright offered nothing, but retired out of the field, and left the enemy possessed of all the marks of an entire victory.

Examen Historicum, p. 148.

To proceed; there was a Dutch church settled at Stamford, by the encouragement of sir William Cecil, now advanced to the honour of lord Burleigh and treasurer. This nobleman was chancellor of Cambridge: and at the instance of several of the heads, had sent down some new statutes for that university.

These regulations were made for a check to the novelists, and a test against Puritanism. The Dissenter Dering was much disgusted with the chancellor's provision, and took the freedom to send him a warm expostulating letter upon the subject. Amongst other things, he gives a hard character of most of the masters of colleges, charges them with being enemies of God, or faint professors; names those he dislikes, and paints them as his fancy led him. Particularly, he tells the chancellor, that God had suffered Dr. Whitgift to fall into great infirmities: and that in the controversy with Cartwright, his passion and partiality had clearly the ascendant: the masters of Magdalen college, St. John's, King's, Bennet, and Pembroke-hall, were uncensured by him. But these were either Puritans, or somewhat affected to that persuasion.

Dering's letter to the lord Burleigh.

This Dering read lectures in St. Paul's cathedral: but here

His lectures at St. Paul's.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

538.

Philip. c. 2.

Heb. xii.

Strype's
Life of
Archbishop
Parker.

he misbehaved himself so much, and ran out into such extravagant assertions, that he was convented before the ecclesiastical commissioners, and ordered to forbear that function. He seems to have been not only a man of singular fancy, but a dangerous enthusiast. He condemned quoting the Fathers in the pulpit, and called the testimonies of the ancients, and the vouching of councils, no better than entertaining the audience with vanities. He maintained that our Saviour upon the cross not only suffered bodily pain, but anguish of mind, and that he lay under the indignation of God the Father. But how does this agree with St. Paul's doctrine to the Philippians; where, having mentioned the divinity of our Saviour, and the great condescension of his incarnation, he adds, as a farther instance of his goodness, that "he became obedient even to the death of the cross, wherefore God also has highly exalted him, and given him a name above every name." The author to the Hebrews likewise delivers himself directly counter to Dering's doctrine, where speaking of our Saviour, he tells us, that "for the joy that was set before him, he endured the cross, and despised the shame." To proceed; Dering maintained dangerous tenets in his lectures with respect to the state: he told his congregation that Christians were lords of all, and that they had no sovereign in heaven or earth: he expressed himself as if faith had discharged them from subjection, raised them to a participation of our Saviour's condition, and made them rulers of the universe.

But this gentleman, though removed from his lecture, had the satisfaction of a numerous party, and considerable abettors. The Puritans, besides their great patron the earl of Leicester, had no few friends at the council-board. Under this countenance they appeared boldly in the cause, published pamphlets, and attacked the hierarchy, without much regard either to truth or decency. Of these intemperate sallies, the archbishop complains in a letter to the lord treasurer Burleigh.

The bishop of Ely was highly sensible of these disorders, and dreaded the fatal issue in which they might terminate. In his letter to the archbishop, he endeavours to alarm his caution, and keep him upon his guard; "I doubt not," says he, "but ye are circumspect and vigilant, that these godless schismatics overrun not the realm, ne deface the religion of

our godly and well-reformed Church. Ne auferatur a nobis regnum Dei, et detur genti facienti fructum ejus. Mundus in maligno positus est.”

ELIZABETH.

MSS.
Burghlean.
Strype.
*The vice-chancellor
Bing's
letter to the
lord Burleigh.*

About this time Dr. Bing, vice-chancellor of Cambridge, wrote a complaining letter to the chancellor. He informed him the university was furnished with a great many troublesome people. That there was great clashing amongst the students, and that Whitgift's answer to Cartwright was violently attacked; though it was true they brought more passion than force into the controversy, and that their words were much harder than their arguments. That one Charke, in a sermon, *ad clerum*, had laid down these two conclusions:—"First, Episcopatus, archiepiscopatus, metropolitanatus, patriarchatus, papatus, a Satana in ecclesiam introducti sunt. Secondly, Inter ministros ecclesiæ non debet alius esse superior." That libels were pasted upon the schools against Dr. Whitgift; that one Browning, a fellow of Trinity college, preached Novatianism¹ and sedition at St. Mary's; and that one Nicholas Brown, (not he who gave the name to the Brownists,) fellow of the same college, had declaimed in the pulpit against the English ecclesiastical constitution, and pronounced the orders received in the reigns of king Henry and queen Mary, of no significance; and that those who were then made priests, ought not to officiate without a new ordination. Being called to an account for these heterodoxies, he was at last prevailed with to recant them.

Idem.

The Puritans going on in their invectives against the Church, the court affording shelter to libertines, and some of the clergy not managing altogether unexceptionably, the lord-treasurer, Burleigh, now on a progress with the queen, drew up a short scheme for silencing these clamours, for strengthening discipline, and rectifying those things he thought amiss. The title of the draught is this:—

"Things needful to be considered, how to be ordered."

"The government of the Church of England is to be directed not only to more uniformity, pursuant to the laws established,

¹ The Novatians, also called Cathari or Puritans, were proscribed and declared heretics, not so much for excluding penitents from communion, as for denying that the Church had the power of remitting sins.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

MSS. Co-
cilian, Par-
ker's Life.
*The lord
Burleigh's
draught
touching
Church
government.*

but also brought up to more reverence and devotion. For which purpose abuses hereafter mentioned may be reformed upon the plan following:—

“ 1. The parishes should be furnished with the instituted incumbents, and all pluralities resumed by general order. Commissioners, likewise, should be assigned to examine the necessity of dispensations; and here, for order's sake, the archbishops of each province ought to be in commission.

“ 2. Care should be taken for the reparation of churches, and for keeping them in a more decent and ornamental manner.

“ 3. Amendments ought to be made in the statute for coming to common prayer; and some stricter order provided to command the execution. By such reinforcement of discipline, people would not have the liberty to live at discretion, without any appearance of piety, without so much as pretending to any religion whatsoever. That the present remissness and want of restraint has given increase to the growth of atheism, to the dishonour of God, and danger of the realm. That in this matter there should be some particular provision for the queen's household, which at present is a sort of protection for epicures and atheists. The reason is, because the court is not within the precincts of a parish, lies out of the purview of discipline, and is looked on as a lawless place.

“ 4. Sundays, both by order and example, should be kept with more strictness and solemnity.

“ 5. The clergy should be restrained from alienating their lands, from letting unreasonable leases, from waste of woods, from grants of reversions and advowsons to any person whatsoever, either by direct conveyance, or way of trust. And, farther, the bishop's register should be inspected, what grants have been made within five or six years last past to the dishonour of the Church, and an act of resumption passed in the next parliament.”

*Beza's letter
to Knox in
commendation
of the
Scotch disci-
pline.*

To proceed to a brief account of the ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland: the beginning of this summer Beza wrote to Knox: In this letter he gives a strong commendation of the Scottish doctrine and discipline; and infers the merits of that Reformation from its standing the shock of so formidable an opposition; that no country had maintained its ground better, encountered the devil with more resolution, nor been

battered so much within these few years, as that kingdom. He dates the beginning of this glorious combat from their rising upon the government, dethroning their natural sovereign, and pursuing her to death, notwithstanding she indulged them the liberty of their own religion. ELIZABETH.

To go on with Beza: He returns thanks to God Almighty for setting Knox at the helm, and furnishing him and his assistants with such firmness and fortitude. He tells him, "It was the particular bounty of heaven that he brought in the doctrine and discipline into Scotland together. He entreats him to stick close to both of them, because the one is a guard to the other; and that it is impossible to preserve the first, in case he parts with the latter. This may be learned from the nature of the things themselves; for which way can laws be maintained without a proper force of discipline and execution? The same thing is likewise clear upon experiment, the instructor of fools; and thus several countries have miscarried, for refusing to submit to correction and restraint. Whereas it is plain the Gospel was published, generally speaking, for vengeance rather than clemency. And here he desires Knox and his brethren to remember, that as episcopacy introduced the papal supremacy, so these modern pretended bishops, these remains of Popery, will undoubtedly make way for licentiousness. Let those who regard the interest of the Church have a care of this pestilent government; and since you have expelled the pope's usurpation, never give way to the re-admission of episcopacy, what specious pretences, what motives soever for union may be alleged for that purpose; for that these plausible colours had misled a great many well-meaning men amongst the ancients."

Evangelium ad judicium potius quam ad misericordiam (electos Dei pauculos excipio) promulgari. Ita pseud-episcopos, papalis reliquias, episcureismum terris invocatos.
Beza's Epist. 79.

The occasion of writing this letter, as may reasonably be collected, was the restoring episcopacy at the late assembly at Leith. Beza was much disconcerted at this appearance of primitive government: he looked on it as a reflection on the Geneva model. To prevent this settlement, he made it his business to solicit Knox and his party to disturb the public measures, and break through the Leith agreement.

Neither was this effort altogether without its effect, as may be conjectured from the management of the general assembly at Perth. At this meeting the Leith agreement was reported: but what was done was not received with general satisfaction.

August, 1572.

The general assembly at Perth.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

I mean the universality were not altogether pleased with what had been transacted. Some weak or humoursome members scrupled the titles of archbishop, dean, archdeacon, chancellor, and chapter. These, they said, were Popish distinctions, and offensive to the ears of good Christians. These trifling exceptions were thought fit to be considered. An explanatory temper was therefore proposed, that these names might be softened to a more acceptable change, and the sound of superstition somewhat discharged. For instance, an archbishop should be sunk to the title of a bishop, the chapter should be called the bishop's assembly, and the dean the moderator of that assembly. And as for the titles of archdeacon, chancellor, abbot, and prior, a committee should be assigned to examine the extent of these functions, propose other more unexceptionable distinctions, and make a report of their resolution to the next assembly. But that any such report was delivered, is more than appears. It is probable the wiser part thought there was no reason to quarrel with the name, when the office was allowed both lawful and necessary.

However, a protestation was thrown in by the assembly, that they admitted the Leith articles only by way of interim, till a more perfect settlement might be procured from the regent and nobility. Pursuant to this resolution, Mr. John Douglas, provost of the New College of St. Andrew's, was promoted to the archbishopric of that see, Mr. James Boyde to the archbishopric of Glasgow, Mr. James Paton to the bishopric of Dunkeld, and Mr. Andrew Graham to the see of Dunblain.

Spotswood's
Hist. p. 260.

*Knox's death
and charac-
ter.*

In October this year the regent of Scotland, tired with the public disturbances, and the ill success of his administration, contracted a distemper and died. And the next month John Knox departed this life. To say something of him : he was extracted from a private family at Gifford within Lothian : he was educated under the famous John Major. By reading the ancients, and especially St. Austin, as Spotswood relates, he was recovered to the primitive doctrine, and brought off from the errors of the Church of Rome. But notwithstanding this gentle representation, it is certain if Knox had governed himself by the primitive writings, he would have avoided a great many wrong steps, and managed his Reformation in a quite different manner. And as to his skill in the records of anti-

quity, we have little proof of it. To deal plainly with his memory, he was a flaming incendiary, maintained desperate principles, and made no scruple to put them in practice. He had no small share in fomenting the rebellion against the queen, in embroiling the kingdom, and making it a scene of blood and confusion for near seven years together. It must be granted he was a person of resolution and zeal; but then these good qualities were under a frightful direction. He was extravagantly smitten with his own judgment, and seems to have taken the suggestions of his fancy for little less than prophetic impulse. He was so hardy as to censure the conduct of two apostles, St. James and St. Paul, and ventured to declare he greatly doubted whether St. James's command, or St. Paul's obedience, proceeded from the Holy Ghost. The case he censured was St. James's advice to St. Paul to go into the temple, and conform to the customs of the Jewish worship, that no offence might be given to the converts of that nation.

ELIZA-
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He took the freedom to tell the queen at Lochleven, that in case princes failed in the administration, and declined the punishment of wickedness and idolatry, it was lawful for the subjects to execute this function, and take the sword of justice into their hands. This strange doctrine he endeavoured to make good from several instances in the Old Testament. For instance, from Samuel's hewing Agag in pieces, though preserved by the order of king Saul; from Elijah's executing Baal's prophets and priests, when king Ahab, of that religion, looked on; and lastly, from Phineas's dispatching Zimri and Cosbi, who, as Knox takes care to tell the queen, was no magistrate.

Acts xxi.
18, 19.
Hist. Ref.
Scot. p. 101.

And thus Knox had the confidence to argue with the queen from Judaism to Christianity; from inspiration to common right. This principle is big with murder and assassination, subversive of all government, and gives a handle to villany and distraction. It was under the shelter of this privilege that the Jewish zealots committed such ravage and slaughter upon their countrymen at the siege of Jerusalem. But Knox was at a stand: he was afraid the queen would connive at the exercise of her own religion; and therefore, to keep the pope at a distance and animate the Protestants to kill the Papists for going to mass, he applies to this desperate remedy: though, after all, the new law, on which Knox founded his justice, was enacted

Hist. Ref. in
Scotland.
p. 357.

PARKER, by no better than a pretended parliament. This right of subordinate magistrates acting without the supreme authority, and sometimes against it, was one of Calvin's nostrums; and Knox seems to have learned it in the Geneva school. But this, it seems, was not enough: Knox refines upon his master's instructions, and carries the privilege to subjects who had no public character upon them: for Phineas, says he, was no magistrate, and yet stands commended for killing Zimri and Cosbi. But after all, Knox was no entire convert to the Geneva discipline: he declared against Presbyterian parity, promoted the superintendent scheme, and pressed submission to that establishment.

Calvin concurs with Knox in the lawfulness of resisting the civil magistrates.

That Calvin commended Knox for his preaching resistance is plain from several of his epistles. His first letter upon this subject is an answer to Knox's question, whether bastards, the issue of idolaters and excommunicated persons, might be admitted to baptism before their parents had acknowledged their crimes, and made their submission to the Church? Calvin's return to this and some other questions is dated November the 8th, 1559.

When this letter was written, the lords of the congregation had taken the field, signed their second covenant at Perth, and carried on the Reformation, sword in hand, against the prince. And as for Knox, he pushed the commotion, and distinguished himself to a remarkable degree: but this needs not be repeated. Now Calvin was apprised of all this: he knew the steps Knox had taken; how deeply he had engaged; and what service he had done the cause by his preaching and casuistry.

Dated Aug. 28, 1559. Calvin's Epist. 283.

That Calvin was thus informed appears by Knox's letter, where he tells this Geneva divine that the bearer could inform him of the difficulties they met with, of the resolution of their party, and the posture of their affairs. Calvin in his answer owns this letter was delivered him by Knox's agent. After this, "he congratulates Knox upon the success of the enterprise. He tells him, the arrival of this news gave himself and all the godly a great deal of pleasure: that they admired so incredible a progress should be made in so small a time: that the divine interposition was remarkably apparent, and that they had returned thanks to Almighty God upon the occasion: that the favour of Providence thus signally shown was, as it were, an earnest of future success, and ought to animate them

Calvin's Epist. 285.

to bear up against the greatest opposition. But being sensible how good an encourager Knox was, and how well God had furnished him for that function, he thought a discourse to raise the courage of the party not necessary. However, he lets him know that the brethren at Geneva were no less concerned at the danger the Scotch reformers were in, than if themselves were embarked in the same bottom. But all that they could do was to join with them in their devotions, that God would strike their enemies with blindness and distraction, defeat their counsels, and blast their designs. He adds, for their comfort, that the French were much embarrassed in rigging out their fleet for Scotland: but that the dragon was resolved to try every thing rather than give over."

ELIZABETH.

That is, the government.

To proceed: Calvin wrote a second letter to Knox. It is dated April the 23d, 1561. This was a considerable time after Knox and Willock had given their opinion for deposing the queen-regent, and about ten months after that princess's death. And here Calvin is "transported with satisfaction for the glorious progress of the Reformation in Scotland: he is wonderfully pleased that they were not discouraged at the hazard of the enterprise."

He means, I suppose, the risks that they run in breaking in upon the constitution, facing the government, and encouraging the mob in pulling down monasteries and churches.

However, Calvin goes on to applaud their conduct, tells them, "The assistance of heaven is visible in their courage and constancy: that it is this which has made them impregnable against Satan and his adherents: and that unless they had been thus reinforced from above, they could never have held on with such firmness and bravery."

Calvin's
Epist. 305.
Id. Epist.
306.

And in another letter of the same date, he commends Christopher Goodman for joining Knox, and animates him to go on. Now what sort of missionary this Goodman was, has been already related.

That Knox brought his principle of resistance from Geneva, may be farther made good from two remarkable instances. They stand in Knox's history, which is enough to put the testimony beyond exception.

At the conference between secretary Lethington and Knox at the Edinburgh assembly, held in the year 1564, Knox affirmed, "That to maintain the people, or a part of the people,

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

may not execute God's judgment against their king, being an offender, was an unwarrantable assertion: that it was only a court scheme, and the opinion of those who were more afraid of offending their princes than God Almighty."

To this Lethington replied, "the contrary doctrine was taught by some of the most eminent divines in Europe, and whom Knox himself must own to be men of piety and learning." Upon this he called for some papers, and read the opinions of Luther and Melancthon, of Bucer, Musculus, and Calvin, upon the question; and how Christians ought to behave themselves in time of persecution. To this Knox replied, "that the authorities will not bear in the application: that Luther and Melancthon's decision is directed only against the Anabaptists, who make independency on the civil government part of the privileges of Christianity, and affirm that it is not lawful for a Christian to be a magistrate. And as for the other divines, Bucer, Musculus, and Calvin, their doctrine is calculated for Christians in a defenceless unfortified condition: it is only adapted to cases where the subjects are perfectly disabled from redressing their grievances by force, and have no other remedy to apply to but prayers and tears."

Hist. Ref.
of Religion
in Scotland,
p. 391, 392.

And at the end of the conference, when Knox was commanded to write to Calvin, and other learned divines of the Reformation, I suppose in Geneva and Germany; when, I say, Knox was required to consult Calvin and the other divines upon the question, he refused to comply for this reason, which the reader shall have in his own words: "I myself," says he, "am not only fully resolved in conscience, but also I have heard their judgments in this, and all other things that I have affirmed within this realm, of the most godly and most learned that I knew in Europe: I came not to this realm without their resolution; and for my assurance I have the hand-writing of many: and therefore if I should now move the said questions again, what should I do other but either show mine own ignorance and forgetfulness, or else inconstancy? And therefore it may please you to pardon me in that I write not."

Id. p. 401.
541.

To proceed: Spotswood endeavours to disengage Knox from being the author of the "History of the Reformation in Scotland," though he grants it is commonly supposed to be his performance. But what are the archbishop's reasons for taking this history from Knox? Is the period of the book

stretched too far? Not at all: the History ends with the year 1567, which was five years before Knox's death. But the archbishop has two things which he conceives a sufficient disproof of Knox's being the author of this History. His first argument is, the scurrility of the language, more fit for a player than the character of a minister; but few people were more unguarded in their discourses, or indulged themselves farther in satire, than this divine. And, as for the "spiteful malice" with which this author treats the queen-regent, the surprise at this behaviour will abate if we consider Knox had written a violent discourse against the government of women, and railed plentifully upon our queen Mary; and, over and above, it was part of his opinion to reckon Papists little better than Canaanites. Spotswood's last reason for disbelieving this Scotch History written by Knox, is the citing Fox's "Martyrology," and referring the reader thither. But Fox's "Acts and Monuments," the archbishop supposes, were not published till ten or twelve years after Knox's death. But this is a mistake: for the first English edition of Fox's "Martyrology" was published in the year 1563, four years short of the period of Knox's History, and nine years before his death¹.

ELIZABETH.

Spotswood's Hist. p. 264, &c.

To return to England: about this time, Chark, Travers, Gardiner, Barber, Chester, Crook, and Edgerton, joined the rest of the Puritan faction in order to the settling their discipline. After some debate upon the question, they came to the following resolution:—

"That forasmuch as divers books had been written and sundry petitions exhibited to her majesty, the parliament, and their lordships, to little purpose, every man should therefore labour by all means possible to bring the Reformation into the Church." It was likewise farther resolved, "that, for the better bringing in of the said holy discipline, they should not only, as well publicly as privately, teach it, but by little and little, as well as possibly they might, draw the same into practice."

Pursuant to this resolution, a presbytery was erected at Wandsworth, in Surrey. It is a small village, about four miles distant from London. This town, standing upon the Thames, was convenient for forming a congregation out of the Dissenters in the city. It was likewise more retired, and far-

A presbytery erected at Wandsworth.

¹ Collier may seem over severe on the memory of Knox; but, if Tytler's extraordinary statements be correct, this Scotch reformer will stand still lower in public estimation.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

Bancroft's
Dangerous
Positions,
book 3,
cap. 1.

Heylin
Aerius Redi-
vius, lib. 7.
A. D. 1572.

ther from public notice, than their London meetings. This first establishment was called the "Order of Wandsworth," by Field, who was their minister. They had drawn their settlement into a form: the elders' names are mentioned, the manner of the election specified, and their respective offices described.

Whether the queen was quickly informed of this Wandsworth establishment is uncertain. However, complaints being brought to court of the schismatical and turbulent conduct of the Puritans, who now seemed prepared to set up altar against altar, to form a body against the Church, and declare for a separate communion, the queen issued out her proclamation, "That the laws for the keeping up the uniformity of public worship should be put in execution; and that 'The First and Second Admonition to the Parliament,' and all such scandalous books and pamphlets, should either be delivered to some bishop in their several dioceses, or to some of the lords of the council, upon pain of imprisonment."

This year, the archbishop published a second edition of the Old and New Testament, in English. It was first printed in 1568, and called the "Bishops' Bible," because several of that order were concerned in the version. To give a brief account of this matter: the work was divided into several parcels, and assigned to men of learning and character, picked out for this purpose. Most of the divisions are marked with great initial letters, signifying either the titles or names of the persons employed. William Alley, bishop of Exeter, had the Pentateuch for his proportion, and at the end there stands the capital letters "W. E." Joshua, Judges, Ruth, and the two books of Samuel, were given to Richard Davis, preferred to the see of St. David's when Young was translated to York: it is marked "R. M." The four books of Kings and Chronicles were assigned to Edwin Sandys, then bishop of Worcester. The books of Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, and Job, were done by one whose name is marked "A. P. C."—which probably might stand for Andrew Person, one of the archbishop's chaplains, and prebendary of Canterbury. The book of Psalms is signed with "T. B."—whether this was Thomas Bentham, bishop of Coventry, or Thomas Beacon, prebendary of Canterbury, is somewhat uncertain; but most probably the latter. The Proverbs were translated by one who subscribes "A. P. C."—the C. stands at some distance, probably to distinguish the

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person from the former "A. P. C." Ecclesiastes and Solomon's Song is marked with "A. P. E."—for Andreas Perne Eliensis. Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Lamentations, were done by Robert Horne, bishop of Winchester, as may be conjectured from the letters "R. W." Ezekiel and Daniel were translated by "T. C. L."—which is supposed to stand for Bentham, bishop of Lichfield. Hosea, Joel, and so forward, through all the minor prophets, is signed "E. L.," and were done by Edmund Grindal, bishop of London. The Apocrypha, as it is said, was translated by Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich: the capitals subjoined are "J. N." Bishop Burnet relates Barlow, bishop of Chichester, began with Esdras, and translated to the book of Wisdom. The four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistle to the Romans, were given to Cox, bishop of Ely: the capitals are R. E. for Richardus Eliensis. The First Epistle to the Corinthians is subscribed G. G., which probably may stand for Gabriel Goodman, then dean of Westminster. The remainder of the New Testament has no capitals subjoined. Archbishop Parker had the main direction of this affair, reviewed the performance, and, it may be, gave the finishing hand. He employed several critics in the Hebrew and Greek languages, to review the old translation, and compare it with the original. One Lawrence, an eminent Grecian, was made use of to examine the version of the New Testament. He seems to have been well qualified for this undertaking, managed with great exactness, and made several animadversions upon the performances of Beza and Erasmus this way. As to the method, whether it was the same with that followed in the next reign is uncertain. Those who translated the Bible at the instance of king James I. threw the work into several divisions, assigned to several persons. Thus far the resemblance holds: that they went through the rest of the method afterwards made use of seems unlikely; for every portion of the Scripture was now assigned not to several, but single persons. And besides, whether the whole body examined the performances of each other, is somewhat uncertain. But of this, it may be, more afterwards.

Hist. Ref.
part 2. p. 406.See Append.
to Parker's
Life,
num. 85.
Stow's
Annal,
under the
year 1575.

542.

And here it may not be improper to abstract a few lines from archbishop Parker's preface to this Bible. This prelate, in recommending this work, takes care to preserve a respect to the version published by archbishop Cranmer. He observes

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Abp. Cant.

Cranmer's impression was in a great measure spent, and that many churches were unfurnished with convenient Bibles. From hence, it is probable, the archbishop might be sensible the Geneva translation was used in some parishes. This scarcity of copies was one reason for the undertaking the work; and though the order of the text was placed to advantage, and the sense farther explained, yet this was not said to disparage the former translation, which they had mostly followed, and esteemed next to the original. And after having taken notice of the variety of versions, and the ambiguity of the sense in some passages, he desires the reader not to be shocked with this consideration; and for this purpose he cites St. Austin, who observes that we are to look upon the numerous translations of the Holy Scriptures as a special blessing of Providence; that by this means the Divine pleasure is farther communicated, and a fuller provision made for general instruction. And though opinionative and uncautious readers are sometimes misled by the obscurity of the translation, yet this disadvantage is not without benefit another way; for the mystery and involution of some texts are a check upon human arrogance. Besides, the difficulty of reaching the meaning secures the Scriptures from growing cheap, in some measure; for truths that are open and obvious are often disregarded upon this score. And, lastly, this Father concludes, that this variety of translations, provided they were not negligently done, were of service to the common reader; and that by this means the perplexity of the text was often disentangled.

August. de
Doct.
Christian.
lib. 2. cap. 5.
*Bullinger's
letter to
Horne,
bishop of
Winchester,
in vindica-
tion of the
Church of
England
against the
Puritans.*

The latter end of this year Bullinger sent the bishop of Winchester a letter, to congratulate with him upon the happiness of the English under queen Elizabeth. And here, after a high character of this princess, he acquaints him he was much troubled at the conduct of the Puritans; and that those who pretend a peculiar regard for the Gospel should check the propagation of truth, and embarrass the bishops in their government. That this misfortune, however, was not without a parallel; for, at the beginning of our Reformation, says he, we suffered not a little under the same calamity. There was a sort of people amongst us who loved to push things to excess, and thought they had never gone far enough in the business of reforming. Upon this fancy they commenced a separation, and met in conventicles. And what was the conse-

quence? Nothing but schism and variety of sects. This was sport to the Papists. But at last the world began to see through the hypocrisy and disorder of these men; and thus they broke in pieces, and dwindled to nothing. And I question not but God in his mercy will rescue your Church from the mischiefs these Puritans have brought upon her.

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The prosecution of the Puritans was now vigorously managed by the queen's order. To take off the weight of the government, and justify their non-compliance, the party proposed a public disputation. This challenge, whether accepted or not, was likely to gain time, and give credit to the cause. Sandys, bishop of London, offered them satisfaction this way, and sent the lord-treasurer and the earl of Leicester a list of the names of those he thought proper for the managing this controversy. But the lord-treasurer did not think it prudent that a public settlement should be exposed to question, and referred to the hazard of a dispute.

Whitgift's Answer to the Admonition, March 12, 1572. A. D. 1573.

Instead of a conference, therefore, several of the leading Dissenters were brought before the council, and the ecclesiastical commissioners. Of these the principal were, Dering, Wyborne, Johnson, Brown, Field, Wilcox, Sparrow, and King. Johnson officiated in the lord-keeper's family, and Brown in that of the duchess of Suffolk. These men were examined touching their opinion of Cartwright's book, and upon the following articles:—

Some Dissenters examined upon articles.

“ First, Whether it is lawful for a private person openly to censure a public establishment before he has made an humble application to authority for discovering the mistake ?

“ Secondly, Whether the Common Prayer-book is a pious and serviceable composition, and every part of it founded upon Holy Scripture ?

“ Thirdly, Whether the book of articles established is agreeable to God's word or not ?

“ Fourthly, Whether we are obliged to follow the customs of the primitive Church or not ?

“ Fifthly, Whether all ecclesiastical ministers ought to be of equal authority, both in office and jurisdiction ?”

Petit MSS.

Dering, Johnson, Wyborne, and Brown, all subscribed the negative of the first article; but it seems they came short of giving full satisfaction; for Dering's suspension from his lec-

PARKER, ture at St. Paul's was kept on by the council, and Wyborne, Johnson, and Brown, were forbidden preaching till farther order; Field and Wilcox had been sent to Newgate by the ecclesiastical commissioners, and Sparrow and King were remanded to prison, and threatened with banishment.

The Puritans had too much courage to sink under this discountenance; they went on boldly with the cause, and cried up Cartwright's last book as an unanswerable performance: it was his "Reply to Whitgift's Answer to the Admonition to the Parliament." Cartwright, who is supposed to be mostly the author of the "Admonition," appeared warmly in the vindication of that pamphlet, and treated Whitgift in a rough uncourtly manner. Parker was apprehensive Whitgift might be tired with the controversy, and not willing to venture a second contest with so rugged an adversary. He sent him a letter, therefore, to re-assure his spirits, and bring him out into a rejoinder. Whitgift, who wanted no courage where the Church was so much concerned, wrote back to the archbishop, informed him of the progress of his work, and how willing he was to go forward with the controversy. And here he reports the failings and disingenuity of his adversary; that this answer of Cartwright's was stuffed with gross oversights, and false citations; that he had wrested the Scriptures and Fathers to meanings most remarkably foreign; that his reasoning was trifling and illogical; and that, in fine, he was far from deserving the character his party gave him. As to Whitgift's rejoinder, it was published the latter end of this year.

Whitgift's
Character of
Cartwright,
June,
A. D. 1573.

543.

The beginning of this summer, the archbishop acquainted the council with the restless endeavours of the Puritans, and the schismatical pamphlets dispersed through the kingdom; upon which the queen published her proclamation for bringing them in to the bishops or council, already mentioned. But this proclamation, it seems, was little regarded: for the bishop of London, as he complained to the lord-treasurer, had not so much as one copy delivered to him.

Archbishop
Parker's
Life, p. 422.
*The bishop of
Ely expostu-
lates with
the privy-
council.*

This prelate, however, out of tenderness and good nature, moved the privy council in Dering's behalf. And thus this minister's suspension was taken off. Cox, bishop of Ely, expostulated with the lord treasurer upon this occasion. He dealt plainly like a primitive bishop, and told his lordship the council went too far in restoring this Dissenter upon their own

ELIZABETH.

authority : that the cognizance of the cause lay properly within the business of ecclesiastics : and that things relating to religion should not have been determined without their advice : that Dering had not given a satisfactory answer to the articles above-mentioned : and that the suggestions upon which he was restored, were untrue : and that the judgment of divines ought to be taken in these cases, he endeavoured to make good from authority. For this purpose he cites the emperors Arcadius and Honorius, who make no scruple to affirm, that in matters of religion it is proper to consult the bishops. To this he adds the testimony of Bullinger, whom he calls a pillar of the Church. Now this divine lays it down for a rule, that the priests or clergy are to settle religion : and that it is their peculiar office to define upon these points from the word of God. And as for princes, their part is to assist the priesthood, and protect truth. And for this reason, as the bishop goes on, the spirituality are called to parliament, and brought to the council board. Idem.

About this time, Crick and Wake, two Puritan ministers, preached against the ecclesiastical polity at Paul's-cross, and ran a length of commendation upon Cartwright's plan. And now the faction made a bolder motion, and were busy in procuring subscriptions to Cartwright's book : that is, they were to engage to maintain the contents even to death, if occasion required : some of the bench of aldermen, and others of wealth and distinction in the city, were gained over to this association. *An engagement to maintain Cartwright's book.*

The French ministers, from whom a neutrality might have been expected, interposed in the contest, and struck in with the Puritan party. Upon this the bishop of London moved the queen and council to send them a reprimanding letter : that they should be ordered not to concern themselves in these foreign disputes, nor receive the queen's subjects to their communion. He likewise requested the city might be admonished against giving countenance to these men. He suggested, farther, that the principals of the faction might be sent off to some considerable distance from the town. That if these idols, so richly presented and almost adored, were once removed from the capital, the esteem of their saintship would dwindle, and their honour be laid in the dust. And, in short, they would be construed no higher than their merit, and taken for men of slender attainments. And here he complains to the *The French ministers interpose for the Dissenters.*

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.
Idem.

council, that the authority of the Church signified little : that the bishops' character was sunk, and lamentably disvalued by the meanest of the people.

That both the Church and State were in no small danger, is pretty apparent by a letter written by the archbishop of Canterbury and bishop of London to another ecclesiastical commissioner of their own order. This letter is very remarkable ; I shall give it the reader as it stands in the original.

*A letter
written by
the arch-
bishop of
Canterbury
and bishop of
London con-
cerning the
Puritans.
Petit MSS.*

“SAL. IN CHRISTO,

“These times are troublesome. The Church is sore assaulted, but not so much of open enemies who can less hurt, as of pretended favourers and false brethren, who, under the colour of reformation, seek the ruin and subversion both of learning and religion. Neither do they only cut down the ecclesiastical state, but also give a great push at the civil policy. Their colour is sincerity under the countenance of simplicity ; but in very truth they are ambitious spirits, and can abide no superiority. Their fancies are favoured of some of great calling, who seek to gain by other men's losses. And most plausible are these new devices, to a great number of the people, who labour to live in all liberty. But the one blinded with the desire of getting, see not their own fall, which no doubt will follow : the other hunting for alteration, pull upon their necks intolerable servitude. For these fantastical spirits which labour to reign in men's consciences, will, if they may bring their purposes to pass, lay a heavy yoke upon their necks.

“In the platform set down by these new builders, we evidently see the spoliation of the patrimony of Christ, and a popular state to be sought. The end will be ruin to religion, and confusion to our country. And that you may the better perceive how these fancies are embraced, and like to take effect, except in time they be met withal, here enclosed we have sent unto you certain articles taken out of Cartwright's book, by the council propounded unto Mr. Dering, with his answer to the same ; and also a copy of the council's letter, writ to Mr. Dering to restore him to his former reading and preaching, notwithstanding our advices never required thereunto. These proceedings puff them up with pride, make the people hate us, and magnify them with great triumphing, as if her majesty and the privy council had good liking of this new building :

which hitherto, as we think, in no Christian nation hath found any foundation upon the earth, but is now framed upon suppositions, full of absurdities and impossibilities in the air. We are persuaded that her majesty hath no liking thereof, howsoever the matter be favoured by others.

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“But for so much as God hath placed us to be governors in his Church, hath committed unto us a care and charge thereof, and will one day require a reckoning at our hands for the same; it shall be our duties to labour by all means we can, to see sound doctrine maintained, gainsayers of the truth repressed, good order set down and observed; that the spouse of Christ so dearly redeemed, may by our ministry be beautified. These perilous times require our painful travails: and seeing that God’s cause is brought into question, and the Church many ways troubled, we must with good courage stand to the defence thereof, and resist the underminers. We bear a heavy burthen, and incur many dangers and displeasures. But nothing shall be grievous unto us, if we may do good unto his Church. We doubt not but that you are like affected, and bear a burthen in mind with us. We have made a special choice of you, whom for good learning, prudent counsel, and godly zeal, we love and reverence, and have thought it good to put you in remembrance of these matters. And withal, to require you to consider of these things, and to be prepared for our next meeting, which we think will be shortly, to see unto the same, as may most tend to the glory of God, good of his Church, maintenance of his gospel, establishing of decent and good order; to the edifying of his people, and to the repressing of all gainsayers. Thus thinking it convenient that you should keep these matters secret to yourself, we commend you to the good direction of God’s Holy Spirit. From Lambeth, July 6, 1573¹.

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“Your loving brethren,

“MAT. CANTUAR.
EDW. LONDON.”

From hence it appears that the bishops were awake upon their charge: that the prospect of their affairs was dark, and

¹ This letter is strongly prophetic of that audacious and turbulent sedition of the Puritans which, in a succeeding reign, so nearly overwhelmed both Church and State.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant. that they had set meetings to examine the danger, and debate upon the remedy : and that all this vigilance was no more than necessary, considering the enterprising spirit of the Dissenters. And, as none were more active to increase their party, so they were particularly careful to fasten their proselytes, and fix them in their mistakes. And of this I shall give the reader an instance in the protestation which those admitted into their congregations were obliged to take. The engagement runs thus :

The Puritans' protestation.

“ Being thoroughly persuaded in my conscience, by the working, and by the word of the Almighty, that these relics of antichrist be abominable before the Lord our God ; and also, for that by the power, mercy, strength, and goodness of the Lord our God only, I am escaped from the filthiness and pollution of these detestable traditions, through the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ ; and, last of all, inasmuch as by the working also of the Lord Jesus his Holy Spirit, I have joined in prayer, and hearing God's word, with those that have not yielded to this idolatrous trash, notwithstanding the danger for not coming to my parish church, &c. Therefore I come not back again to the preaching, &c. of them that have received those marks of the Romish beast.

Petit MSS.

“ I. Because of God's commandment to go forward to perfection, Heb. vi. 1. ; 2 Cor. vii. 1. ; Psal. lxxxiv. 1. ; Eph. iv. 15. Also to avoid them, Rom. xvi. 17 ; Eph. v. 11. ; 1 Thes. v. 22.

“ II. Because they are abomination before the Lord our God, Deut. vii. 25, 26, and xiii. 17 ; Ezek. xiv. 6.

“ III. I will not beautify with my presence those filthy rags, which bring the heavenly word of the eternal our Lord God into bondage, subjection, and slavery.

“ IV. Because I would not communicate with other men's sins, John ii. 9, 10, 11 ; 2 Cor. vi. 17. Touch no unclean thing, &c. Sirach xiii. 1.

“ V. They give offences, both to the preachers and the hearers, Rom. xvi. 17 ; Luke xvii. 1.

“ VI. They gladden and strengthen the Papists in their errors, and grieve the godly, Ezek. xiii. 21, 22. Note this 21st verse.

“ VII. They do persecute our Saviour Jesus Christ in his

members, Acts ix. 4, 5.; 2 Cor. i. 5. Also they reject and despise our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, Luke x. 16. Moreover, those labourers, who, at the prayer of the faithful, the Lord hath sent forth into his harvest, they refuse, and also reject, Matt. ix. 38.

“ VIII. These popish garments are now become very idols indeed, because they are exalted above the word of the Almighty.

“ IX. I come not to them, because they should be ashamed, and so leave their idolatrous garments, &c. 2 Thes. iii. 14. If any man obey not our sayings, note him.

“ Moreover, I have now joined myself to the Church of Christ, wherein I have yielded myself subject to the discipline of God’s word, as I promised at my baptism; which, if I should now again mistake, and join myself with their traditions, I should forsake the union, wherein I am knit to the body of Christ, and join myself to the discipline of antichrist. For in the Church of the traditioners there is no other discipline than that which hath been maintained by the antichristian pope of Rome; whereby the Church of God has always been afflicted, and is until this day. For the which cause I refuse them.

“ God give us grace still to thrive in suffering under the cross, that the blessed word of our God may only rule, and have the highest place to cast down strong holds, to destroy or overthrow policy or imaginations, and every high thing that is exalted against the knowledge of God, and to bring into captivity, or subjection, every thought to the obedience of Christ, &c. 2 Cor. x. 4, 5. That the name and word of the Eternal, our Lord God, may be exalted, or magnified above all things, Psal. viii. 2.

“ To this protestation the congregation singularly did swear, and after took the communion for ratification of their assent.”

This last paragraph stands written in archbishop Parker’s hands.

Thus we see these Puritan chiefs made all their proselytes swear the Church of England’s service was polluted and abominable; and the episcopal government antichristian. And because they perceived the bishops’ character strengthened by title and civil privilege, they made an attack upon this quarter, clamoured against their being called lords, and saluted with the

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Abp. Cant.

*The arch-
bishop's let-
ter in the
defence of
the bishops'
titles.*

Luke xxii.
25, 26.

Petit MSS.

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*A desperate
sect in the
Isle of Ely.*

respect of honourable. These exceptions were not altogether disregarded by the envious and ignorant. The archbishop, therefore, wrote a letter to the lord-treasurer, to justify these distinctions. He takes notice the bishops held their lands by barony, and therefore the giving them the title of lords was no singularity, and nothing more than a regard resulting from the tenure. That Aaron was not in a much inferior station to Moses : that prophets and priests were strongly recommended to regard under the Old Testament. That the bishops in the council of Nice were honourably treated by Constantine the Great. And so was St. Ambrose by Theodosius, notwithstanding he exerted his discipline upon that prince. And as for the text in St. Luke, where the Apostles are forbidden to “ exercise lordship over each other, like the kings of the Gentiles,” the archbishop observes, that the check in this place reaches no farther than ambitious affectation of government, and abuse of power.

The Puritans were not the only men that disturbed the Church ; a much worse sect had got footing in the isle of Ely. These men seem to have blended the heresies of the Gnosticks, Arians, and Anabaptists together. The lord North gave notice of them, and laid their opinions before the council, and ecclesiastical commissioners.

First, They maintained the unlawfulness of taking an oath upon any account, or before any person whatsoever. They founded this error upon a misinterpretation of a text in the 5th of St. Matthew, where it is said, “ Swear not at all,” &c.

Secondly, They held all capital punishments unlawful, though executed by the order of the magistracy. For this heterodoxy they cited the sixth commandment, “ Thou shall not kill.”

Thirdly, They condemned property, and preached up community without reserve either of goods or persons, as far as it appears. Their warrant for this doctrine is the second of the Acts, where the believers are said to “ have had all things” common.

Fourthly, They assert that every man, at the impulse of his fancy, or the suggestion of his conscience, as probably they would call it, may preach or expound the Scriptures : and that there is no need of any mission or customary conveyance of character.

Fifthly, They maintain the "limbus patrum," and the old Arabian heresy of the soul's sleeping till the resurrection. ELIZABETH. They reject the canon of the Old Testament, and the Epistles of St. Paul, when they are pressed with authorities, and embarrassed with citations from thence.

Sixthly, Many of them maintain an inequality in the Persons of the Godhead.

Seventhly, They assert that by hell there is nothing more meant than irregular appetite, and perturbation of mind.

Many of this sect were horribly scandalous and immoral: their meetings were very private, and nobody permitted but those who were thoroughly perverted. Their preachers were not chosen and fixed; this exercise being performed by some person on the sudden, who was pushed forward by his own confidence or frenzy ¹.

Petit MSS.

To proceed: the zealots' principle, encouraged by Knox, was not without precedent in England. For instance, Peter Burchet, a Puritan student of the Middle Temple, entertained a persuasion that it was lawful to kill those who were enemies to the Gospel. This desperate fancy had possessed him so far, that seeing one Hawkins, a famous sea captain, in the street near the Temple, he stabbed him with his dagger. This Hawkins, Burchet mistook for Christopher Hatton, Esq. one of the privy-council. This gentleman, afterwards lord chancellor, was a strict conformist, in a counter-interest to the earl of Leicester, and by Burchet supposed to be a Papist. The queen was more than usually angry at this villany, and would have had the assassin immediately punished by martial law: but being informed this way of proceeding was proper to the camp, and would look like a strain of the prerogative, she ordered him to be tried by common law. And being brought into the court, the question was put, whether he believed a private man might lawfully kill a Papist, who does his utmost to hinder the glory of God. Burchet answered, he believed he might; and therefore, if Mr. Hatton was of that religion, as he conceived him to be, he should not have repented the killing him. This opinion Burchet signed, October the 27th.

*Burchet's
desperate
principle.*

It pleased God the wound Hawkins received did not prove mortal. As for Burchet, after this declaration of his princi-

A. D. 1573.
Camden
Eliz. MSS.
Burghleian.

¹ This sect seems to have been a branch of the Familists, from whom some suppose that Fox and the Quakers borrowed not a little.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

ples, he was sent to the Lollard's Tower, from thence brought into the consistory at St. Paul's, and interrogated by the bishop. And when the sentence of heresy was ready to pass upon him, he promised to renounce his persuasion, and submit to the penance of the court. But when the test was farther put, and the conditions required, he refused to make good his engagement. Upon this he was sent to the Tower, where he beat out one of the warder's brains with a billet. For this murder he was tried and condemned. His right hand was cut off, and nailed to the gallows; he struggled against the execution, and died without the least sign of repentance.

Stow's
Annal.
Cambden,
Eliz.
*The earl of
Morton
regent.*

The latter end of the last year, the earl of Morton was, by queen Elizabeth's interest, elected regent of Scotland: and soon after sir Henry Killebrew was sent ambassador thither. His instructions were to settle the regent, and crush the queen of Scots' party. He prevailed with the duke of Chatelherault and earl of Huntley to prolong the cessation of arms then on foot: and over and above this concession, they agreed to send commissioners to Perth, to treat with the regent in order to a full accommodation. The laird of Grange, governor of Edinburgh castle, the lord Hume, the bishop of Dunkeld, Lethington, and some other persons of quality in the garrison, stood firm to their queen, and refused having any share in that treaty.

Jan. 26.
1572-3.

In the mean time the parliament was held at Edinburgh. Amongst other things, it was enacted, "that Papists, or suspected Papists, who refused to receive the sacrament with the reformed, were to be admonished to recant their errors, to communicate with the Kirk, and submit to the discipline established." The first penalty for non-compliance was excommunication: and in case of obstinacy or relapse, they were to be reputed infamous: that is, they were disabled from having any office, pursuing any action, or being admitted as witnesses in any court of justice.

James 6.
parl. 3.
caps. 45.

By another statute, all ecclesiastical persons were obliged to subscribe the confession of faith, under the penalty of deprivation. And for this purpose all archbishops, bishops, and superintendents, were to appear before the general assembly.

Jam. 6.
parl. 3.
caps. 46, 47.

By the last act I shall mention, all persons who refuse to own the king's (that is the regent's) authority, are to be admonished by the ministers of the Kirk to acknowledge their offence, and change their practice. And that none shall be

reputed good subjects, but such as profess the reformed religion, as by law established: and that those who own the confession of faith, and yet fail in their duty to the government, shall be excommunicated.

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At the recess of the parliament, commissioners from the regent, and those who stood for the queen, met at Perth. And here, after some days' debate, the latter agreed to disengage from the cause, to submit to the regent, and to acknowledge, that whatever they had done by virtue of the queen's commission, since her son's coronation, was void, and against law. And thus, after a great deal of handsome struggle, and appearance of loyalty, they signed themselves rebels. The rest of the articles, some of which were not very favourable, shall be omitted.

The accommodation at Perth.

The queen of Scots deserted.

Spotswood. p. 268.

And now the regent solicited the English ambassador to move his mistress for troops to reduce Edinburgh Castle. Queen Elizabeth, who had all along encouraged the regencies, granted the request, and sent a body of 1500 men under the command of sir William Drury. In short; by this reinforcement, the castle was obliged to surrender upon hard terms: the quality in the garrison were made prisoners, and the governor executed. This was the finishing stroke to the queen of Scots: thus her interest was entirely broken, and she was ousted of all her dominions.

The castle of Edinburgh surrendered.

546.

To return to England: the setting up a presbytery at Wandsworth, Cartwright's "Reply to Whitgift's Answer to the Admonition," and other pamphlets dispersed by the party, kept up the contest, and made an unserviceable impression. The queen, therefore, to give check to the delusion, ordered the lord-treasurer Burleigh to make a speech in the Star-chamber upon this subject, and press the execution of the laws. It seems some persons in the ecclesiastical commission were suspected to countenance the Puritans underhand, or at least to manage with too much remissness.

The treasurer acquainted the lords of the Star-chamber, "Her majesty was informed, that through the negligence of the bishops and governing clergy, several persons underqualified in age, and unfurnished with learning and discretion, have been admitted to the cure of souls, and trusted with the desk and pulpit. That these men, for want of ballast and maturity, have struck out into singularities, governed themselves by their

The lord-treasurer's speech in the Star-chamber for pressing conformity.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.
Nov. 28,
1573.

own fancies, set the rubric aside, and made alterations in the offices of the Church. And thus, neither the prayers are read nor the sacraments administered according to public order. Thus, by the mischief of precept and example, they have misled their audience, brought them to dislike and censure the ecclesiastical government, and made them believe they cannot comply with the ceremonies established, without dissembling their conscience. That this latitude must be destructive to government; and that her majesty cannot discharge the trust lodged with her by God Almighty, without providing a remedy for this evil.

“ For this purpose her majesty, in the beginning of this term, published a proclamation for the strict keeping the Uniformity Statute. And to give more vigour to the constitution, she had appointed certain commissioners, of which the archbishops and bishops are the principal, to take cognizance of offences of this nature. She had likewise ordered the lord-keeper to signify her pleasure upon this head, and suggest the great benefits in enforcing the execution of the laws, and the mischiefs of a languid management. That notwithstanding all this precaution, her majesty is informed that error and presumption come rather forward, and gain ground upon the Church and State.

“ That her majesty cannot satisfy her conscience, without prosecuting these disorders, and doing her utmost to bring practice and law together: neither does she think those subjects worthy of favour and protection, that abet these innovations; and, either directly or indirectly, countenance the alteration of anything settled in the Church.

“ Her majesty commanded him farther to acquaint the lords of the Star-chamber, that being empowered by act of parliament, she had at several times, by the advice of the clergy, published injunctions and orders for the uniform government of the Church; and given the execution of these orders in charge to the bishops, and other ecclesiastical commissioners and ministers of justice.

“ That her majesty is apprehensive the long connivance at these pernicious doctrines, the countenance and commendation given them by some persons in public stations, both of the clergy and laity, may probably have made way for propagating the mistake upon some persons of figure in the country; and

ELIZA-
BETH.

it may be, some nominated in the commissions, are not altogether untouched by the infection ; that by this lenity in the administration, by this countenance from unexpected quarters, some men of distinction may be apt to fancy these innovating doctrines, these refinings upon the ceremonies of the Church, are not so destructive as her majesty believes them ; that the points are little more than matter for argument and problem, and that the practice either way is in a manner indifferent. And it may be some people may go farther, and imagine these novelists in the right ; and that their exceptions against the ceremonies of the Church are reasonable and well founded. Now if any persons lay under a mispersuasion of this kind, the queen commanded him to dilate farther upon the ease, and make good her apprehensions of the danger.

“ He observes, therefore, that nothing is more obvious to those who have any idea of government, any taste for conduct, than that contempt of order must pull all in pieces, and prove fatal in the issue. If a man has but a family to manage, or a vessel to steer, there is no good to be done without submission to the person at the helm. For if the subordination is once broken, if orders are disputed, if he that is to govern commands one thing, and those under his charge quarrel with the directions, and demur in their obedience ; if they set up new schemes of their own, what can follow but jarring and confusion ? and if, as it sometimes happens, they disagree among themselves, contend for their own singularities, and run into farther sub-divisions, the mischief must increase and grow more troublesome. When the union is thus broken, when authority is lost, and all the respects of public and private confounded, what a condition must any society be in ? which way can either the head or the body be preserved upon such wild measures ? Can the governor maintain his post, and continue his situation, without being obeyed ? or can the subject subsist in a government where every one runs counter to the public rule, and sets up a different direction ? And if this liberty looks ill in language and description, how lamentable it must be when brought into life, and reduced to practice ? By this clashing between the father and the children, between the master and the servants, between the captain and the crew, many rich ships go to the bottom, many estates are spent, and families brought to nothing. And thus, by a private image.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

547.

and by comparing small things with great, they might collect the calamity of a nation, when the harmony was disturbed, and the government disregarded. And if disorder and squabbling about temporal matters may destroy the public interest to so remarkable a degree, what may be expected where conscience is concerned, where religion lies at stake, and the other world is brought into the quarrel¹?"

Cotton Lib.
Titus, B. 2.
Life of
Archbishop
Parker.

The treasurer goes on to give an instance suggested by her majesty at the council board; but what it was is uncertain, for here the paper breaks off.

To this speech it may not be improper to subjoin some proposals laid before the council for keeping the Puritans more in order.

*Proposals
laid before
the council,
checking the
growth of
Puritanism.*

The paper, in the first place, observes, that a defect in the statute of Uniformity encouraged the Puritans in their obstinacy and misbehaviour: that the act giving the whole forfeiture to her majesty, made the provision less serviceable: that because the subject has no reward for informing, the prosecution sleeps, and no suit is commenced against any of the offenders. By this impunity, the Dissenters grow bold in the schism, and condemn the Church constitutions. To check these innovations, it is proposed to the board:—

First, That no bishop should suffer any to preach, but such as have good testimonials for their learning, morals, and conformity.

Secondly, That all ministers and preachers throughout the kingdom should give her majesty a bond of two hundred pounds to conform in every particular to the Common Prayer, pursuant to an act for uniformity, made in the first year of her reign: and farther, that they would observe and keep all such constitutions and orders now made, or hereafter to be made, and set forth by public authority: and that they should procure two sufficient men to be bound with them for performance of conditions. This bond, the projector suggests, would frighten them more than all laws and constitutions imaginable: for both themselves, and those who engage for them, will be afraid of incurring the forfeiture, and being returned into the exchequer by the bishops.

Thirdly, If any person shall obstinately refuse to enter into

¹ A speech most worthy of the political wisdom of Cecil, and his manly and lucid eloquence.

bonds, and give such security for the purposes above-mentioned, that then the diocesan shall commit the party so refusing to prison; and in case the incomppliance is continued, deprive him of all his ecclesiastical preferments, and not suffer him to preach or teach until he has made a submission, and is furnished with the bishop's license for that purpose.

ELIZABETH.

Petit MSS.
Life of
Archbishop
Parker.

There had been lately a new method of instruction set up in several dioceses; it was called prophesying. The manner was this: certain of the clergy agreed upon times and places for a public meeting. The place was some church in the neighbourhood: the business was to expound upon some text of holy Scripture assigned them. And here they had a moderator to govern the exercise; to prevent improper lengths, and foreign digressions; to report the substance of what was delivered, and determine upon the question and performance. This exercise seems to have been brought from Scotland. We meet with it first in Knox's book of discipline: and having given some account of it already, I shall refer the reader thither. Whether this scheme was well drawn or not, I shall not examine: however, it is certain the managers ran out into unwarrantable liberty. By this reading upon the Scriptures, they took occasion to start controversies, to moot upon the Church discipline, and question the lawfulness of episcopacy. Others were too eager in distinguishing themselves, discovered their vanity, and topped over those of lower attainments. By this misbehaviour the design of the meeting was lost; and neither the edifying the laity, nor the improvement of the clergy, was answered upon trial. The queen being informed the diocese of Norwich was particularly remarkable for this miscarriage, commanded the archbishop to suppress the meetings. Parker accordingly wrote in her majesty's name to Parkhurst, the bishop, to discharge those exercises. The archbishop called them vain prophesyings; at which Parkhurst was somewhat disgusted, and therefore he desired to know whether the archbishop applied that term of censure to the undue manner sometimes used, or to the exercise in general. And here the bishop dilates upon the serviceableness of the scheme. In short, this bishop, being somewhat puritanically inclined, solicited his friends at the council board to keep up these prophesyings, to put a slur upon the archbishop, and send down a countermand to his orders. This application was

The archbishop suppresses the exercise of prophesying. March 25, 1574.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.
May 6.

not without success; for Sandys, bishop of London, sir Francis Knolles, sir Thomas Smith, and sir Walter Mildmay, four of the council, sent the bishop of Norwich a letter, in which they set forth the advantage of these meetings for expounding the Scriptures, complain of those who reported them as a grievance; and in the close, required his lordship not to disturb the exercise: but then this encouragement was given with a reserve, that nothing of heresy, schism, or sedition, was maintained in those meetings¹.

The archbishop, notwithstanding this rub, went on, carried his point against this small number of the privy council, and brought the bishop of Norwich to compliance.

*A plot
against the
archbishop
and some of
the ministry.*

About a month forward, a plot was discovered upon the archbishop, and the lord treasurer Burleigh, and some other courtiers of distinction. The design was to have taken them off by poison, or some other secret way. It was charged upon some Puritans, who are said to have engaged upon zeal, and motives of conscience. One of the principal confederates was one Undertree, who communicated the enterprise to the archbishop's steward, and offered him a bribe to join in the attempt, and destroy his master. The steward seeming to close with the motion, discovered the villany to the archbishop. Parker acquainted the treasurer with the detail, advised him to search the matter to the bottom, to prosecute the conspirators, and reward the informer; and that unless justice was exerted in an exemplary manner, neither his lordship, nor the queen herself, could be long safe: that he believed these assassins were countenanced underhand at court; and that some who lay in the queen's bosom, as he expresses himself, would sting her when opportunity served.

When Undertree was seized, and brought before the privy council, the practice had somewhat of the face of a sham plot: for several Puritan hands had been counterfeited by this Undertree. In short, this man, upon his examination, denied the having any accomplices, and took the whole matter upon himself. This made the archbishop suspect farther danger; that Undertree had been tampered with, encouraged to false evidence, and insured against prosecution: for he thought it improbable this assassin should engage in so desperate a practice of his own fancy.

¹ See Jeremy Taylor's "Liberty of Propheaying," a work of singular importance.

The earl of Leicester, as has been observed, appeared at the head of the Puritan party, and seemed very active to bring the archbishop into disfavour with the queen, and make him insignificant. Parker, in a letter to the lord treasurer, complains of this usage, mentions the earl's being unquiet, and that he practised with the Precisians to undo him: that he cared not for him, but should pay him a regard, because her majesty had been pleased to distinguish his person, and put him in a post of honour: that these Puritans, and their abettors, struck at the treasurer no less than himself; and that therefore his lordship was concerned to guard in time, and look out for a defence.

ELIZABETH.
548.

This year the archbishop gave his eldest son, John Parker, esq., a licence for a private chapel, and that neither himself, nor any of his family, might be obliged to go to the parish church, excepting twice in the year. But then this liberty was granted with this condition, that the incumbent should suffer nothing in the perquisites and profits belonging to him. And to fence against the statutes, the dispensation stands guarded with this clause: "Auctoritate prædicta, quantum in nobis est, et jura regni Angliæ patiuntur, tenore præsentium de speciali gratia dispensamus, etc."

Id. Appen.
num. 95.

To proceed; the regent of Scotland fell short of the churchmen's expectation. The confidence they had in him made them resign the thirds of their livings. To gain this point, he engaged the ministers should have their stipends paid with less trouble. And besides, if they should happen to miss their account, and dislike the new method of payment, he promised to restore them to their former condition. But the thirds being thus put into his hands, he resolved to make a penny of the bargain. For this purpose he assigned three or four churches to one minister, without increasing the profits. And thus they had only the burthen of being pluralists; and as for the readers, their allowance was strait to a scandal. Thus the churchmen, by relying on the regent, made their circumstances much worse than before: for when the thirds were paid by the superintendents, access was open and easy, and application was never made to no purpose. But now the ministers were forced to give attendance at court, where, after having lost their time and spent their money, they were frequently disappointed at last. Neither had the superintendents any better usage; and when they complained of the stoppage

Id. Appen.
num. 97.
The churchmen disappointed in the earl of Morton, regent of Scotland.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

of the payment, the answer was, their office was no longer necessary; for now since the sees were filled, the ecclesiastical jurisdiction belonged to the bishops. The churchmen perceiving they had taken a wrong course, insisted on the regent's promise, and desired the thirds might be lodged with the superintendents as formerly. To this request, after several evasions and delays, it was plainly answered, "that since the surplusage of the thirds belonged to the king, it was more proper for the regent and council to apportion the ministers' stipends, than that the remainder for the crown should be settled at the Church's discretion." Thus they found the retrieving their maintenance was impracticable. However, to prevent some part of the mischief of the regent's regulation, it was ordered by the next assembly, that those ministers who were appointed pluralists, should undertake the charge of no more than the single parish where they resided: and because the filling the sees was made a pretence for detaining the superintendents' revenues, the bishops were enjoined not to exercise their jurisdiction within the superintendents' precinct, at least not to do it without their consent and approbation. These counter-motions of the Church and regent disturbed the harmony between them; insomuch that his interest with that party was never well recovered.

MS. Acts of
the Assembly,
Spotswood, p. 273.
April 1575.

*The arch-
bishop's com-
plaint
against the
Puritans.*

To go back to England: archbishop Parker, at the instance of the bishop of Winchester, made a visitation in the Isle of Wight. And here, finding the orders of the Church neglected, and the Puritans gaining ground, he exerted his character, brought the people to conformity, and recovered them from their mistakes. This vigour in discipline was complained of to the earl of Leicester, who made his report to the queen with art and aggravation enough. This kind office was not without effect: for when the archbishop waited on her majesty at Hampton-court, she received him coldly, and declared herself not pleased with his visitation. Of this discouragement the archbishop gave the treasurer an account in a letter. Amongst other things he puts him in mind the Puritans had a strong interest at court; that the queen was almost the only person that stood firm to the Church: that if the Precisians had the ascendant, and prevailed in the administration, her majesty would be undone. He complains of the inconstancy of some of the bishops: that several of that order lay by, and signified little: and that some others endeavoured to undermine him.

Her majesty once told him, as he goes on, he had "a supreme government ecclesiastical;" but, upon experiment, he finds it very much hampered and embarrassed. He declares himself not so much concerned for the tippet, surplice, or such like ceremonies, as for the authority of the laws which enjoined them: that if public provisions are once disregarded, and treated with contempt, the government must sink of course. As for the queen's "ecclesiastical prerogative," though he is afraid it is not so great as the treasurer had made it in penning the injunctions, yet he believes it more extensive than the Papists will allow.

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Life of
Archbishop
Parker,
Appen.
num. 59.
*His last
sickness.*

The archbishop was now sick, and almost upon the verge of the other world. Some little time before his death he wrote to the queen, and recommended the protection of the Church. Amongst other things, he put her in mind how much religion had suffered by the alienation of the consecrated revenues; that her majesty had been misled in this affair by some of her great men: that stretching of politics to injustice and sacrilege was a dangerous latitude: and for these mercenary suggestions, and misdirecting her majesty, he charged the lord-keeper Bacon, and the lord-treasurer Burleigh: and that these two ministers were the chief promoters of invasion upon the Church. This letter was penned with a concern suitable to the occasion: for not to mention Parker's customary resolution, when a man is dying especially, his thoughts strike out, and he is seldom overset with ceremony. However, a gentleman attending the archbishop, and who was more fastened to the world, dissuaded the sending this letter: the archbishop, being always a modest person, was over-ruled. But, after all, it is great pity the queen missed the advice: for few princes had more need of having their memory refreshed, and their conscience awakened upon this subject.

Id. Arch-
bishop Park-
er's Life,
p. 495.

The archbishop died on the 17th of May, and was solemnly interred on the 16th of June following. To add something to what has been already related concerning him: he was a gentleman by extraction, born at Norwich, in the year 1504, and educated in Benet college, in Cambridge. I shall pass over the first part of his life and preferments, and only remark something upon his conduct after he was archbishop. And first, with respect to the more public part of his character: he is reported to have managed to great commendation in the con-

*His death
and charac-
ter.*

549.

PARKER,
Abp. Cant.

sistory and ecclesiastical commission. He was of a sedate temper, had no starts of passion, nor treated any person with rough language. When a cause had any depth and difficulty in it, he always examined with the nicest exactness, and made himself master of the argument, before he came to a decision. He was easy of access, had great penetration in going to the bottom of things, and was very quick in apprehending the tendency of what was proposed. His retinue, and the appearance of his family, was suitable to his station: but the credit of the figure was his least concern. He was particularly careful of the regularity of those that belonged to him: and, to prevent miscarriage, he assigned every body business, and would have no idle people about him. Those who were not employed in learning, the affairs of the house, or the management of his revenues, spent their time some other way that turned to account. Thus, for instance, he entertained book-binders, engravers, and painters, and those who wrote fine hands, and understood drawing and illuminating. He kept a hospitable table, and once gave the queen a splendid entertainment at Canterbury. As to his private life, it was unexceptionable and exemplary. He wrote a learned book in defence of the marriage of the clergy: the lives of the archbishops of Canterbury, intituled, "*Antiquitates Britannicæ*," though by some supposed to be writ by his secretary Joscelyn, was undoubtedly Parker's performance. He owns himself the author of this book in a letter to the lord Burleigh, to whom he sent it in manuscript for his opinion. This book shows him a good antiquary, which may be farther collected from his publishing Matthew Paris, Matthew Westminster, Walsingham, and the Four Gospels, in the Saxon language.

Id. Append.
num. 89.

Archbishop
Parker's
Life in
Latin.
Strype's
Append.
num. 90.

To mention some of his benefactions: he founded a school at Rochdale, in Lancashire; purchased an estate for founding two fellowships and thirteen scholarships in Benet College in Cambridge, built a library for that society, and besides a considerable value in printed books, furnished it with a great number of curious manuscripts. He gave likewise a hundred books, half of them in manuscript, to the university library. He gave Benet College three hundred and ten ounces of gilt plate enchased, and the advowson of St. Mary Abchurch, in London. He made a new street from the west end of St. Mary's church to the public schools. He left legacies in plate to the city of

Norwich, Caius College, and Trinity-hall, where he likewise founded a scholarship. And to conclude, he expended considerable sums in pious and charitable uses. He was buried in Lambeth Church, with this inscription upon his monument :

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*Sobrius et prudens, studiis excultus et usu,
Integer et veræ religionis amans,
MATTHEUS vixit PARKERUS. Foverat illum
Aula virum juvenem ; fovit et aula senem.
Ordine res gessit, recti defensor et æqui ;
Vixerat ille Deo, mortuus ille Deo est¹.*

To go back a little : on Easter-day this spring a conventicle of Dutch Anabaptists was discovered at a house without the bars at Aldgate. Twenty-seven of them were seized and com- May 15.
mitted. Of these four were recovered and brought to a recantation at Paul's-cross in the form following :

“Whereas I, N. N., being seduced by the spirit of error, and by false teachers, his ministers, have fallen into many damnable and detestable heresies, viz. 1. That Christ took not flesh of the substance of the blessed Virgin Mary. 2. That infants born of faithful parents ought to be rebaptized. 3. That no Christian man ought to be a magistrate, or bear the sword or office of authority. 4. And that it is not lawful for a Christian man to take an oath. Now, by the grace of God, and through conference with good and learned ministers of Christ his Church, I do understand and acknowledge the same to be most damnable and detestable heresies, and do ask God here, before his Church, mercy for my said former errors, and do forsake them, recant, and renounce them, and abjure them from the very bottom of my heart. And further I confess, that the whole doctrine and religion established in this realm of England, as also that which is received and practised in the Dutch Church here in this city, is sound, true, and according to the Word of God : whereunto in all things I submit myself, and will most gladly be a member of the said Dutch Church ; from henceforth utterly abandoning and forsaking all and every anabaptistical error.”

A recantation of some Dutch Anabaptists.

Stow's
Annals.

This discipline carried something of terror, and checked the

¹ This epitaph on archbishop Parker seems, on the whole, well deserved : his memorial, however, would be less exceptionable had he understood the wholesome policy of toleration and concession.

heresy. But some were so obstinate, that neither instruction nor punishment could make any impression. Ten Dutchmen, and one woman of the same country, proving thus incorrigible, were brought into the consistory at St. Paul's, and condemned to the stake. There was great pains taken to undeceive them; but none but the woman was recovered. However, the government was so merciful as to banish the rest without any farther punishment. This clemency giving encouragement to others, it was thought necessary to proceed to some instances of extremity. Thus two of the same nation and heterodoxies were burnt in Smithfield. While they lay under sentence, Fox, the martyrologist, petitioned the queen in their behalf: he wrote a Latin letter in a very handsome Christian strain. It was to mitigate the rigour, and change the punishment; or at least to respite the execution for a month or two: and that during this interval they might have the assistance of some learned men to disentangle their understandings, and bring them off their heresy. But a reprieve being granted, and Fox's expedient tried without success, the forfeiture of their lives was taken.

*Two of them
burnt in
Smithfield.*

July 2,
1575.

*Id. Fuller's
Ch. Hist.
book 9.
The lawfulness of episcopacy put to the question in the general assembly.*

About this time the reformed in Scotland began to divide and break into parties: the form of Church government was pushed at, and a design on foot to break the settlement at Leith. Andrew Melvil, as far as it appears, was the principal undertaker. He had studied some time at Geneva, and was entirely in Beza's sentiments: he was of a warm enterprising temper, apt to believe himself always in the right, and impatient of disappointment. This gentleman, whose learning lay mostly in languages, was strongly in the project of a Presbyterian parity: but being but lately come from Geneva, and wanting a character to break the ice, he thought it most advisable to make use of another hand. To this purpose he made an acquaintance with several of the preachers, and particularly with one John Dury, a minister of Edinburgh. This Dury, as Spotswood represents him, was a well-meaning, undissembling man, open in declaring his mind, and zealous in maintaining his opinion: but then he was somewhat unguarded in his management, had an overbalance of belief, and was easily imposed on.

550.

*Spotswood,
p. 275. 457.*

Aug. 1575.

Melvil, having practised upon this Dury and brought him over to his singularities, prevailed with him to open the cause, and remonstrate against episcopacy, at the general assembly.

The first essay touched the matter somewhat tenderly, and an inquiry was only proposed concerning the lawfulness of the episcopal function and the authority of chapters in the election. When Dury had started the question, Melvil struck in and seconded the motion. However, he managed as if the subject had been perfectly new, and the matter unconcerted between them. He began with a commendation of Dury's zeal, harangued upon the flourishing condition of the Church of Geneva, dilated upon the opinions of Calvin and Beza, and at last advanced to a direct assertion, "that none ought to bear office in the Church, unless they could make out their claim and prove their title from the inspired writings. It is true, the distinction of bishops was mentioned in Scripture; but then it was not to be taken in the customary construction; for our Saviour has allowed no superiority amongst his ministers; He himself is the only Lord of his Church; and, as for his officers, they are all ranged in the same degree, and allotted the same proportion of power." In the close of his discourse he took the freedom to say, "that the episcopal function, as now managed, was so far degenerated, and overgrown so much with corruption and abuse, that, unless this grievance was removed, the Church could never be happily settled, nor the purity of religion long preserved."

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BETH.

This speech being well received by many of the members, a committee of six was appointed to debate the question. Mr. David Lindsay, Mr. George Hay, and Mr. John Row, represented the present establishment, and argued for the lawfulness of episcopacy. The other three, on the opposite side, were Mr. James Lawson, Mr. John Craig, and Mr. Andrew Melvil. After several conferences, and a great deal of dispute, they came to somewhat of a compromise, and made the report of their resolution to the assembly in writing. It is digested under five heads:—

A committee appointed to debate the matter.

"First. They did not think it expedient at present to answer the questions proposed by Dury." However, though they waived speaking directly to that point, something was offered towards satisfaction: for they add, "that, if any bishop was unfurnished with the qualities required by the Word of God, he was to be tried by the general assembly, and deposed."

Their resolution.

"Secondly. They conceived that the name of a bishop was not appropriated distinction, but common to all ministers that had the charge of a parish; and that, by the Word of God, the principal function of such ecclesiastical governors consisted in preaching, in administering the sacraments, and in the exercise of the Church discipline, with the concurrence of his elders.

"Thirdly. That, out of the body of the ministers, some one might be chosen to inspect and visit beyond his own charge, and superintend within such a precinct as the general assembly should appoint.

"Fourthly. That the ministers so elected might settle preachers within the limits last mentioned: but then this was not to be done without the advice of the ministers of that division, and the consent of the flock where they were to officiate.

Id. MS.
Acts of the
Assembly.

"And, lastly, that such a distinguished ecclesiastic might suspend ministers from the exercise of their office upon reasonable causes, with the consent of the ministers of the bounds."

And here, notwithstanding the Presbyterians gained some ground in putting episcopacy to the question, yet they fell short of their purpose; for they could not prevail for a decision against the function; and, more than that, by the first and third articles, the project for parity is clearly baffled.

When this assembly was held, and the grand question put, the archbishop of Glasgow, the bishops of Dunkeld and Gallo-way, of Brichen, Dumblane, and Isles, the superintendents of Lothian and Angus, were present. But, notwithstanding they were so much concerned in the business, it does not appear by the records, that either they were so far considered as to make part of the conference, or that they offered at any defence of their office and dignity. What made them so silent and passive under so warm an attack, is somewhat mysterious. If they expected the regent would crush the motion, and disappoint their adversaries, they miscalculated upon the event; but if it was done out of a principle of resignation and self-denial, there was more humility than conduct in it: for it was by no means prudential to give way to such novelties, and suffer the warrantableness of their function to be made a moot point.

However, the contest was much short of victory on the

Presbyterian side. This, besides what hath been observed already, may be farther evinced by the articles presented to the regent by this assembly, the first of which runs thus:—

“ For planting and preaching the Word through the whole realm, it is desired, that as many ministers as may be had, who are yet unprovided, may be received as well in the country, to relieve the charge of them that have many kirks, as otherwise throughout the whole realm, with superintendents or commissioners within those bounds where bishops are not, and to help such bishops as have too great charges.”

ELIZABETH.

Melvil's project for parity mis-carries.

MS. Acts of the Assembly.

From hence it is plain Melvil's undertaking had little encouragement, and that the assembly was resolved to continue the superiority of bishops and superintendents.

To return to England: upon the 8th of February, the parliament met at Westminster, and sat till the 15th of March, when it was once more prorogued. This parliament passed an act, that the third part of the rent of college-leases should be reserved in corn; and, in default of payment, the lessees were to pay after the rate of the best wheat and malt in the market of both the universities. This act was very beneficial to these learned societies, and increased their revenues to a very considerable degree.

18 Eliz. cap. 6.

Upon another act, where two leases upon church-lands or livings are concurrent, the latter is declared void, in case it was made three years before the expiration of the first. This provision was made for the benefit of the successor, and to prevent alienations of the Church revenues.

18 Eliz. cap. 11.

This parliament, Mr. Wentworth's speech, made the last session, was considered by the house. There were some undutiful expressions in it relating to the queen; but these, as foreign to this work, shall be omitted.

The reader may remember, that, the last session, a message was sent from the queen to the commons, not to debate matters of religion till the points had been first examined and recommended by the clergy. This message Wentworth supposed suggested by the bishops; and thus, being checked in his reformation project, he fell into an invective against the whole order. “ The bishops,” says this gentleman, “ I do surely think, were the cause of that doleful message. My reason is this: I was, amongst others, the last parliament, sent to the archbishop of Canterbury for the articles of religion,

551.

GRINDAL that then passed this house. He asked us why we put out of the book the articles for the homilies, consecrating of bishops, and such like? 'Surely, sir,' said I, 'because we were so occupied in other matters, that we had no time to examine them how they agreed with the Word of God.' 'What!' said he, 'surely you mistook the matter: you will refer yourselves wholly to us therein?' 'No, by the faith I bear to God,' says I, 'we will pass nothing before we understand what it is; for that were but to make you popes. Make you popes who list,' said I, 'for we will make you none.'

D'Ewes's
Journal,
p. 232. 241,
&c.

Matt. v.

From the archbishop's expecting the commons would refer themselves to the bishops in matters of religion, this member would infer the prelates pretended to infallibility; "for," says he, "had they a lower opinion of their judgment, they would reform things amiss at the remonstrance of God's people," meaning the Puritans. And to prove God's Spirit is not confined to the bishops, he cites this text, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you." And from hence the reader may collect Mr. Wentworth's talent for reasoning and divinity. That part of his speech which touched the crown, brought him into some trouble. For he was sequestered from the house, committed to the serjeant's ward, examined by the commons, and sent to the Tower; but, upon his submission, the queen pardoned him, and he was re-admitted into the house.

Feb. 10,
A.D. 1575-6.

Feb. 17.

After the see of Canterbury had been kept vacant somewhat more than half-a-year, Grindal, archbishop of York, was preferred thither. But before he had passed through all the forms, and completed his character, the convocation, after several prorogations, was re-assembled at St. Paul's. And here, according to custom, the bishop of London was president. At the second session, Grindal's translation being perfected, he came into the convocation-house at St. Paul's, and took the presidentship upon himself. There was no business done till the 17th of March, when the archbishop being present, ordered the reading of several articles, afterwards subscribed by both houses. They relate to the regulation of the clergy.

*Articles for
the regula-
tion of the*

"By the first, none were to be ordained deacon or priest, unless known by the diocesan, or recommended to him by tes-

timonials ; that these credentials were to vouch for his morals and orthodoxy, particularly that he believed the doctrines contained in the articles set forth by the convocation in the year 1562. Another qualification required was, his ability to give an account of his faith in Latin, upon the aforesaid articles, which he was likewise obliged to subscribe. None was to be ordained a deacon under twenty-three years of age, nor a priest under twenty-four. Neither of these orders were to be given, but on Sundays or holidays ; and here the solemnity was to be directed by the form of the ordinal.

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BETH.
*clergy agreed
by the con-
vocation.*

“ Secondly, That no bishop should give either of the said orders to any persons foreign to his diocese, (graduates who were gremials in either of the universities excepted,) without letters dimissory from the bishop to whom they belonged. And here letters dimissory from any chancellor, or other officer, are expressly barred.

“ Thirdly, That unlearned ministers formerly ordained, shall not be admitted to any cure or spiritual function. For this purpose, the bishops shall pass no curates without strict examination.

“ Fourthly, Diligent inquiry is to be made in every diocese for discovering such as have counterfeited letters of orders, that they may be set aside, and punished.

“ Fifthly, That the bishops should certify each other of the names of such pretended clergymen, to prevent their officiating in any other diocese.

“ Sixthly, That for the future none shall be ordained without either exhibiting a presentation to a benefice, actually void in the diocese, or producing a certificate for supplying a cure, or making proof of preferment in some cathedral or collegiate church or college ; or unless the bishop shall immediately provide him with some benefice or cure ; or, lastly, unless he is known to have a sufficient estate of his own to maintain him.

“ Seventhly, That none shall be admitted to any dignity, unless qualified up to the first article ; and in case any such dignity or benefice shall reach the value of 30*l.* per annum in the queen’s book, the person preferred must either be a doctor in some faculty, or a bachelor of divinity at the lowest, or a preacher licensed by some bishop, or one of the universities : and, besides, before his admission to any such dignity or benefice, he was to preach before the bishop, or some other learned person appointed by him, and stand the test of their judg-

GRINDAL, Abp. Cant. ment." This article concludes with somewhat of softening and relaxation: "That where the stipends and livings are very small, the ordinaries are to stoop to the necessity, and take the best men they can find.

"Eighthly, That all licenses for preaching granted within the province of Canterbury, and prior to the date of Feb. the 8th, 1575, shall be void." With a saving clause, notwithstanding. "That those who are found qualified for that function, shall be restored to their privilege without difficulty or charge.

"Ninthly, None under a deacon are allowed to preach.

"Tenthly, every bishop was forthwith to take care that the Church Catechism was diligently taught in every parish. And when there was no sermon, the homilies were to be read on Sundays and holidays in the order appointed.

"Eleventhly, The bishops were to take care that all incumbents and curates under the degree of master of arts, and not preachers, shall provide themselves the New Testament, both in Latin and English, or Welsh; read a chapter every day, and compare the translations together. The archdeacons, commissaries, and officials at their visitations were ordered to give the clergy above-mentioned some text out of the New Testament, to be either gotten without book, or explained: and that at the next visitation they were to take an account of their diligence and proficiency.

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"Twelfthly, And whereas some ambiguity and doubt has arisen amongst divers, by what persons private baptism is to administered, forasmuch as by the Book of Common Prayer allowed by statute, the bishop of the diocese is to expound and resolve all such doubts as shall arise concerning the manner, how to understand, do, and execute the things contained in the same book; it is now by the said archbishop and bishops expounded and resolved, and every of them do expound and resolve, that the said private baptism, in case of necessity, is only to be ministered by a lawful minister or deacon, called to be present for that purpose, and by none other¹. And that every bishop in his diocese shall take order that this exposition of the said doubt shall be published in writing before the first day of May next coming, in every parish church of his diocese in this province; and thereby all other persons shall be inhi-

¹ The Common Prayer-books of king Edward and queen Elizabeth had hitherto allowed lay baptism in cases of necessity, and perhaps this convocation of 1575 was more nice than wise in limiting the permission.

bited to intermeddle with the ministering of baptism privately ; it being no part of their vocation.”—This article being particularly remarkable, I have given it in the words of the record.

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“ Thirteenthly, No commutation of penance is to be allowed, unless upon weighty reasons. And here the diocesan is to testify his consent to the indulgence under his hand and seal.

“ Fourteenthly, That all archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical judges, should summon those presented before them, and punish them proportionably to their crime.

“ Fifteenthly, That marriage may be solemnized at all times of the year, provided the banns are published in the church three several Sundays or holidays, and no impediment objected.”

The queen refused to assent to this last article, for which reason it was not published with the rest.

Notwithstanding none but the archbishop and bishops are mentioned for their concurrence in the articles, yet in the archbishop's mandate for the publication, they are said to be agreed and settled by both houses.

Journal of
the Convo-
cation,
fol. 140.
et deinc.

This was the last business of the convocation, which by the queen's order, was now prorogued to the 6th of November, and so forward from year to year, till January, 1580.

The see of York not being yet filled since Grindal's translation, the queen directed her mandate to him for the consecration of John Merrick to the bishopric of Man. The earl of Derby is patron of this see, and nominates or presents to the crown the person to be preferred, humbly praying that the king or queen would please to admit the presentation ; from whence it seems to follow, the crown is judge of the qualifications of the person, so far as either to allow or refuse the earl's nomination. But here, no exceptions being made, the queen issued out her mandate for the confirmation and consecration of the presentee. If the see of York had been full, the queen's precept of course would have been directed to that archbishop, because the Isle of Man lies within that province. I shall transcribe part of the queen's mandate into the records.

The queen's
mandate for
consecrating
the bishop of
Man.

This summer archbishop Grindal made a metropolitical visitation. The articles of inquiry may not be unacceptable to the reader. They stand thus in the register.

See Records,
num. 88.

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Regist.
Grindal.
fol. 97.
*Articles of
inquiry at
the arch-
bishop's me-
tropolitical
visitation.*

“Articles to be inquired of in the Metropolitan Visitation of the most reverend Father in God, Edmund, by Divine sufferance, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan in all and singular cathedral and collegiate Churches within his province of Canterbury.

“I. Whether the bishop and his chancellor, commissaries, and all other his officers do minister justice indifferently and incorruptly to all her majesty's subjects, and punish vice and public crimes with due punishment, without any corrupt commutations, neither respecting gifts nor persons; and whether any money, gift, reward, or any other temporal commodity (other than accustomed lawful fees) hath been received for justice, or any judgment or execution of laws, or for any gift, advowson, presentation, collation, institution, or induction, or for the procuring of any such to any spiritual or ecclesiastical living, what hath been received, by whom, and by whose mediation?

“II. Item, Whether the bishop, dean and chapter, and all other the governors do in their several regiments direct all their doings to seek the glory of God, the godly quietness of the Church of England, the upholding in good order of the cathedral, neither suffering in the same corrupt doctrine, nor offensive manners; and whether any of them hath, or doth make or suffer any waste, ruin, decay, or dilapidation of the goods or possessions of this Church, as by decay or not repairing the Church, and their several houses, alienating the stock, buildings, implements, or other moveable goods of the Church, or committing any of the same to private uses, or making of leases in possession or reversion, for more years or otherways than the statutes of the Church do prescribe, or by greedy waste of timber, excessive sale of woods, advowsons unused, and unreasonable grants, patents, and reversions of offices, unwonted annuities, and such like greedy griping of things present, to the impoverishing of the Church and succession, how many, and what they be, whether any such grant or advowson hath been sold for any value, by whom, to whom, and for how much, and who now enjoyeth the same?

“III. How many such grants, patents, advowsons, sales, offices, annuities, and such like, have been confirmed by your chapter's seal, since the first year of her majesty's reign, to whose use, and by whose means, and what money was received

for the same, by whom, and to whose use; whether any like gift, grant, advowson, or lease, for longer time than for twenty-one years, or three lives, hath been made or confirmed, antedated, or by other colourable means procured in possession or reversion, since the beginning of the parliament, in the thirteenth year of her majesty's reign; what those be, and by whose means procured, and to whose use?

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"IV. Item, Whether your deans, archdeacons, and other dignities of your Church, be resident or not? Who they be, what other promotions or livings every one of them hath, and in what diocese? And whether every one of them be minister or not? Whether they use seemly or priestly garments, according as they are commanded by the queen's majesty's injunctions to do?

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"V. Item, Whether your prebendaries be commonly resident, or how many of them; whether any of the rest be [excused], what be their names, what livings every one of them hath, and in what place? What orders they be in, how, and in what apparel they do commonly go, whether they do preach in their several courses, or how often, and what times in the year, or how often they do resort to your cathedral church?

"VI. Item, Whether your divine service be used, and the sacraments be ministered in the manner and form prescribed in the queen's majesty's injunctions, and none other ways? Whether it be said or sung in due time, whether in all points according unto the statutes of the Church, not being repugnant to any of the queen's majesty's laws or injunctions; whether all that were wont, be bound or ought to come to it, do so still; whether every one of your Church doth openly communicate in the said cathedral church, at the least once in every year?

"VII. Item, Whether your grammar-school be well ordered; whether the number of the children thereof be furnished, how many do want, and by whose default; whether they be diligently and godly brought up in the fear of God and wholesome doctrine; whether any of them have been received for money or rewards, and by whom; whether the statutes, foundations, and other ordinances touching the godly prescribed and used alms of your Church, and the said grammar-school, master, or the scholars thereof, or any other having business or interest therein be kept, by whom it is not observed,

GRINDAL or by whose default ; and the like in all points you shall inquire
Abp. Cant. and present of your choristers and their master.

“ VIII. Item, Whether all officers and ministers of your Church, as well within as without, do their duties in all points obediently and faithfully ; and whether your dean, stewards, treasurers, bursers, purveyors, or any officer, having any charge, or any ways being accomptant to the said Church, do make a true, perfect, and faithful account, at such days and times as be limited and appointed by the statutes and customs of the said Church, making full payment yearly of all arrearages, whether any money or goods of the Church do remain in any man’s hands, who they be, and what sum remaineth ?

“ IX. You shall inquire of the doctrine and judgment of all and singular, head and members of your said Church, as your dean, archdeacons, prebendaries, readers of divinity, schoolmasters, vicars, petty canons, deacons, conductors, singing-men, choristers, scholars in grammar-schools, and all other officers and ministers, as well within your Church as without, whether any of them do either privily or openly preach any unwholesome, erroneous, or seditious doctrine, contrary or repugnant to any articles agreed upon in any synod of the clergy of the province of Canterbury, since the first year of her majesty’s reign ; or discourage any man soberly for his edifying from the reading of the Holy Scriptures ; or in any point do persuade or move any not to conform themselves to the order of religion reformed, restored, and revived, by public authority in the Church of England ?

“ X. Item, You shall inquire of the names and surnames of all and singular the above-named members, officers, and ministers of this your said Church, as well high as low ; whether you know or suspect any of them to obtain his living by simony, that is, by money, unlawful covenants, gifts, or reward, who presented him, whether his living be in lease, and by whom it is leased, to whom, upon what rent, whether he doth pay any pension, for what cause, what sum, and to whom ? Whether any of them be known or suspected to be a swearer, an adulterer, or suspected of any other uncleanness, a fornicator ? Whether any of them do use any suspected house, or suspected company of any such faults, any tavern, ale-house, or tippling-house, at any inconvenient season ? Whether any of them be suspected to be a drunkard, a

dicer, a carder, a brawler, a fighter, quarreller, or unquiet person; a carrier of tales, a backbiter, slanderer, batemaker¹, or any other ways a breaker of charity, or unity, or cause of unquietness by any means?

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“XI. Item, Whether you have necessary ornaments and books for your church?

“XII. Item, Whether your church be sufficiently repaired in all parts; what stock or annuity is there towards the reparations of the cathedral church; in whose hands and custody doth it remain?”

From these articles the reader may perceive the archbishop was no negligent governor, nor yet a person of latitude and indifferency for the ceremonies of the Church.

The exercise of prophesying was attended with several inconveniencies: for, besides the instances of mismanagement already related, it gave opportunity to the spreading erroneous doctrine. For instance: those who were suspended or deprived for non-conformity, ventured to appear at these meetings: and here they took the liberty to declare against the government and liturgy of the Church. And sometimes their satire was played upon the State: sometimes they glanced upon persons, and ran out into particular invectives. And sometimes the laity undertook the argument, and held forth. In short, the exercises at last were remarkable for squabbling and unnecessary disputes, and failed in the requisites of charity and discretion.

The archbishop believed this mismanagement accidental to the meetings: he thought the design was serviceable for the improvement of the people and clergy; and therefore endeavoured to make it answer upon experiment, and bring the practice up to the plan. To this purpose he drew up some regulations to prevent the occasions of disorder. They are digested under the following heads:

“I. That the said exercises are to be used only in such churches, and at such times, as the bishop of the diocese, under his hand and seal, shall appoint.

*The arch-
bishop's re-
gulations for
the exercise
of prophesy-
ing.*

“II. That in all assemblies for such conferences, either the

¹ A batemaker, a battle or strife maker: *bate* is by some identified with *bait*; thus a bull-bait is a bull-battle, from *to bait*, (French, *battre*,) to attack with violence. Hence also the origin of debate, &c.

GRINDAL archdeacon, if he is a divine, or else some other grave and
Abp. Cant. learned graduate at least, be appointed by the bishop to moderate at the exercises.

“ III. That a list of the names of such as are supposed qualified to speak in those exercises be given in : and that such parts of the Scripture shall be only handled as the bishop shall appoint.

554. “ IV. That the rest of the ministers who have no talent for speaking in public, shall have the exposition of some part of Scripture assigned them as a task by the moderators : and that those tasks should be read privately before the ministers only, and not before the laity.

“ V. That no lay person be allowed to speak publicly in those assemblies.

“ VI. No man in the course of his exercise shall be suffered to libel the Church or State, or censure any person, public or private, either by broad satire, or more covert innuendoes. And when any one happens to run riot in this manner, he shall be immediately silenced by the moderator. And here the bishop was to be certified why the check was given. And the party receiving this rebuke was not to be re-admitted to any share in the exercise, without the bishop's approbation, and making an acknowledgment of his misbehaviour.”

The seventh article is little more than a fuller explication of the sixth. It is here ordered, “ that no man should be suffered to make any invectives against the laws, rites, policies, and discipline of the Church of England established by public authority. And if any sallies of this kind should happen, the moderator was immediately to silence the speaker, and shew the audience the unreasonableness of his exceptions : and here the person offending was not to be restored to his post without making public satisfaction.

“ Lastly, That no ministers barred the pulpit, or deprived for non-conformity, should be allowed to speak in these exercises ; that every diocesan should be particularly careful in this matter ; and not suffer any persons to expound Scripture, and make any discourses at this meeting, excepting those who subscribed the articles of religion, and conformed to the Church establishment.”

Cotton Library.

Thus the archbishop endeavoured to guard against the abuse, and continue the exercise. But the queen was of a different

sentiment. She thought these meetings gave encouragement to novelty, made people ramble in their fancy, and neglect their affairs. That their curiosity was too much indulged, and their heads overcharged with notions by these discourses; and that by raising disputes, and forming parties, things might possibly grow up to a public disturbance. She told the archbishop the kingdom was overfurnished with instructions of this nature: that she would have the exercise of prophesying suppressed, the preachers reduced to a smaller number, and homilies read instead of sermons. She conceived three or four preachers in a county might be sufficient, and that therefore licenses for the pulpit should be granted with more reserve. The queen delivered herself upon this subject with something of vehemence and disgust; and gave her pleasure in charge to the archbishop.

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Grindal, to give him his due, was a prelate of more conscience and courage, than to be dazzled with the lustre of a court, to resign against his judgment, and be overruled into insignificancy. He wrote a long letter to the queen to excuse his incomppliance. It is penned with a mixture of freedom and regard. He writes like a subject in the State, and a governor in the Church; and takes care neither to forget her majesty, nor himself. It is printed at length in Fuller; I shall give the reader the substance of it. By the way, this historian assigns it to the year 1580, whereas it was written no earlier than September this year.

His letter to the queen against retrenching the number of the preachers, and in defence of prophesying.

The archbishop takes notice that the queen's not being pleased to hear him out upon the argument at his last waiting upon her, was the reason of his addressing her in this way. He begins with a profession, "that nothing but necessity and conscience should make him incomplicant. He believes her zeal and meaning were of the best kind; but good princes may be sometimes mistaken. Thus, for instance, David had no ill intention in numbering the people; Jehoshaphat had no revolting view in making an alliance with idolatrous Ahab, neither did Hezekiah conceive any harm in shewing his rarities and treasure to the Babylonian ambassadors: and yet it is certain all these princes failed in their measures. And to make way for speaking his mind more freely, he takes notice of St. Ambrose's manner of addressing the emperor Theodosius. The Father acquaints this prince he was well

Fuller's Church History, p. 123. Dec. 20, 1576.

2 Sam. xxiv.

2 Chron. xix.

2 Kings xx.

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assured of his piety and good nature ; and owns his having received many obligations from him : but notwithstanding this introductive acknowledgment, he solicits the emperor strongly to recal an ungodly edict : the purport of the order was to command a bishop the rebuilding of a Jewish synagogue pulled down by some of his people.

“ After an application of this instance to himself, the archbishop comes directly to the case ; and, in the first place, insists on the necessity of a great many preachers. He suggests to her majesty that preaching is the ordinary means of salvation. That by the discharge of this function, ignorance is instructed, stubbornness rebuked, scruples discharged, comfort administered to afflicted consciences, and vengeance threatened to the obdurate. Preaching gives a ground for loyalty and forms a principle for civil obedience : for obedience is the result of conscience, conscience receives its force from the word of God, and the word of God operates by preaching. So that generally speaking, where preaching fails, the want of it is seen in the manners of the people. Thus, for instance, in the late commotions in the north, mutiny increased in proportion to ignorance, and where there was least knowledge, there was most rebellion. He observes, that those who object against frequent preaching, were either people of excessive niceness, who could relish nothing but what was set off with ornament and notion, and heard sermons more for entertainment than edifying ; or else they were enemies to the Reformation : they were afraid that error and innovation should be too much exposed. Or, lastly, they were men of licence and avarice, and wholly resigned to interest and pleasure. That this last division, which was very numerous, hated reproof, and dreaded the discipline of the pulpit. These harpies and libertines are afraid of being dragged into light, and painted in their colours, and would gladly have no preaching at all. And because they dare not be so hardy as to condemn the office, they except against the persons, and report them to disadvantage.

*He prefers
sermons to
reading the
homilies, and
why.*
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“ And here the archbishop was sensible it would be objected the homilies might supersede the necessity of sermons, and pass for an equivalent instruction ; to obviate this, he tells the queen, he is still of his former opinion : he grants the reading of homilies is not without its servicableness ; but then it

is comparatively faint, and falls much short of the force of preaching: the homilies, though unexceptionable in the matter, are too generally worded. They do not always come up to particular exigence, point upon the case, nor awaken the conscience. The homilies were only designed for a temporary provision. At the beginning of the Reformation, men of orthodoxy and learning were not to be met with in every parish. This scarcity of qualified preachers was the reason the homilies were composed and recommended to public use. Besides, he observes, the sacrilege which kept pace with the Reformation was another reason of bringing the Church under a necessity of providing for the people this way: that impropriations being first conveyed from abbeys to the crown, and then granted away to private persons, there were no hopes of retrieving the patrimony of the Church, and bringing things back to their original intendment: that by this means there is scarcely one parish in seven able to furnish a competent maintenance for a learned preacher. And in many parishes where there are seven or eight hundred souls to take care of, the living is secularized to that lamentable degree, that there are not eight pounds per annum left for supporting the incumbent. By these alienations the furnishing preachers is wholly impracticable in many places; and therefore, that the people might not be wholly uninstructed, the homilies were set forth.

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“From hence he proceeds, in the second place, to defend the exercise of prophesying. As to this matter, he had consulted several of his brethren the bishops, and found them of his own opinion. And he hopes when the circumstances are explained and the manner described; when the authority it is grounded upon is alleged; when the convenience of keeping it on, and the ill consequences of suppressing it, are suggested; when all these particulars are briefly represented, he hopes her majesty will be of the same sentiment.

“Those who encourage these prophesyings are the bishops of the respective dioceses, who, both by the laws of God and the canons of the Church, have authority to prescribe exercises to their clergy: and that the manner of promoting improvement and making the curates more serviceable is one branch of the episcopal function, and left to the discretion of the ordinary. The stated times for these meetings is once a month, or once a fortnight, as the diocesan shall think fit. The time

*The manner
of the exer-
cise of pro-
phesying.*

GRINDAL for the exercise is two hours. The place is the parish church appointed for the assembly. The matter to be handled is as follows : Some text of Scripture, given out before, is expounded in this order : First, the occasion of the words are laid open. And secondly, the end or intention of the inspired writer. Thirdly, the proper or literal sense of the place is examined. Fourthly, the force and propriety of the words are discussed : and here those that are learned in the languages cite the expositors, and show how far they differ in their interpretations. Fifthly, the same phrases and manner of speaking in other places of the Scripture are mentioned. Sixthly, texts which carry a face of opposition and seeming repugnancy are reconciled. Seventhly, the argument of the text is opened more at large. Eighthly, the audience is instructed what virtues and vices are touched upon, and under which of the respective commands they are to be ranged. Ninthly, the misconstruction of the text by those of a different communion is dilated on, if occasion requires. And lastly, the doctrine of faith or manners comprehended in the text is briefly explained. The whole concludes with a prayer for the queen and the government, read out of the Liturgy ; after which they sing a psalm."

The archbishop proceeds to give the queen an account of the order prescribed for the exercises : but these regulations having been mentioned already, need not be repeated.

He endeavours to justify it from resembling instances in the Scripture.
 1 Sam. xix.
 1 Sam. x.
 1 Kings ii.

"He advances next to the justification of these prophesyings from Scripture authority. He insists that Samuel had a share both in the practice and direction of exercises of a resembling nature : that this was done both at Nayoth and Bethel : and that Elisha did the same thing at Jericho : and that those who were trained up to religion and learning this way were called 'sons of the prophets;' and that this method was used to strengthen their character, and fit them for public instruction : that St. Paul makes mention of prophesying, and gives direction for the management. And to prevent misconstruction, and take off the odium of pretending to be a prophet, he suggests that prophecy does not always signify prediction ; and that in this Epistle of St. Paul, last mentioned, exposition of Scripture is only meant : and for this he appeals to the testimony of the best and most ancient writers. He grants that in the apostles' time this ability for interpreting Scripture was conveyed by miracle and inspiration, and no study required for

1 Cor. xiv.

this purpose : and so likewise was the knowledge of languages. But now since miracles are ceased, there is no gaining either of these acquirements without application and study. That these prophesyings are of the same nature with academical exercises ; only they have the advantage of being performed in the language of the country, for the benefit of those who are unlearned.

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“ And how much soever this matter may have been misreported to her majesty, both himself and other bishops, mentioned in the margin, have found the good effect of these prophesyings. He gives several instances. For instance, the ministers are more knowing in the Scriptures, and better qualified to instruct their charge. They are drawn off from idleness and unserviceable diversions. Some of them, suspected for heterodoxy, have been disentangled from their mistakes, and given public satisfaction : that the clergy of lower attainments have been pushed to industry upon motives of shame, and prevailed with to mend their pace, and make the most of themselves, for fear of discipline. That by this means the laity have no handle to reproach the clergy with idleness. That upon experiment, nothing batters popery more effectually than a learned ministry. That by the advantage of these exercises, where there were formerly not above three persons fit to preach at St. Paul’s-cross, there are now thirty well furnished for so public an appearance ; besides much greater numbers not underqualified for their cures in the country. Lastly, that the breaking this exercise would afford matter of triumph to the adversaries, and weaken the interest of religion. That according to the prophet Ezekiel, ‘ the heart of the righteous ought not to be made sad.’ And that though some places have run out into abuse and mismanagement, there is no reason the punishment should be stretched beyond the offence, and the misbehaviour of a few affect an unexceptionable majority.”

The advantages consequent upon this exercise.

*London.
Winton.
Bathon.
Lichfield.
Gloucester.
Lincoln.
Cicestren.
Econ.
Menevensis.
I have seen letters of these bishops to Grindal upon this subject. The papers are now in the hands of Mr. Hartin.*

556.

*Ezekiel xiii.
22.*

For these reasons, the archbishop tells the queen, “ he is forced to declare plainly, though with all humility, that his conscience will not give him leave to comply with her commands. Neither can he assent to the suppressing these exercises without offending the majesty of God ; and that his sending out any mandate or injunction is still more impracticable.” He takes the freedom to say, with St. Paul, “ that 2 Cor. x.

GRINDAL *Abp. Cant.* his power is given him for edification, and not for destruction; and that, as the same Apostle elsewhere speaks, ‘he can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth.’
 2 Cor. xiii.

“As for any consequences of incomppliance, he is willing to resign to her majesty’s pleasure with all humility. He considers ‘that it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.’ He considers likewise, ‘quod qui facit contra conscientiam (divinis juribus nixam) ædificat ad Gehennam;’ that is, he who acts against his conscience, opens a gap, as it were, and paves the way to his own destruction: and what advantage would it be to him, ‘if he should gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?’ ”
 Heb. x.

His seasonable advice to the queen.

In ecclesia seu synodo, non in palatio.

And, making an excuse for the length of his application, he “humbly desires the queen to afford her consideration to the two following requests.” And now to speak in his person: “Madam, my first request,” says he, “to your majesty is, that you would not interpose your prerogative in ecclesiastical matters, nor carry the regale thus far into the Church; that you would rather refer points of doctrine and discipline to the management of bishops and divines; that, by these permissions, you would follow the precedent of all pious emperors and princes, from Constantine the Great to your own time; that things of this nature, as an ancient Father expresses himself, are to be decided in the Church, and not in the palace. When any controversies of law arise, it is not your majesty’s custom to determine at your court, but to send them to your judges for their resolution; and thus, when any doubt or difficulty happens in reference to religious belief or Church discipline, the usual way is to remit the decision of these points to the bishops and other ecclesiastics of distinction.

Ambros. ad Theo. Epist. 29. Id. Epist. 32.

“St. Ambrose, upon a resembling occasion, applies himself thus to Theodosius the Great: ‘Si de causis pecuniariis comites tuos consulas, quanto magis in causa religionis sacerdotes Domini æquum est consulas?’—i. e. if in matters of property you ask the opinions of your chancellor and the bench, how much more reasonable is it to consult our Saviour’s priests when religion is the business in question? The same Father acquaints the good emperor Valentinian, ‘Si de fide conferendum est, sacerdotum debet esse ista collatio; sicut factum est sub Constantino Augustæ memoriæ principe; qui nullas leges ante præmisit quam liberum dedit judicium sacer-

dotibus:’ *i. e.* when faith is the subject of the debate, the discussion ought to be left to the bishops; that Constantine, of illustrious memory, governed himself by this rule, and made no laws with relation to the Church till the point was first settled by the clergy. And St. Ambrose observes, in the same letter, that Constantius the emperor, by following his father’s precedent, moved well at first in the administration; but when he took upon him ‘*de fide intra palatium judicare*,’ to make himself a judge of religious controversies, and pronounce upon matters of faith within the palace, this method proved unhappy in the issue, and misled him into Arianism,—a terrible example.

“This famous St. Ambrose, who stands with such advantage upon record, goes a farther length in his remonstrance, and treats the emperor Valentinian with more plain dealing. His words are these: ‘*Si docendus est episcopus a laico, quid sequatur? Laicus ergo disputet, et episcopus audiat; episcopus discat a laico. At certe, si vel Scripturarum seriem divinarum, vel vetera tempora retractemus, quis est qui abnuat, in causa fidei, in causa, inquam, fidei, episcopos solere de imperatoribus Christianis, non imperatores de episcopis judicare?*’ If a bishop is to be instructed by a layman, what must be the consequence? Why, then, let the laity argue, and the bishop make part of the audience?—let a bishop resign his character, and learn of a layman. But if either the tenor of the Scripture, or the practice of antiquity, are consulted upon this question, who can deny but that, when a point of faith is under debate,—when a point of faith, I say, is under debate,—it has been customary for bishops to give judgment upon Christian emperors, and not emperors upon bishops?

“Madam, I wish to God you would steer by this compass. By managing in this manner, your majesty would consult your own repose, please God Almighty better, and avoid many instances of wide conduct; and, in short, the government of the Church would go on with a smoother motion, to your majesty’s satisfaction, and the public benefit.

“The second petition I have to make to your majesty is this: that when you interpose in matters of faith and religion, in matters that touch the Church of Christ, the Church, which is his spouse, and bought at so high a price, when things of this nature lie before your majesty, my humble request is, that

GRINDAL you would not pronounce with such absoluteness and resolution
 Abp. Cant. as you may do in secular business. Be pleased to remember,
His words are, "so resolutely and per-emptorily." that, in things of this nature, the will of God, and not of any earthly creature, is to govern the affair: 'sic volo, sic jubeo, stat pro ratione voluntas.' To make pleasure a law, is the language of the court of Rome: it is papal presumption. Where the divine worship is concerned, all princes ought to stoop their sceptres to the Son of God, and ask counsel at his mouth. David exhorts all kings and governors to serve God with 'fear and trembling.'

557. "Remember, madam, you are a mortal creature: do not
 Theod. over contemplate your character, nor look upon your purple
 Hist. Eccles. too much: it is the advice of St. Ambrose to Theodosius the
 lib. 5. c. 8. Great. 'Be pleased to consider,' as that Father goes on,
 'what kind of body it is that wears the royal robes. Is it any more than flesh and blood? Has it not the common principles of dissolution? And is it any farther than a few removes from dust and ashes? Must you not one day appear 'before the judgment-seat of Christ, to receive according to what you have done in the body, whether it be good or bad?' Though you are a mighty prince, yet remember He who dwells in heaven is mightier; and, as the psalmist speaks, 'He shall cut off the spirit of princes, he is terrible to the kings of the earth.'

Psal. lxxvi.

"Wherefore, I beseech you, madam, 'in visceribus Christi,' to move with the utmost caution in the management of religious affairs: set the majesty of God before your eyes, and lay your own aside. Resolve to obey him without reserve, and say with all humility, 'Not my will, but thine be done.' God has blessed your reign with remarkable prosperity for many years: do not reckon your happiness to your merit and conduct, but give God the glory. And as to the significancy of means and secondary causes, impute your felicity in the first place to the goodness of the cause you are engaged in, I mean the propagation and maintenance of the true religion; and, secondly, to the fervent prayers of the godly put up in your behalf; which powerful intercessions have, as it were, disarmed Omnipotence, and tied the hands of God, that he could not pour out his plagues on you and your people, most justly deserved.

"Take care that a revolting thought never rests upon your mind, for fear the fate of Joash should come upon you. He governed with justice and piety for many years; 'But when

he was strong, his heart was lifted up to his destruction, and he transgressed against the Lord his God.' You have done many things well ; but except you persevere, you cannot be blessed ; but if you turn from God, his favour will be withdrawn from you ; and what then remains 'but a fearful looking for of judgment, and heaping up wrath against the day of wrath ?'

ELIZABETH.

2 Chron.
xxvi.

Heb. x.
Rom. ii.

I shall give the reader the rest in the words of the letter :

" But I trust in God," continues the archbishop, " your majesty will always humble yourself under his mighty hand, and go forward in the zealous setting forth of God's true religion, always yielding due obedience and reverence to the word of God, the only rule of faith and religion. And if ye so do, although God hath just cause many ways to be angry with you and us for our unfaithfulness, yet I doubt nothing but that for his own name's sake, and for his own glory's sake, he will still hold his merciful hand over us, and shield and protect us under the shadow of his wing, as he hath done hitherto.

" I beseech God, our heavenly Father, plentifully to pour his principal Spirit upon you, and always to direct your heart in his holy fear. Amen, amen."

Whether Grindal was right or not in pleading for the prophesying meetings, I shall not pretend to determine ; though it must be said he has offered a great deal in defence of these exercises. And it is most likely, could they have been kept within the compass of his regulation, they would have proved serviceable to the Church. But this consideration apart, it is certain he writes with the spirit of a primitive bishop ; his application is religiously brave, and has not the least appearance of interest or fear. And besides the piety of the address, it is managed with great force and advantage. To which we may add, the advice is admirable and well directed. Nothing could be more serviceable to disengage the queen from the flattery of her court, and bring her off from some lofty mistakes her favourites seem to have led her into.

About this time the privy council sent the archbishop a letter touching the keeping of ember-weeks and fish days. The contents being something remarkable, I shall transcribe it as it stands upon the register :—

" After our right hearty commendations to your good lordship, *An order of*

GRINDAL
Abp. Cant.

*council for
keeping fish-
days, and
why.*
Regist.
Grindal.
fol. 150.

the queen's majesty of late entering into some consideration how that, notwithstanding sundry good statutes and laws made heretofore by common consent in parliament to the contrary, the observation of the embering and fish-days is not so duly looked unto as it ought to be, and is requisite in policy for the maintenance of mariners and fishermen, and the navy of the realm, hath thought convenient for that cause, first in her highness's own household to give strait charge unto the officers for the observation of them. And it is ordered that they shall be more carefully seen unto and continued, than heretofore they have been. The like we have signified, by her majesty's special appointment, to the intent that by an unfeigned observation in all places throughout this realm, of the said laws already provided, and meet to be put in execution in this respect, the estate might take such benefit thereby as was at the same time of the making intended, which we can assure your lordship is the only cause why, at this time, the observation of them is so much urged. Howbeit, for that it may be that this her majesty's good meaning may either be misconstrued by some, and depraved by others, as though any superstition (wherewith her majesty, God be thanked, is not to be touched or suspected) were thereby intended; for the meeting with, and answering such slanderous conceits as may be spread and mistaken among her highness's subjects, we have thought good to require your lordship to give order within your province, that the ministers and preachers which are or shall be admitted to that function, be commanded in their sermons and exhortations to the people, to instruct and teach them to be willing and obedient to conform themselves and their families to the observation of the said laws, as in duty they are bound. And farther declare unto them, that the same is not required for any liking of popish ceremonies heretofore used, (which utterly are detested,) 'but only to maintain the mariners and the navy of this land, by setting men a fishing;' which thing is so necessary for the realm, especially in these dangerous times, that no means are to be omitted, whereby it may be thought the same may be according to the laws brought to pass, and perfected accordingly. And for that the exhortations and doctrine of good and dutiful ministers may do much good in this matter, both to remove the scrupulousness and misconceits of some few: and also to induce

the greater and common number to obey and observe the said laws; we have thought good to signify so much unto your lordship, that by the good assistance of you, and others under you, the matter might be furthered, and take such good success for the benefit of this realm, as we desire, and so we bid your good lordship right heartily well to fare.

ELIZABETH.

"From Hampton-court, the 13th of December, 1576. Your lordship's right-assured loving friends, 558.

" W. BURGHEY.	F. KNOWLIS.
A. WARWICKE.	J. CROFT.
R. LEICESTER.	F. WALSINGHAM."

By this order, it appears that these days of abstinence are declared to be kept only for promoting the fishery, and the encouragement of seamen. Now, with submission, to lay the whole stress of embering and abstinence upon reasons of state, is somewhat singular. For, to say nothing of ember-weeks, the fasts of Lent, and those of Wednesdays and Fridays, reach up to the earliest ages of Christianity. Now this restraint of appetite was always imposed with a prospect upon the other world: it was enjoined to reduce the senses, and make the mind more absolute. And is it not somewhat a misfortune that the Apostles' canons, the authority of the Fathers, and the practice of the primitive Church, should be struck out of all consideration? And must all this discipline be only for the benefit of navigation? Have we not sins to fast for, and temperance to guard? Are we not bound to distinguish times upon spiritual motives, and prepare for the solemnities of religion? But when secular men prescribe for the Church, when those who are strangers in antiquity, give laws for discipline, it is no wonder if they mistake in their direction. And to make the matter less surprising, three of these privy counsellors, Leicester, Knowlis, and Walsingham, were either puritans, or abettors of that party.

Beveridge's
Codex Ca-
non. Eccles.
Primit.
Vindic.
Idem.

This year James Pilkington, bishop of Durham, departed this life. His connivance at non-conformity, and the rest of his character and fortune, have been related already.

To look back a little upon Scotland: the reader may remember the Presbyterians made an attempt to introduce their parity, but failed of success as to the main. But this disap-

GRINDAL
Abp. Cant.

April 24,
1576.
*A general
assembly at
Edinburgh.*

MS. Acts
of the As-
sembly,
fol. 747.
Spotswood,
p. 276.

MS. Acts
of the As-
sembly.
Spotswood.
*The regent
makes a mo-
tion disser-
viceable to
episcopacy.*

Melvil's
Memoirs,
p. 110.
Refutat.
Libelli de
Regim.
Eccles.
Scotic.

pointment did not discourage them from making another effort at the next general assembly. Here they gave a new turn to the controversy, and put the question under a different state. Their motion was, "Whether bishops, as then settled in Scotland, had their function warranted by the word of God?" But here they failed of their expectation: for after they had thoroughly debated every article of the six collocutors, or commissioners, the majority came to the same resolution with the former assembly: to the same resolution, only with this addition, that the bishops should fix upon some one church for their common residence and pastoral care.

It was farther resolved, that those who detained the patrimony of the Church, and gave notorious scandal by such remarkable injustice, might be proceeded against not only by preaching and admonition, but by ecclesiastical censures. And that the patrimony of the Church was held "*jure divino*."

The regent being informed of these proceedings, and displeased with their deposing Patton bishop of Dunkeld, sent a gentleman to know whether they would abide by the polity agreed at Leith: and if not, they were desired to settle some other more acceptable form of government. If the regent was hearty for episcopacy, he made a wrong step, and diserved the cause through mistake. But it is improbable but this earl of Morton, notwithstanding his countenance, might be in the Presbyterian interest. He is marked in history for a covetous person, and one that was very forward in making seizure of the Church revenues. For when the regent Lenox refused him the estate belonging to the archbishopric of St. Andrew's, he quitted the court in a disgust; neither could he be prevailed with to return until his suit was granted. Morton therefore might probably abet the Presbyterian party behind the curtain: for when innovations were set on foot, when the Church was embroiled, and her government unhinged, there was some prospect of a new booty, and of finding his account in the confusion. But not to inquire any farther into his design, it is certain his proposal was what the Presbyterians wished for. And thus the parity-members of the assembly, catching at the advantage, sent him word they would immediately apply themselves to consider the motion: and over and above, that they would draw up a standing form of Church-polity, and present it to the council for their approbation.

For this purpose they nominated Mr. Andrew Melvil, Mr. Andrew Hay, Mr. David Cunningham, Mr. George Hay, Mr. Alexander Arthbutnet, Mr. David Lindsay, and several others. These gentlemen of the Church were pitched on for a committee to draw the scheme. The archbishop of Glasgow was likewise named amongst the rest; but being pressed to take the charge of a particular flock, he desired to be excused. He told them, he had entered upon his office pursuant to a order both of the Church and State: that he did not think it advisable to break through the public establishment: that such a liberty might bring him under the reproach of violating his oath, and doing his part in subverting the constitution. However, to show his inclination to serve the Church, he promised to preach at Glasgow when he lived there; and as often as he removed to the sherifffdom of Ayr, he engaged to exercise the same function in any church they would appoint him: but upon condition however, not to be tied to any particular place, nor do any thing in prejudice of his episcopal jurisdiction. This frank declaration gave disgust, and struck him out of the committee.

ELIZABETH.

A committee for drawing up a new form of Church polity.

The see of St. Andrew's falling void by the death of Mr. John Douglas, the regent recommended Mr. Patrick Adamson to the chapter. The chapter had made some progress in the election when the general assembly met. And here the question being put to Adamson, whether he would submit to be tried by a committee of the assembly, and receive his character upon the terms prescribed by the Church? His answer was, the regent enjoined him not to accept the bishopric any otherwise than upon the public establishment. And thus the assembly not receiving satisfaction, they forbid the chapter going on. However, upon fresh orders from the regent they met again, and elected Adamson. The Kirk being highly provoked with this freedom, ordered Mr. Robert Pont, superintendent of Lothian, Mr. James Lawson, and Mr. David Ferguson, to call Adamson before them, and prohibit him the exercise of any part of his jurisdiction until he was furnished with an authority from the assembly.

In the mean time a form of Church polity was drawn and presented to the regent by Mr. David Lindsay, Mr. James Lawson, and Mr. Robert Pont. In their preface they protested, "to wish nothing more, than that as God had made

A new form of Church polity presented to the regent.

GRINDAL him a serviceable instrument in exterminating popery, and settling the public repose, so he would honour him with the establishing of a godly polity in the Church. They entreated his grace to peruse the articles: and in case he excepted to any of them, that he would please to hear the committee sent to wait on him in their defence. Not that they looked upon the draught as perfect in all points: "for as God should farther reveal to them, they should be always ready to make amendment." The regent, though not liking the undertaking, dissembled his disgust, and ordered some of the council to treat with the assembly, and make their report of the heads upon which they agreed. But by the disturbances which happened in the state, this conference broke off before they had gone any length in it; and the next year Morton resigned the regency.

This project miscarries for some time.

Spotswood, p. 266, &c. March 24, 1576-7.

To return to England: the latter end of this year, John Elmer, or Aylmer, doctor in divinity, was preferred to the see of London, and consecrated at Lambeth by archbishop Grindal, assisted by Edwin, archbishop of York, and John, bishop of Rochester. To mention the filling another see: Nicholas Bullingam, bishop of Worcester, being lately dead, the queen nominated Dr. Whitgift, master of Trinity-college, in Cambridge, for his successor. He was consecrated by the archbishop, assisted by John, bishop of London; Robert, bishop of Winchester; and Richard, bishop of Chichester.

April 21, 1577.

Upon the death of any bishop within the province of Canterbury, all the seals of the deceased prelate, and his best ring excepting one, belonged to the archbishop. In virtue of this privilege, Dr. Yate, Grindal's vicar-general, made the demand upon Mrs. Bullingam, the late bishop of Worcester's widow.

Regist. Grindal. *The queen's order to the bishops for suppressing the exercises of prophesying.*

Grindal refusing to act in the suppressing of prophesyings, the queen directed her letters to the other bishops, to put them down in their respective dioceses. Her majesty's letter sets forth, "that, in several parts of the kingdom, no small numbers presumed on the function of preaching, though neither lawfully called, nor qualified for that employment; that new forms of worship were offered to practise; that, by setting up unlawful assemblies, the people were drawn to places remote from their parishes, and entertained with disputations upon points of divinity very improper for a vulgar audience; that, by this means, many of her subjects were carried off to idleness

and schism; that these innovations were an open breach of her laws, disturbed the harmony of the government, and gave offence to those good subjects who were willing to serve God conformably to the order established. For these reasons, the bishops are commanded not to suffer any public divine service, any form of administering the sacraments, or any rites and ceremonies, but such as are settled and allowed by the constitution; and that no persons should be suffered to preach, teach, or exercise any function in the Church, but such as are licensed, and conform to the Church of England; and, where the incumbents were under-qualified for preaching, the reading the homilies, pursuant to the 'Injunctions,' should be enjoined them.

ELIZA-
BETH.

"And, because of the great abuses consequent upon the exercises called 'Propheysings,' they are strictly commanded not to suffer any of them for the future. And, if any person shall presume to continue these exercises, the bishops are ordered to commit them, and send up their names and qualities, their maintainers and abettors, to the council."

The order concludes in these words:—

"And in these things we charge you to be careful and vigilant, as, by your negligence, if we should hear of any person attempting to offend in the premises without your correction, or information to us, we be not forced to make some example in reforming of you according to your deserts."

May 7,
1577.

Cotton
Library,
Cleop. vi.
F. 11.
fol. 207.

About a month forward, Grindal, continuing incontinent, was confined to his house, and sequestered from his jurisdiction for six months. This restraint was clapped upon him when he was going on with his metropolitical visitation. It was done by the lords in the Star-chamber, who, I suppose, passed this sentence in virtue of their ecclesiastic commission. Dr. Yate acted for him during this suspension.

*The arch-
bishop con-
fined, and
his jurisdic-
tion seques-
tered.*

Idem.

The Roman Catholic missionaries, sent from the seminaries beyond sea, made some progress in their undertaking, and drew off a great many people from going to church. To stop this defection from the Reformation, it was thought fit to impose a pecuniary penalty on such as absented themselves from divine service. But there being no provision by act of parliament, the legality of the method was debated. For this purpose, the secretary wrote in the queen's name to the lord keeper and lord treasurer, to require the judges' opinion.

GRINDAL
Abp. Cant.

Dec. 3,
1577.

These two lords sent to sir Gilbert Gerrard, master of the rolls, to summon the judges. When they came together, their resolution was, that, by the statute of the 1st of Elizabeth, the commissioners for ecclesiastical causes had authority to inflict any punishment, either amerciamment or otherwise, which the ecclesiastical laws allowed of. The ground of their opinion was, because all ecclesiastical jurisdiction and authority is by the statute annexed to the crown. And, by the same statute, her majesty is empowered to commit this authority to such persons as she thinks fit to employ.

To make this resolution bear, and come up to the case in hand, it was agreed that Dr. Lewis, an eminent civilian, should consult with some others of that faculty, and deliver their opinion how far the ecclesiastical law might proceed.

Thus this Lewis, and Dr. Hammond, another civilian, gave in the sense of the canon law under three articles :—

*The opinion
of several
judges and
civilians
touching the
extent of the
ecclesiastical
commission.*

I. That the bishop, but no other inferior judge, may punish any person, ecclesiastical or lay, by a pecuniary mulct for any ecclesiastical crime or offence, especially if he perceives the party is more afraid of such a penalty than of the Church censures.

II. By the ecclesiastical law, the ordinary may set a pecuniary punishment upon such as absent themselves from divine service without reasonable excuse, especially when this absence proceeds from contempt.

III. Some canonists affirm, a bishop may make an ordinance that an excommunicated person shall pay ten pounds for every month he stands excommunicated out of contempt.

560.

Life of
Archbishop
Grindal,
232, 233.

From hence they concluded, that recusants might be punished in the pocket by virtue of the ecclesiastical law ; and the next consequence, as the master of the rolls drew it, was, that her majesty's commissioners might execute that law by authority of their commission ; and that this was the opinion of the judges, and others learned in the law. Those who appeared at the conference, and concurred in this resolution, were the chief justice Dyer, justice Southcoate, justice Manwood, justice Mounson, Dr. Lewis, the attorney-general, and the solicitor-general.

The six months of the archbishop's sequestration being now

expired, the lord treasurer sent him a letter by Goodman, dean of Westminster, to acquaint him in what manner the Star-chamber would proceed farther against him: he likewise sent him some directions for disentangling himself. And here he advised the archbishop to declare his approbation of the queen's proceedings in suppressing prophesyings: to own himself sorry for his incomppliance; to make a general acknowledgment of his fault, and beg the queen's pardon. ELIZABETH.

The archbishop, not conscious of any crime, refused to betray his innocence, and give in to so absolute a submission. However, being willing to go as far as he could towards the queen's satisfaction, he sent a letter to the lords of the Star-chamber, to intercede in his behalf. It runs thus:

"To the Right Honourable the Lords of her Majesty's Privy-Council in the Star-Chamber." Archbishop
Grindal's
letter to the
lords of the
Star-chamber.

"Right honourable, and my singular good lords: I cannot deny but that I have been commanded, both by the queen's majesty herself, and also by divers of your honourable lordships in her name, to suppress all those exercises within my province, that are commonly called prophecies. But I do protest before God, the Judge of all hearts, that I did not of any stubbornness or wilfulness refuse to accomplish the same, but only upon conscience. For that I found such kind of exercise set down in the Holy Scriptures, and the use of the same to have continued in the primitive Church; and was persuaded that (the abuses being reformed, which I always offered myself ready to labour in) the said exercises might yet serve to the great profit of the Church, and feared that the utter suppressing of them would breed offence; and therefore was a most humble suitor unto her majesty, that I might not be made the chief instrument in suppressing the same: yet, not prejudicing or condemning any, that in respect of policy, or otherwise, should be of contrary judgment; or being of authority, should suppress them. For I know right well, that there be some things of that nature, wherein divers men may be of divers opinions, and abound in their own sense, (being not repugnant to the analogy of faith) without any prejudice of their salvation, or any prejudice of either to other. Notwithstanding, howsoever others, being otherwise persuaded, might safely do it, yet I thought it not safe for me (being so persuaded in mind) to be the doer of

GRINDAL that whereof mine own heart and conscience would condemn
 Abp. Cant. me.

“ And whereas I have sustained a restraint of my liberty, and sequestration of my jurisdiction, now by the space of six months, I am so far from repining thereat, or thinking myself injuriously or hardly dealt withal therein at her majesty’s hands, that I do thankfully embrace, and frankly with all humility acknowledge her princely, gracious, and rare clemency towards me: who having authority and power to have used greater and sharper severity against me, and for good policy and example, thinking it so expedient, hath notwithstanding dealt so mercifully, mildly, and gently with me.

“ But the greatest grief that ever I had, or have, is the loss of her majesty’s favour, and the sustaining of the displeasure of so gracious a sovereign; by whom the Church and realm of England hath been so long and so happily governed. And by whom myself, privately and specially above other subjects, have received so many and so great benefits above all my deserving. For the recovery of whose gracious favour, I most humbly beseech your lordships to be a means to her majesty for me. The which obtained, I shall esteem far above all worldly benefits whatsoever. And I protest here, before God and your honours, that not only my dutiful and humble obedience to her majesty shall be such as she shall have no cause to repent of her gracious goodness and clemency shown unto me: but also, that by most fervent, hearty and daily prayer, as I have done hitherto, so I will continue, according to my bounden duty, to make most earnest suit unto Almighty God for the long preservation of her majesty’s most happy reign, to the unspeakable benefit of the Church and realm of England¹.

“ EDM. CANTUAR.”

This letter being not resigning enough to satisfy the queen, the sequestration continued.

Melvil’s project for a farther reformation in Scotland had now gained ground: insomuch, that at the next assembly held in the year 1578, this gentleman was chosen moderator. Having raised himself to this ascendant, his party began to open their design, and strike more directly at the order of

¹ Elizabeth thought that the moral responsibility of wrong commands lies with the monarch, and that ecclesiastical officers are bound to obey all royal orders; just as by martial law all subalterns are bound by the injunctions of the general.

Nov. 29,
1577.

Cotton
Library,
Cleop. vi.
F. 11.
fol. 289.

April 24.

bishops. Thus at the beginning of the assembly it was decreed, "That bishops, and all others bearing ecclesiastical functions, should be called by their own names, or brethren." That is, they would not endure the style of lord bishops. This levelling language was founded on a misinterpretation of two texts in St. Matthew and St. Luke.

ELIZABETH.

MS. Acts of the Assembly.

Math. xx.

25.

Luke xxii.

25.

The progress of Presbyterianism in the general assemblies.

MS. Acts.

The next step was somewhat bolder: for it was farther ordained, "That forasmuch as there is great corruption in the state of bishops, as at present constituted in this realm, the assembly, being desirous to provide some check to such disorders, has ordained that no bishop shall be elected or admitted before the next general assembly:" pursuant to this order, "All ministers and chapters are prohibited to proceed to the election of any bishop, under the penalty of perpetual deprivation." It was likewise resolved, that this business should be proposed for farther consideration at the next assembly.

Idem.

To smooth the way for the design, and draw a farther odium upon episcopacy, they appointed a general fast: the reason assigned for this humiliation is said "to be the corruption of all estates: and the general coldness and indifferency of the professors: and that God would put it in the king's heart, and the hearts of the estates of the parliament, to establish such a policy and discipline in the Kirk, as is craved in the Word of God." The second book of discipline, with which they had lately acquainted the regent, was now under debate in the Kirk.

Idem.

The next general assembly met at Stirling, July the 11th. And here it is plain the Presbyterian interest grew stronger upon the progress. For now the members came to a unanimous resolution, that the act of the last assembly forbidding the election of bishops, should be "extended to all time coming, till the corruptions in the estate of bishops be wholly removed." It was likewise ordained, that all bishops now in being should submit themselves to the general assembly for discipline and reformation: and in case they refused to comply with this order, they were to be excommunicated.

561.

Idem.

But before I proceed to the second book of discipline now upon the anvil, it may not be improper to give a farther description of the old one. And here I shall begin with a brief account of the form of divine service, commonly called Knox's Liturgy. This public form begins with a confession, but

A brief account of Knox's Liturgy.

GRINDAL
Abp. Cant.

*The whole
form and
discipline of
prayers
according to
the Church of
Scotland.*

nothing of absolution follows. There are three prayers composed for this purpose. The second was to be used on Wednesdays, which was a day appointed for Common Prayer. The third was to be used before the sermon. After this the people sung a Psalm: when this was done, the minister made an extempore prayer: after the sermon, a prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church follows, concluding with the Lord's Prayer: after this there is a short Collect for perseverance, and increase of faith, of which the congregation makes a confession in the rehearsal of the Apostles' Creed. When the people have sung another Psalm, the minister pronounces the blessing in the plural number, thus, "the Lord bless us, and save us," &c. "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with us all," &c.

But here the rubric gives a discretionary latitude in these words: "It shall not be necessary for the minister daily to repeat all these things before-mentioned; but beginning with some manner of confession, to proceed to the sermon: which ended, he either useth the prayer for all estates before-mentioned, or else prayeth, as the Spirit of God shall move his heart: framing the same according to the time and matter which he hath treated of."

Id. p. 47.

The next thing I shall mention, is a thanksgiving for the expulsion of the French. And here there is a very acknowledging passage for queen Elizabeth's putting them in a condition to oblige the French forces to quit the kingdom: this was done at the treaty at Leith in the year 1560.

The confession of faith used in the English congregation at Geneva was now received by the Church of Scotland. Under the article of the Catholic Church they make this society partly invisible, and only known to God, "who of the lost sons of Adam, has ordained some as vessels of wrath to damnation, and has chosen others as vessels of his mercy to be saved."

As to that part of the Church which is visible, they distinguish it by three marks:

First, by receiving the word of God contained in the Old and New Testament.

Their second note is the administration of the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper.

The third mark is ecclesiastical discipline, which consists in admonition and correction.

Besides this ecclesiastical discipline, they own a politic magistrate belongs to this visible Church. But by making the civil magistrate essential to a Church, they must deny there was any such society till the reign of Constantine the Great. What share they allow the chief magistrate in ecclesiastical matters, appears by their arguing from the precedents of Moses, Hezekiah, Josiah, and other princes under the Old Testament, who, as they observed, purged the Church of God from superstition and idolatry. From hence they infer, that the defence of Christ's Church against all idolaters and heretics, is part of the office of a Christian magistrate.

To proceed, and add something to what has been already related concerning the election of a superintendent. "The people were demanded whether they would make choice of the person proposed?" Upon their answering in the affirmative, the next question was, "Whether they would honour and obey him as Christ's minister, and comfort and assist him in every thing pertaining to his charge?" To this they were to answer, "We will; and do promise him such obedience as becomes the sheep to give their pastor, so long as he remains faithful in his office." After several questions put to the electors and superintendent, a prayer follows for invoking the blessing of God upon the person elected: this prayer is pronounced by the preacher of the ordination sermon. After this, the rest of the ministers, with the elders of that Church, take the person elected by the hand: then the principal minister gives him his benediction; and to conclude the solemnity, reads him an exhortation to integrity and diligence, to humility, fortitude, and compassion to the poor. The form for electing and constituting superintendents, and other inferior ministers, is the same. Id. p. 68.

The discipline comes next; and here the ministers are not to pass over any crime or misbehaviour without admonition or punishment. Amongst the list of the criminals, besides those of a blacker guilt, they mention drunkards, slanderers, usurers, covetous persons, libertines, and those who are disobedient to parents or governors.

When the person offending continues obstinate, and after three admonitions refuses to make satisfaction, they proceed to excommunication. The substance of the sentence runs in these words:

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*The form of
excommunication.*

“ O Lord Jesu Christ, thy expressed word is our assurance, and therefore, in boldness of the same, here in thy name, and at the commandment of this thy present congregation, we cut off, seclude, and excommunicate from thy body, and from our society, N. as a proud contemner, and slanderous person, and a member for the present, altogether corrupted, and pernicious to the body. And this his sin (albeit with sorrow of our hearts) by virtue of our ministry, we bind and pronounce the same to be bound, in heaven and earth. We farther give over, into the hands and power of the devil, the said N. to the destruction of his flesh; straitly charging all that profess the Lord Jesus, to whose knowledge this our sentence shall come, to repute and hold the said N. accursed and unworthy of the familiar society of Christians; declaring unto all men, that such as hereafter (before his repentance) shall haunt, or familiarly accompany him, are partakers of his impiety, and subject to the like condemnation.

“ This our sentence, O Lord Jesus, pronounced in thy name, and at thy commandment, we humbly beseech thee to ratify even according to thy promise.”

Then they proceed to a prayer for the repentance of the person excommunicated.

*The manner
of penance.*

Those who recover from their obstinacy, cannot be readmitted to communion till they have stood at least three Sundays at the church-door. After this term, and satisfaction made, some of the elders convey him to the place appointed for penitents, where he is to stand till the sermon is over, in the same habit in which he made his satisfaction. To give a more particular instance as to the manner of penance: a person guilty of murder is obliged to stand three Sundays at the church-door, uncovered and barefoot, and in a poor neglected dress. He is likewise obliged to hold the weapon with which he committed the murder, or one like it, bloody in his hand: and then make his confession in a mortifying form there prescribed. The form of absolution is as follows:

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Id. p. 85.

*The form of
absolution.*

“ In the name and authority of Jesus Christ, I, the minister of his blessed Evangel, with consent of the whole ministry and Church, absolve thee N. from the sentence of excommunication, from the sin by thee committed, and from all censures laid against thee for the same heretofore, according to thy re-

penitance; and pronounce thy sin to be loosed in heaven, and thee to be received again, to the society of Jesus Christ, to his body the Church, to the participation of his sacraments, and finally to the fruition of all his benefits, in the name of God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. So be it.”

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Id. p. 116.

The compiler of this Liturgy, and the time of its public approbation, are mentioned at the end in these words.

“This book is thought necessary and profitable for the Church, and commanded to be printed by the general assembly. Set forth by John Knox, minister; and signed by us, whose names follow, as we are appointed by the said general assembly, 1567.”

Id. p. 117.

“ JOHN WILLOCK.	DAVID LINDESAY.
MR. JOHN CRAIG.	GULIELMUS CHRISTISONUS.
ROBERT PONT.	JAMES CRAIG,” &c.
JOHN ROW.	

The reader may observe, there is mention made of Common Prayer in this Liturgy. This in Knox's History is called the “Book of Common Prayer,” and ordered to be read on Sundays and other festival-days in the parish churches. It was part of this order that the lessons of the Old and New Testament were likewise to be read, pursuant to the direction of the calendar. This provision was made by the lords of the association in the latter end of the year 1557, or, as Spotswood reckons it, in the beginning of the next year. By the way, this public office for divine worship was ordered to be read before Knox came from Geneva. It is likewise mentioned in Knox's Liturgy as a form then in use, and prior to that composition; which was not drawn up till several years after Knox's return into Scotland. This book of Common Prayer therefore enjoined by the lords of the congregation, and now mentioned in Knox's form, must be either the book of Common Prayer used in the Church of England, or the Geneva Liturgy: for as for any third, it is not so much as pretended for those times. Now, that this book was not the Geneva Liturgy, may be inferred:

History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland, p. 112. The Common Prayer mentioned in Knox's Liturgy the English Common Prayer-book.

First, from the incredibility of so many copies translated into the Scotch language.

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Secondly, in the Genevian form there is no rubric for the observation of any other holidays, excepting Sundays. Neither is there any direction in the Scotch Genevian form for reading the lessons of the Old and New Testament, excepting in the treatise of fasting, which was not drawn up by the assembly till the year 1565. It is true, here are Psalms appointed, and lessons out of the Old Testament, but nothing out of the New. But in no other part of this Scotch Genevian Liturgy is there the least mention of lessons: from whence it is evident that the book appointed to be read by the lords of the congregation was not the Genevian Liturgy.

Knox's
Liturgy,
p. 126. 171,
172.

Farther, I have already observed from Buchanan, that the Scotch 'prescribed the worship and rites of the Church of England, in order to form an alliance with that nation, for the expulsion of the French.

Spotswood,
p. 153.

Fourthly. By the First Book of Discipline, it appears that the order of Geneva, as it is called, was then only used in some churches. Now this First Book of Discipline was not drawn till the year 1560, which was more than two years posterior to the order of the associated lords for reading the Book of Common Prayer in all parishes of the realm. In short, the Geneva form had no face of a public establishment till the general assembly held at Edinburgh, December 25, 1562. For then, and not before, it was ordained that one uniform order should be observed in the administration of the sacraments, in the solemnities of marriages, and at burials. And that all these ceremonies should be regulated by the Kirk of Geneva.

MS. Acts of
the Assem-
bly, fol. 35.

Thus the Geneva Liturgy was making its way in Scotland. But it seems this provision was not sufficient to give it a general prevalence, and discharge the English service. For, at a general assembly held at Edinburgh, December 25, 1564, it is ordained, "That every minister, exhorter, and reader, should have one of the psalm books lately printed at Edinburgh, and use the order therein contained in prayers, marriage, and administration of the sacrament." Thus, notwithstanding Knox's warm censure of the English Common Prayer, he found no small difficulty in setting it aside. For, from what has been already observed, it is plain the English Liturgy continued seven years, at least, with the Scotch Reformation; that is, from December 1557, to the same month 1564. I shall conclude this subject with the testimony of the compilers of the

*The English
Liturgy used
publicly in
Scotland for
several
years.*

Id. fol. 104.

Scottish Liturgy, sent to Edinburgh for the use of that kingdom, in the year 1637: in the preface to this book it is said, “That it was then known that divers years after the Reformation, the Scotch had no other order for Common Prayer, but the English Liturgy.”

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And now, having given the reader a brief account of Knox's Liturgy, I shall return to the project for putting an end to episcopacy, and introducing the second Book of Discipline. This design was now considerably advanced, as may be collected by the hard conditions put upon the bishops at the next general assembly. By the order of this Kirk meeting, the bishops are required “to be ministers or pastors of one flock, to usurp no criminal jurisdiction, not to vote in parliament in the name of the Kirk, without commission from the general assembly. Not to receive the Church revenues for maintaining their ambition and epicurism: that these revenues ought to be distributed amongst a great many pastors, and employed for the support of public schools and the poor: and that the bishops ought to be contented with a moderate proportion. They were likewise required not to insist on the titles of temporal lords, nor engage in civil jurisdiction, nor ‘empire it over particular elderships,’ but be subject to the same; nor take upon them to visit any bounds not committed to them by the Church. And, lastly, if any more corruptions should afterwards be discovered in the state of bishops, they were to consent to a reformation.”

Oct. 24,
1578, at
Edinburgh.

To go on with the affairs of the Church in Scotland. This summer the parliament sat at Stirling: and now Melvil and his party having finished the second Book of Discipline, laid it before the estates for their approbation. The parliament having no leisure to examine it in the house, ordered a committee to treat with the delegates of the assembly. And, in case they came to an agreement upon the heads, the book was to have a legal establishment: how long this matter stuck, will be related afterwards. At present I shall proceed to give the reader this second Book of Discipline, together with the agreement, qualification, or demurring, of the state-committee, to the respective articles. It stands to this substance in Spotswood, transcribed with the marginal notes from the original record.

MS. Acts of
the Assembly.
Fundamental
Charter of Presby-
tery Examined,
p. 261.
July, 1578.

563.

Spotswood's
Hist. p. 289.

GRINDAL
Abp. Cant.

*The second
book of dis-
cipline
drawn by the
Scotch Pres-
byterians.
1. Agreed.*

Heads and Conclusions of the Church: and, first, of the Policy thereof in General, wherein it differs from the Civil.

2. Agreed.

“ 1. The Church of God is sometimes largely taken for all them that profess the Gospel of Jesus Christ; and thus it is a society not only of the godly, but also hypocrites, who make an outward profession of the true religion.

“ 2. Sometimes the Church is taken in a stricter sense, and comprehends only the elect; and sometimes the notion is still more confined, and reaches no farther than those who exercise spiritual functions.

3. Agreed
that the
Church is
sometimes
taken for
them that
exercise the
spiritual
function in
particular
congrega-
tions.

4. Continued
to farther
reasoning;
and when it
is said,
“ This power
floweth
from God to
his Church,”
whether this
should be un-
derstood of
the whole
Church, or
of the office-
bearers, and
whether it
floweth

“ 3. The Church in this last sense has a power of jurisdiction and government, granted by God for the benefit of the whole society.

“ 4. This ecclesiastical power is an authority granted by God the Father, through the mediation of Jesus Christ; it is granted to his Church by the word of God, and is to be executed by those to whom the spiritual government of the Church is committed by lawful calling.

“ 5. This polity and power of the Church is an order or form of spiritual government, exercised by those entrusted with it by the word of God. The grant of it is therefore immediately made to the office-bearer, by whom it is managed for the advantage of the whole body.

“ 6. This power is differently used; for sometimes it is executed mostly by the teachers; sometimes it is managed conjointly by the mutual consent of those that bear office and charge after the form of judgment. The former is called ‘potestas ordinis,’ the other, ‘potestas jurisdictionis.’

“ 7. These two kinds of power have both one ground, and one final cause, but are different in the form and manner of execution, as appears by what our Saviour has delivered in the xvith and xviith of St. Matthew.

“ 8. This ecclesiastical polity and jurisdiction is of a different and distinct nature from that called the civil power; though both the one and the other are derived from God, and tend to the same end.

“ 9. For this power ecclesiastical flows immediately from God, and the Mediator Jesus Christ, and is spiritual; not

mediately or
immediately.
5. Referred
to farther
reasoning.
6. The last
words of the
article are
thought un-
necessary,
and there-
fore to be
deleted.

7. Agreed.

8. Agreed.

9. Say, in-

having any temporal head in the earth, but only Christ, the spiritual King, and Governor of the Church.

" 10. It is a title falsely usurped by Antichrist to call himself the head of the Church, and ought not to be given to any angel or mortal whatever.

" 11. This power and polity of the Church, therefore, should be clearly grounded upon the word of God, and taken from the pure fountains of the Scripture.

" 12. It belongs to kings, princes, and magistrates, to be called lords and dominators over their subjects; but in the spiritual government of the Church, the style of Lord and Master ought to be given to none but Christ. As for those that bear office in the Church, they ought not to usurp dominion, nor be called lords, but ministers, disciples, and servants.

" 13. Notwithstanding, as the ministers and others of the ecclesiastical state are subject to the magistrate civilly, so ought the person of the magistrate be subject to the Church spiritually, and in ecclesiastical government.

" 14. The exercise of both these jurisdictions cannot ordinarily be united in one person.

" 15. The civil power is called the power of the sword; the other the power of the keys.

" 16. The civil power should command the spiritual to perform their office according to the word of God; the spiritual rulers are to require the Christian magistrate to administer justice, to maintain the liberty of the Church, and the public repose.

" 17. The magistrate commands in things external for promoting the public tranquillity; but the minister manages external things only with reference to conscience.

" The 18th is no more than an explication of the 17th, and stands referred in the margin.

" 19. The civil magistrate gets obedience by the sword, and other external means: but the minister by the spiritual sword, and spiritual means.

" 20. The magistrate ought neither to preach, administer the sacraments, nor execute the censures of the Church, nor yet prescribe any rule how it should be done, but command the minister to observe the rule prescribed in the word, and punish transgressors by civil means. The minister on the other side

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dead thereof.
" For this power is spiritual, not having, —" deleting the other words.
10. Agreed.
11. Agreed.

12. Agreed, changing these words, " They should not be called lords over their flock."

13. Change the last words, " ecclesiastical government," for " ecclesiastical discipline."

14. Referred to further reasoning when the order of bishops shall be discussed.

15. Referred till they come to the attribution of the power.

16. Agreed.

17. Defer this to be resolved with the next.

18. Analogous.

19. Here is nothing.

20. Agreed, that neither ought the magistrate preach nor execute the censures of the Church.

GRINDAL exercises not the civil jurisdiction, but teaches the magistrate how it should be exercised according to the word.

Abp. Cant. which is to be understood of ex-communication, and referreth the second part of this article to further reasoning. It is likewise agreed, that the magistrate ought not to administer the sacraments.
21. Referred.
22. Referred.

" 21. The magistrate ought to assist, maintain, and fortify the jurisdiction of the Church; the ministers should assist their princes in all things agreeable to the word, provided they neglect not their charge by involving themselves in civil affairs.

" 22. Finally, as ministers are subject to the judgment and punishment of magistrates in external things, if they offend; so ought the magistrates to submit themselves to the discipline of the Church, if they transgress in matters of conscience and religion.

" CHAPTER II.—*Of the Parts or Polity of the Church, and Persons or Office-bearers to whom the Administration is committed.*

1. *The name of the Church in this article is taken for the Church in the first signification, to wit, for the whole Church. Agreed with the rest of the articles.*
2. Referred.
3. Referred.
564.

" 1. In the polity of the Church some are appointed to be rulers, and the rest to obey, according to God's word, and the inspiration of his Spirit, always under one Head and Chief Governor, Jesus Christ.

" 2. The whole polity of the Church consists chiefly in these three things, doctrine, discipline, and distribution; under doctrine, the administration of the holy sacraments is comprehended.

" 3. In consequence of this division, there are three kinds of officers in the Church; that is to say, ministers or preachers, elders or governors, and deacons or distributors; and all these may be ranged under the general denomination of ministers of the Church.

4. Referred. " 4. Notwithstanding Jesus Christ is the only King, High-priest, and Head of the Church, yet he makes use of the ministry of men as necessary officers in his government.

5. Referred. " The 5th article proves the 4th by instances from the Scripture, both before the law, under the law, and under the Gospel. These men are said to be endowed with the gifts of the Holy Spirit, and raised up for the government of the Church.

6. Referred. " 6. And to prevent all pretences for tyranny, it is God Almighty's pleasure that these officers should govern with

mutual consent of brethren, with parity of power, and every one within the compass of their respective functions. ELIZABETH.

“ 7. In the New Testament under the Gospel he hath used the ministry of the apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and doctors, in the administration of the word; the eldership for good order and administration of discipline, the deaconship to have the care of ecclesiastical goods. 7. Referred.

“ 8. Some of these ecclesiastical functions are ordinary, some extraordinary, or temporary. Under this latter head the apostles, prophets, and evangelists are to be reckoned: these are not perpetual, but have now ceased in the Church: notwithstanding it may please God to revive them again for some time upon extraordinary occasions. 8. Referred.

“ 9. There are four ordinary offices or functions in the Church of God; the pastor, minister or bishop, the doctor, the presbyter or elder, and the deacon. 9. Referred.

“ 10. As these offices are perpetual, so no other ought to be admitted in the Church of God. From whence it follows, 10. Referred.

“ 11. That all ambitious titles invented in the kingdom of Antichrist, and his usurped hierarchy, and which are none of these four sorts of offices, ought to be rejected. 11. Referred.

“ CHAPTER III.—*How the Persons that bear Ecclesiastical Functions are to be admitted to their offices.*

“ In the first place they make a calling to this function necessary: this calling they define a lawful way for the promoting qualified persons to any special office in the Church of God. There are two sorts of callings: one by immediate and extraordinary mission; and thus the apostles and prophets were called by God Almighty; but where a Church is fully formed and settled, this immediate designation is not to be expected. The ordinary calling requires an approbation from men, according to God's Word, and the order established in the Church. However, none ought to presume upon any ecclesiastical office unless his conscience declares for his integrity, and prompts him to it. This ordinary calling consists of election and ordination: election is the appointing a person to a vacancy. The choice is to be made by the suffrages of the eldership, together with the consent of the congregation where the person is to officiate.”

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This last article is referred ; but all the rest of the chapter, both precedent and subsequent, is agreed by the state-committee.

“ The general qualifications required in those promoted to the pastoral office are orthodoxy and a regularity of manners.

“ Ordination is the separation and sanctifying of the person appointed by God and his Church. The ceremonies of ordination are fasting, prayer, and imposition of hands by the eldership. The persons ordained are to remember that the extent of their function is limited by God’s word. From whence, as they proceed, it follows, they are to assume no titles but what the Scripture gives them ; and distinguish not themselves by any marks of dignity or secular honour. And lastly, that all these office-bearers should be tied to their particular flocks, and reside with them.

“ CHAPTER IV.—*Of the Office-bearers, and first of the Pastors and Ministers.**

“ Pastors, bishops, or ministers are those who are appointed to particular congregations, which they are to govern by the word of God. Thus, for this reason, they are sometimes called pastors, because they feed their congregation, sometimes bishops, because they oversee and guard their flock ; sometimes ministers, upon the score of their service and office ; and sometimes presbyters or seniors in regard of the gravity and solemnity of behaviour, for which they ought to be remarkable. No person ought to be chosen into the ministry without the assignment of a particular congregation : no man ought to usurp this office without lawful calling. Those who are duly elected, and have undertaken the ministerial office, are not allowed the liberty to return to a secular life ; and therefore, in case they desert their function, they are to be excommunicated. No pastor is to have the liberty of quitting his congregation without the permission of the provincial assembly. Preaching and administration of the sacraments is the pastor’s business. He is likewise to pray for the people, and pronounce the blessing. He is to inspect the behaviour of his flock, that he may be the better directed in his exhortations and reproof. And after lawful proceedings of the eldership, it is the minis-

Referred.

ter's function to pronounce the sentence of binding and loosing pursuant to the power of the keys granted the Church.

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After lawful proceeding.

"It belongs to him likewise, after lawful proceeding in the matter by the eldership, to solemnize marriage. And lastly, all public denunciations, as they call them, that are made in the Church concerning ecclesiastical affairs, belong to the minister's office: for he is the messenger and herald betwixt God and the people in all these affairs."

The articles of this chapter are all agreed by the state-committee, excepting the marginal references, which will likewise be the method in all those that follow.

"CHAPTER V.—*Of Doctors and their Offices, and of Schools.*

"One of the two ordinary and perpetual functions of those that labour in the word is the office of the doctor, who may also come under the denomination of prophet, bishop, elder, and catechiser. His business is to expound the Scriptures without any application to the audience. The design of his function is to instruct the faithful in sound doctrine, to preserve the true sense of the Gospel, and prevent the growth of ignorance and error: and thus he stands distinguished from the pastor in qualifications and management; for the doctor's function is to explain the mysteries of faith without rhetoric and amplification: this is supposed to be his talent. But the pastor has the gift of wisdom, as they speak: this he is to employ in a more pathetic and affecting way. He is to apply to the passions in order to gain the heart, and command the practice. Under the name and office of doctors, schools, colleges, and universities are comprehended. The doctor being an elder, ought to assist the pastor in the government of the Church: his concurrence with the elders, his brethren, is likewise requisite. The reason is, because the interpretation of the Scripture, which is the only judge in ecclesiastical matters, is committed to his charge. But preaching, administering the sacraments, and the solemnities of marriage, are none of the doctor's business, unless he has the pastoral office annexed to his character. And lastly, notwithstanding this distinction, the pastor may be allowed to teach in schools.

This whole chapter is referred to farther reasoning.

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“ CHAPTER VI.—*The Elders and their Office.*”

“ The word ‘ elder,’ in Scripture, is sometimes attributed to age, and sometimes to office ; and, when it imports an office, it is sometimes taken in a large signification, and comprehends pastors and doctors, no less than those who are called seniors or elders. We call those elders whom the Apostle calls presidents or governors. The office is always necessary, and, by consequence, perpetual, and is a spiritual function. Elders, lawfully called, and endowed with proper qualifications, must not have the liberty to quit their office. However, the election of elders, in certain congregations, may be carried to such a number, that there may be enough to officiate by turns, and relieve each other. And, for this, the courses of the Levites in the business of the temple may serve for a precedent.

The perpetuity of elders referred to farther deliberation.

“ The number of elders in every congregation ought to be proportioned to the extent of the precincts and the necessities of the people. It is not necessary that all elders should be teachers or doctors, though this advantage of character ought to be aimed at¹.

Referred.

“ How they ought to be qualified is to be referred to the express declaration of the Scriptures, and the canons, as they call them, set down by the Apostle St. Paul.

Referred.

“ Their business, as well singly as in conjunction, is to oversee the behaviour of their charge : that neither misbelief nor immorality comes in upon them. It is part of the function of these elders to assist the pastor in visiting the sick, and in examining those that come to the Lord’s table. They are to take care the acts of the respective assembly are duly executed : they must admonish all people of their duties, pursuant to the Scripture directions ; and those things they find too stubborn for private correction, they must delate to the eldership or presbytery. And, lastly, their principal business is to constitute assemblies, with the pastors and doctors for the execution of discipline ; and to these assemblies all persons residing within the precinct are obliged to submit their conduct.

¹ The Scotch reformers seem very properly to have distinguished between the character and office of priest and presbyter. These two titles, though often confounded, have no identity of etymology, or signification, whatsoever, but pertain to different spheres of Church government.—Vide Suicer’s Thesaurus.

“ CHAPTER VII.—*Of Elderships and Assemblies, and of Discipline.*

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“ Elderships are generally constituted of pastors, doctors, and those commonly called elders, ‘that labour not in the word and doctrine.’ Assemblies may be ranged under a four-fold division: they either represent a particular congregation, a province, a whole nation, or several Christian kingdoms and governments. All ecclesiastical assemblies have authority to meet in a lawful way for treating ecclesiastical matters. To be more particular: they have power to fix the circumstances of time and place; and thus every assembly may appoint the when and the where for the meeting of the next. In all assemblies, a moderator should be chosen by the consent of the members. His function is to propose business, to collect the votes of the house, and keep good order. And here he is to be particularly careful that the debates turn only upon ecclesiastical affairs; that the assembly makes no encroachment upon the state, nor reaches into any thing belonging to civil jurisdiction. Every assembly has authority to delegate one or more of their members to visit their precinct, and examine the conduct of the ministers and people.

Agreed, that synods be kept twice in a-year by him who has the charge of visitations. General assemblies once yearly, his majesty's authority being interposed, and from the general assembly, noblemen, and such as please to come, shall not be excluded, provided that fifteen only, with his majesty's commissioner, have voice therein.

“ The visitation of Churches is not an ordinary ecclesiastical office, confined to a single person,—neither is it necessary for a visitor to be called a bishop,—neither is this office to continue always in the hands of the same person: on the contrary, it is within the power of the eldership to employ what persons they please, ‘pro re nata.’ The great end of all assemblies is, first, to secure the doctrines of Christianity from error and alloy; and, in the next place, to maintain the Church in a condition of decency and good order. And thus, for the preserving of order, assemblies may make constitutions for regulating the conduct of all the faithful. They have likewise power to abrogate and annul all ordinances and ecclesiastical decrees, which prove unserviceable, which do not correspond with the time, or are abused by the people. The entire execution of discipline, for contempt and other offences, is lodged in their hands.”

Referred to the head of bishops, and their reformation.

In spiritual things only.

Agreed, that as they make acts in spiritual things, so they may alter the same as the necessity of time requires.

This article is referred, and so is the whole remainder of this chapter. To go on with Andrew Melvil, and the rest of his party, in this “Book of Discipline:”—

“ The first kind of assemblies,” say they, “ though within

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particular congregations, exercise the authority and jurisdiction of the Church with mutual consent: and, for this reason, they are sometimes called the Church.

566.

“Notwithstanding the distinction of elders of particular congregations, it is not meant that every parish-church can have a particular eldership, especially to Landwart; but we conceive three or four parishes, generally speaking, may have an eldership or presbytery common to them all. And, for the right constituting this ecclesiastical court of judicature, it will be requisite to elect some of the elders out of every particular congregation or parish. By this means the members will be better qualified to give information of what is amiss; and, over and above, the power will be more balanced to general satisfaction. That these assemblies should be thus formed, we gather,” say they, “from the practice of the primitive Church, ‘where elders, or colleges of seniors, were constituted in cities and famous places.’”

This assertion has no countenance from antiquity: it is not supported with so much as any single instance from the primitive Church. To go on with them.

“It belongs to these particular elderships to see the word of God orthodoxly preached within their bounds, the sacraments rightly administered, discipline maintained, and the revenues of the Church fairly distributed. It belongs to this presbytery to execute the orders made by provincial, national, or general assemblies. It is likewise part of their authority to make constitutions for decency and order within their own churches, and to avoid such regulations as they find prejudicial. But then this power is not without limitation; for they are not allowed to alter any provisions made by provincial or general assemblies; nor to make any new regulations till the scheme has been transmitted to the provincial assembly.

“Farther, these particular elderships or presbyteries, have power to excommunicate the obstinate and unrelenting: the election and deposing of those who bear ecclesiastical offices belong to this assembly so far as their bounds reach.”

And here amongst the crimes which deserve deposing or degradation, simony, drunkenness, usury, and dancing, are reckoned.

“Other churches are to be certified of the persons deposed, that they may not be received to the exercise of their function.

Those who are disabled by age or accident are to continue in the respect of their character, and allowed a competent maintenance.

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“Provincial assemblies are lawful conventions of the pastors, doctors, and elders, of the province: they have power to review the decisions of particular assemblies, and rectify what is amiss: they have likewise power to depose the office-bearers, as they call them, of their province. And generally these assemblies have the whole power of the particular elderships out of which they are elected.

“A national or general assembly is a lawful convention of the whole Church of the realm. None are obliged to repair to this assembly for voting, but only ecclesiastical persons; and the number even of these is to be fixed by the same assembly. However, secular persons have the liberty of coming thither: they are allowed to propose business, to hear the proceedings, and argue upon debates; but all this without the privilege of a decisive voice.

“This general assembly has a power to re-examine the decrees of provincial assemblies, and make regulations for the whole Church. They are likewise to take particular care to keep the spiritual and civil jurisdiction at a proper distance; and that they do not interfere and clash with each other.”

As to the fourth division of assemblies consisting of several nations, they just touch upon the description, as having no occasion to enlarge upon it.

“CHAPTER VIII.—*Of Deacons, and their Office.*”

“Deacons are to be elected in the same method as the rest of the spiritual officers. Their business is to receive the revenues of the Church, and distribute them pursuant to the direction of the presbyteries or elderships.

The chapter of deacons, and patrimony of the Church, is thought fit to be postponed till the head of the corruptions is argued.

CHAPTER IX.—*Of the Patrimony of the Church, and the distribution of it.*

“By the patrimony of the Church they understand every thing that either by universal consent, or the custom of Christian countries, has or shall be granted to the public use or benefit of the Church. And thus under the patrimony of the Church they comprehend all things dedicated to the service of

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God, whether lands, tenements, rents, or oblations; and in short, all manner of endowments settled by kings, princes, or any other persons. And thus tithes, mansees, and glebes, are likewise comprehended, which by common law, and universal custom, are part of the Church's estate. To make illegal seizures of any part of this patrimony, and transfer it to profane or secular uses, is detestable sacrilege.

"The ancient canons distributed the patrimony of the Church into four parts: one part of this was assigned to the pastor, as they call him, for maintenance and hospitality; a second division was allowed to the elders, deacons, and the whole clergy; a third share was set apart for the provision of the poor; and the fourth was to be spent upon the reparation of the churches, and other incidental exigencies. To this fourfold division they add schools, and schoolmasters, who are to be included in the body of the clergy, and supported from the consecrated revenues. And to these, they subjoin the clerks of assemblies, the agents for the Church, the takers up of psalms, and other necessary officers."

Can. Apost.
Can. 38 and
41.

By the way, the pastor they mention, who by the ancient canons was to have a fourth part assigned him, was plainly the bishop, as distinguished from the priests, or second order. The oblations of the faithful were likewise lodged with him: and in short, it was the bishop who had the disposal of the patrimony of the Church. But to mark all their deviations from the primitive discipline and government would be too tedious an undertaking, and somewhat foreign to this work.

"CHAPTER X.—*Of the Offices of a Christian Magistrate in the Church.*

For this whole chapter, it is thought meet that an article be presented to his majesty and estates, craving a punishment to be appointed for those that put violent

"All Christian kings and magistrates are in a more especial manner bound to advance the kingdom of Jesus Christ. For instance, it is part of the office of a Christian magistrate to reinforce the decrees of the Church, and assist her with his authority; to encourage and support the ministry; to prevent the incursions of false teachers, and take care that the preferments are not misspent by idle and insignificant people; to maintain discipline, and correct those with corporal or pecuniary punishments who disregard the spiritual censures: and all this without confounding the jurisdiction of Church and

State. To preserve the patrimony of the Church from violence and sacrilege: to make laws for the benefit of this spiritual society without stretching his prerogative too far, or concerning himself with functions purely ecclesiastical; such as preaching, administration of the sacraments, pronouncing or executing in Church discipline, or seizing any part of the power of the keys which our Saviour has granted to his apostles, and their successors.

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hands on ministers, and likewise to desire such immunities and privileges to them as shall be thought convenient.

“Although when Churches are corrupted, godly kings and princes sometimes interpose their authority, place ministers, recover things from disorder, and restore the true service of God; and for this they have the precedent of some godly kings and emperors, both under the Jewish and Christian state: notwithstanding this, where the ministry of the Church is once well constituted, and those that officiate manage fairly and faithfully, all godly princes and magistrates ‘ought to hear and obey their voice, and reverence the majesty of God speaking by them.’”

This last article was contrived to save some appearances: but upon examination it will be found short of the purpose. For if the civil magistrate is judge of the good constitution of the Church, and of the behaviour of the ecclesiastics, then he may interpose at discretion, alter the establishment, and displace the ministers as often as he pleases. But if the privilege of judging upon the state and condition of her own body belongs to the Church, then the prince cannot act till the Church gives the signal; nor proceed any farther than the governors of this spiritual society shall direct.

The title of the eleventh chapter stands thus:

“CHAPTER XI.—*Of the present abuses remaining in the Church, which are desired to be reformed.*”

“They begin with declaring against abbots, priors, prioresses, commendators, &c. All which names and offices they desire may be suppressed and abolished.”

From whence it follows, that notwithstanding the monasteries were pulled down and defaced, yet the distinctions and privileges of the persons were still continued.

Their next remonstrance is pointed against the “titles and offices of deans, archdeacons, chanters, subchanters, treasurers,

GRINDAL **Abp. Cant.** chancellors," &c. The rest of their complaint in this chapter is levelled against the superiority of bishops: but here, since they do but repeat some of their former assertions, I shall pass most of it over. But, notwithstanding their declaiming against the secular employment of bishops, they make no scruple to affirm, "That ministers, when required, may, and ought to assist their princes in council, parliament, or out of council."

The twelfth chapter goes upon the same subject of reformation: I shall mention only some of the heads.

"They would have doctors fixed in the universities and other places for explaining the Scriptures, and teaching the rudiments of religion: and this with a settled maintenance proportioned to their character. That the liberty of national assemblies should be preserved. That the Church should be unmolested in her privilege of appointing time and place for this national meeting: and that all persons, as well magistrates as private persons, should acquiesce in their decision of causes ecclesiastical, without making appeal to any civil judicature."

Agreed to the general. As to the election of ecclesiastics, they desire "none may be forced upon any congregation, either by the prince or subject, without the choice and assent of the people where the minister is to preside."

Referred. And, being sensible of the inconsistency of patronages with this method, they desire all those that "truly fear God to consider, that patronages and benefices have no foundation in the word of God: so far from any warrant from thence, that they stand condemned by the tenour of the Scriptures, and the practice recommended there: they are utterly subversive of the liberty of elections, and ought not to be endured under the Reformation: and therefore all those who are willing to be governed by the direction of the Holy Scriptures, and desire the advancement of our Saviour's kingdom, are obliged to receive the polity, or ecclesiastical regulations, held forth in the inspired writings: for, without resigning in this point, their profession of Christianity is to no purpose.

To be sought of the parliament. "But as to other patronages of benefices, not having *curam animarum*, such as chaplainries, prebendaries, &c. endowed with lands or annual rents, they are contented the nomination to these preferments may go in the customary method: these may be reserved to their respective patrons, and disposed of by them to men of learning, as they fall void."

And to mention but one article more, they desire "that none but the deacons may receive the profits and rents belonging to the Church : and that all other collectors of these revenues, employed either by the prince, or any other person, may be discharged."

The Second Book of Discipline, though laid before parliament by Andrew Melvil and some of his party, yet it did not pass so much as the general assembly till three years forwards, as will be farther observed afterwards. As to the scheme, a good part of it is transcribed from Beza's tract, "*De triplici Episcopatu*," and his answer to the questions proposed to him by the lord Glamis. To give the reader some of Beza's assertions upon this argument.

This Genevian minister is positive for the divine right of ruling elders. He affirms that bishops engross the power of ordination, without any warrant from the Holy Scripture. That all ecclesiastical functions are principally founded upon popular election ; that this election, and not ordination or imposition of hands, makes pastors or bishops. That imposition of hands means nothing farther than putting them in possession of their ministry. But as for the entireness and powers of their character, they come wholly from their election : and therefore, by consequence, it may be said with more propriety, that the Fathers of the Church are made by the Holy Ghost, and the votes of their children, rather than by the bishops. Beza goes on in his remarks, and observes that St. Paul, in his first epistle to the Corinthians, expressly directs his discourse against the then prevailing schism. That foreseeing the authority in the episcopal character might be judged a proper remedy for so great mischief ; foreseeing a misrepresentation might pass upon this head, he joined Sostenes with himself in the salutation, that thus, by his own example, he might teach how much empire and monarchie sway was to be avoided in ecclesiastical conventions : since the apostles themselves, who were next to our Saviour, and ranged in the first class of Church government, did, notwithstanding, exercise their power upon terms of parity. This, by the way, is an odd inference from the text. Farther, Beza makes no scruple to affirm, that episcopacy is rather productive of schisms than a remedy against them. That had it not been for this human invention, a great many divisions had never happened in the Church ; that the

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Referred to the head of the deacons.
MS. Acts of the Assembly, fol. 951, to 980.

The Scotch new Book of Discipline, drawn partly out of Beza.

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papacy was the product of episcopacy; that the council of Nice, by making that canon about Ἀρχαία ἔθνη, "that the ancient customs should continue," &c., opened a way for the Roman pontificate, and erected a throne for that strumpet that sits upon the seven hills; that the primitive Churches were in a flourishing condition as long as their governors held the balance even, managed upon a level, and refused to give way to the admission of prelacy.

Beza de
triplici Epis-
copatu.
See Saravia's
works; and
Fundamen-
tal Charter
of Presby-
tery Ex-
amined,
p. 247.

By these few citations from this writer, from whom much more might be collected, the reader may perceive from what magazines the Scotch were furnished; and it was from Beza's instructions that the assembly formed their scheme for Church government. Beza's performance upon this subject was brought into Scotland in the latter end of the last year, which was about half-a-year before their new book of discipline was presented to the parliament.

*The first
presbytery
erected, and
when.*

This book of discipline mentions presbyteries, states their powers, and describes the members of which they were to consist; but notwithstanding their insisting so much upon this subject, there were no such ecclesiastical assemblies then in being. The first presbytery in that nation was set up at Edinburgh; but then this was not done till May, 1581.

Calderwood,
p. 116.
Fundamen-
tal Charter
of Presby-
tery Ex-
amined,
p. 266.
Oct. 24,
1578.

Though this Presbyterian model was in a great measure checked at the council-board, yet Melvil (who had lately been moderator of the assembly) and his party were resolved to act independently of the state, and try the strength of their interest. Thus, at their next general meeting already mentioned, they passed several orders for disabling the bishops, drawing them down to a parity with the ministers, and bringing them under the absolute sway of the assembly. Pursuant to these resolutions already related, they required Mr. James Boyd, archbishop of Glasgow, to make his submission to the assembly, and comply with the reformation prescribed. But the archbishop was not altogether so passive as they expected; he stood upon the defence of his station and character; and after having argued the point with David Ferguson, the moderator, gave his answer in writing to this purpose:—

*The assem-
bly require a
submission
from the
archbishop
of Glasgow.*

*The reasons
of his incom-
pliance.*

He told them, that "not only the name of a bishop, but the power and regard usually paid to that character, was warrantable by the Holy Scriptures; that since he was promoted to the see of Glasgow by the king's nomination, and the election

of the chapter, he believed his calling was lawful, and should endeavour to perform the duties required; that notwithstanding, he was willing to refer himself to the judgment of the Church, in case of good behaviour; but on this condition, that no more was demanded from him than what the apostle requires. As to the revenues and privileges of his see, he conceived the title good, and the keeping them very lawful. And as for serving the crown with his advice, he thought his allegiance bound him to it; and, besides, he looked on the bishops being present at such public consultations, as beneficial to the Church."

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This answer was voted unsatisfactory. But the archbishop withdrew from the assembly, and would give them no better. Upon this, Andrew Melvil, and some other ministers, were commissioned to press his subscription to the Assembly Act, for the reformation of episcopacy: and if he refused to comply, to proceed to excommunication. Melvil went to the utmost length of his commission, menaced the archbishop with the censures of the Church, and finding him under the disadvantage of ill health, worked him to the signing the shocking articles already mentioned. This submission troubled Boyd very much in his last sickness. Spotswood gives him the character of a wise, learned, and religious prelate.

Hist. p. 303.

Melvil having thus helped the archbishop into the other world, attempted the demolition of the cathedral. This singular reformer, and some other ministers, had plied the magistracy with such importunity, that at last they consented to the pulling down this noble structure. One of their topics was, that this church was a monument of idolatry, and the only unruined cathedral in the whole country. But when the masons were brought to take down the building, the townsmen ran to arms, and threatened those with immediate death that should stir the first stone; and thus by the bravery of the burghers, the cathedral was preserved¹.

Melvil moves for the pulling down the cathedral at Glasgow.

To return to England: the queen was now treating a marriage with the duke of Anjou. This alliance was not well relished by the English. And here the Puritans were loudest in their remonstrance. One Stubbs, a lawyer of that persuasion, wrote a book against the match, entitled, "The Gaping Gulph." This tract was penned with a great deal of heat and

¹ The Scotch Puritans seem most thoroughly to have deserved the satire which Sir Walter Scott has so wittily bestowed on them.

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*The privy-
council's let-
ter to arch-
bishop Grin-
dal.*

Regist.
Grindal,
fol. 183.

*A decree of
the university
of Oxford
against the
spreading of
popery.*

A. D. 1579.

569.

A. D. 1565.
Wood. Hist.
et Antiq.
Univers.
Oxon. Lib.
p. 296.

satire. The queen looked upon these intemperate clamours as no better than arraiguing the government. To check this insolence, therefore, a proclamation came out for seizing the book, the author, and printer; and for the prevention of farther mischief, the lords of the council wrote to archbishop Grindal, acquainting him with the malignity of the libel: that the design of it was to misreport the queen to her subjects, as if she intended to alter the religion established; and that such insinuations as these were altogether remote from her majesty's intentions. The archbishop, therefore, is required to send for as many of the clergy of character as can conveniently be got together; to read the proclamation to them, to acquaint them with her majesty's unalterable resolution, never to admit of any change in religion. He was likewise to admonish them to keep within the compass of their profession, and not concern themselves with state-matters in the pulpit.

This year the university of Oxford made a farther provision to guard the Reformation.

The heads of the decree passed in convocation are these:—

“ 1. For the extirpation of all heresies, and the better instruction of young students, they order the following books to be read to them, viz.: ‘Alexander Nowel's larger Catechism, in Latin and Greek;’ or ‘John Calvin's Catechism, in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew;’ or ‘Hyperius's Elements of the Christian Religion;’ or ‘The Hydelberg Catechism.’ And here the choice is left to the readers, who are to regard the capacity of the audience.

“ 2. To these might be added, ‘Henry Bullinger's Catechism,’ ‘Calvin's Institutions,’ ‘The Apology for the Church of England,’ or ‘The Nine-and-Thirty Articles,’ with an exposition upon them; and this explanation and defence drawn from the Holy Scriptures, and the testimony of the Fathers.

“ 3. That all catechisms counter to the orthodoxy in these tracts, and all other superstitious and popish books, are forbidden to be either read or kept in private studies.

“ 4. This business of reading and expounding was enjoined tutors and public catechists. There was likewise an examination ordered to be taken every term of the proficiency of the students.”

This year, Matthew Hammond, a plough-wright, of Hethersett, near Norwich, was convented before the bishop for heresy

and blasphemy. He denied the inspiration of the New Testament, the divinity of our Saviour and the Holy Ghost, and the necessity of baptism and the holy eucharist. His blasphemies I shall pass over: he outraged the queen and council in opprobrious language, for which he was sentenced to lose his ears, which was executed accordingly. In short, he held to his heresies and blasphemous expressions, and was burnt in the castle ditch at Norwich.

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*Hammond
burnt for
heresy.
May 20,
1579.*

Robert Horne, bishop of Winchester, died the 1st of June, this year. He was born in the bishopric of Durham, and bred in St. John's-college, in Cambridge. His exile, the course of his preferments, and some other passages relating to his character, have been mentioned already.

The next year, some Dutchmen, coming over, spread new and dangerous opinions, to the disturbance of the Church and State. These men, though desperate heretics, made a strong appearance of sanctity. They called themselves "The Family of Love," or "The House of Charity." They made their proselytes believe, that none but their society were within the number of the elect; and that the rest of mankind were all reprobates, and doomed to damnation: that they had the privilege of denying anything they pleased, upon oath before a magistrate, or any other person of a different religion from themselves. A body of this enthusiastic and scandalous doctrine was translated from Dutch into English. Some of the books were entitled, "The Gospel of the Kingdom;" "Documental Sentences;" "The Prophecy of the Spirit of Love;" "The Publication of Peace upon the Earth, by H. N." They would by no means tell their author's name; but, afterwards, it was found out these tracts were written by one Henry Nicholas, of Leyden. This heretic advanced to blasphemy, and affirmed that the divine nature was communicated to him, and that God was partaker of his humanity. To prevent these men from shedding their venom, a proclamation was published. The Familists' books were ordered to be burnt, and the magistracy commanded to assist the ordinaries¹.

*Advenæ ex
Hollandia
feraci hære-
ticorum pro-
vincia.
Camden,
Eliz. p. 300.*

*October,
A. D. 1580.
Id. and
Stow's
Annal.
Jan. 16,
1580-1.*

The next remarkable occurrence is the meeting of the parliament at Westminster. The session began on the 16th of

¹ This Henry Nicholas, the most distinguished of the German Familists, was the author of another book, entitled, "The Looking-glass of Righteousness." His opinions died not with him, but exist at this day in new modifications.

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The house of Commons appoint a fast.

To observe something relating to the Church: Mr. Paul Wentworth, brother to Peter, above-mentioned, moved in the lower house for a public fast, and a sermon every morning before the house sat. Sir Francis Knowles, treasurer of the household, and some other members, opposed this motion. However, that the commons had authority to appoint a fast, was carried by a majority; and thus the 29th of January was fixed for the day. The commons were to meet at the Temple-church; and, that the preachers might deliver no offensive doctrine, they were to be appointed by those members who were of the privy-council.

But, before the day came, the speaker declared himself sorry for the error of this resolve; and that her majesty was much displeased with their proceedings. At the same time, the queen sent a message to the house by her vice-chamberlain. The purport of it was, to acquaint them her majesty was extremely surprised at the hardness of their motions; that the taking such steps against her express order, by the lord chancellor, could be construed to nothing but downright contempt. In short, both the speaker and the vice-chamberlain proposed their making a submission, owning their fault, and asking pardon. After several speeches in the house to this purpose, the question was put, Whether the vice-chamberlain, sir Christopher Hatton, should deliver the submission to her majesty?—it was carried in the affirmative.

They make a submission to the queen for this freedom.

On the 25th of January, the vice-chamberlain came to the house, and acquainted them the queen had accepted their submission; that she hoped for the future they would move more warily; that she did not dislike their inclination for fasting and prayers: it was the manner which disobliged; it was their presuming to appoint a fast without pre-acquainting her majesty, and receiving her orders for that purpose; and that this was no less than plain encroachment upon her ecclesiastical authority.

D'Ewes' Journal, p. 292.

Mildmay's speech for a farther security to the government.

When this matter was dismissed, sir Walter Mildmay made a long speech upon the danger from popery, and moved that a bill might be brought in for farther security to the government. He insisted upon the hostile practice and restless endeavours

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of the court of Rome: that they looked upon England as the main strength of the Reformation, and that they were perpetually playing their batteries against this quarter. For instances of hostile practice, he mentioned the northern rebellion, raised by the earls of Westmorland and Northumberland; the affording shelter and maintenance to those rebels and other deserters ever since; the publishing a most malicious and scandalous bull against her majesty; the invasion of Ireland by James Fitzmorris; the insurrection headed by the earl of Desmond; and the late landing of strangers and fortifying that country against the government. This speech made an impression, and, it is probable, occasioned the passing the bill "for retaining the queen's subjects in their due obedience."

By this statute, it is high treason to draw off any person from the communion of the Church of England to that of Rome; and the same penalty is enacted against those reconciled to popery. And those who knowingly maintain or conceal the reconciling, or reconciled, and refuse to discover them within twenty days to some justice of the peace, or other "higher officer," shall fall under the penalty of misprision of treason.

It is likewise enacted, that every person convicted of saying mass shall forfeit two hundred marks, and suffer a year's imprisonment; and those who willingly hear mass are liable to the forfeiture of a hundred marks, and one year's imprisonment. Farther: every person above the age of sixteen years, who absents himself from church, incurs the forfeiture of twenty pounds per month; and, in case the absence is continued for twelve months, he is to be bound to his good behaviour, to enter into a recognizance of 200*l.*, and find two sufficient sureties.

And lastly, the keeping a school-master, who neither comes to church, nor is licensed by the bishop of the diocese, is made ten pounds per month forfeiture: and the school-master is to suffer a year's imprisonment without bail or mainprize.

There was another act passed this session to check the disorders of the Puritan faction. Stubbs's book, entitled "The Gaping Gulph," might not improbably give occasion to this bill; for the libel was penned with great rancour and coarse language: the French nation was outraged, and the duke of Anjou abused to the last degree; and, which was still more provoking, the queen was dangerously misrepresented, as if she

To reconcile, or be reconciled to the Church of Rome, high treason.

Twenty pounds per month for not coming to church.

570.

23 Eliz.
cap. 1.

Camden,
Eliz.

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had a design to abandon the Reformation, and betray the kingdom to a foreign power. To prevent the people from being poisoned with such calumnies, the statute enacts,

*An act
against sedi-
tious libels.*

“ That if any person or persons within forty days after the end of that session shall advisedly, or with a malicious intent, devise, write, print, or set forth, any manner of book, rhyme, ballad, letter, or writing, containing any false, seditious, or scandalous matter, to the defamation of the queen’s majesty, or to the encouraging, stirring or moving of any insurrection or rebellion within the queen’s dominions : or if any person after the end of the said forty days, either within the queen’s dominions or elsewhere, shall procure such book, ballad, letter, or writing, to be written, printed, published, or set forth (the said offence not being punishable by the 25th of king Edward III., nor within the compass of treason by any other statute) that then the said offenders being thereof lawfully convicted, shall suffer pains of death, and forfeiture of goods, as in cases of felony. And here neither benefit of clergy, or sanctuary were to be allowed.” But this statute expiring with the queen’s life, left the government unguarded.

23 Eliz.
cap. 2.
Statutes at
Large.
*A convoca-
tion meets.*

To pass from the parliament to the convocation. The province of Canterbury met at St. Paul’s on the 17th of January. Archbishop Grindal signed an instrument for substituting Ailmer, bishop of London, to preside. There was little remarkable done by this convocation, excepting the grant of a subsidy, and an address made to the bishops from the lower house, for executing the late book of articles : to which we may add the bishop of London’s reading a letter from the privy council ; in which it was moved some provision might be made to check the heresy maintained by the “ Family of Love.” Some of the members were strongly affected with the disgrace of Grindal’s sequestration. These men, out of a generous zeal for their metropolitan, moved against entering upon any business, or so much as granting a subsidy, till the embargo was taken off, and the archbishop restored. But the majority were too cautious to be governed by this suggestion. However, Fuller reports, they came to a unanimous resolution for petitioning the queen for Grindal’s restitution. The address was drawn by Toby Mathews, dean of Christ-church. It was penned in Latin, in a handsome moving style, and with a profound acknowledgment of the regale. It was presented, as this histo-

*An address
drawn by
the dean of
Christ-
church for
taking off
Grindal’s se-
questration.
Fuller’s
Church
Hist.
book 9,
p. 119, 120.*

rian will have it, but failed of success. That such an address was presented to the queen needs not be questioned: but that it was passed as an act of convocation, is more than appears by the extracts from the journal. And besides, the learned Heylin, who perused the convocation records at length, found no such petition.

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The clergy of London petitioned this convocation for redress against the frauds and evasive methods practised in the city, for detaining the tithes from the incumbent. The complaint in the address being somewhat remarkable, I have put it amongst the records.

Journal
Convoc.
fol. 144.
Heylin's
Hist. Pres-
byt. p. 288.
*The London
clergy's ad-
dress to the
convocation.*
See Records,
num. 89.
*Jesuits and
others sent
into Eng-
land.*

This year some English Jesuits, most distinguished for learning and courage, were sent over into England for the conversion, as they call it, of the country. Amongst these missionaries, Robert Parsons and Edmund Campian were the most remarkable. And to proportion the numbers to the design, several secular priests belonging to the English seminaries came along with them. These men, as Sanders reports, prosecuting their mission with great alacrity and vigour, prevailed with abundance of the common people to return to the communion of Rome, and over and above gained several persons of learning and quality: and all this in a few months' time.

Sanders de
Schism.
Angl.

About this time, Egremont Ratcliff, of the house of Sussex, and another English gentleman, were seized in Flanders, for attempting the life of Don John of Austria, governor of the Low Countries. Don John dying soon after this discovery, Ratcliff was beheaded at Namur by the prince of Parma.

It is possible this charge of assassination might be disbelieved in England, and the two gentlemen thought to have had hard measure. But let this be as it will, the face of affairs abroad, and the progress of the missionaries at home, gave an alarm to the government. The queen took care it should be publicly reported she was certainly informed a league was concerted against her at Rome: that the pope, the king of Spain, and several Italian princes, had engaged in the alliance: that the restoring their religion was the business of the treaty: and that all this was done at the instance of the English refugees, both laity and priests: but that her majesty, relying upon the protection of Heaven, the justice of her cause, and the valour and fidelity of her subjects, was prepared for the worst that could happen.

Idem.

GRINDAL
Abp. Cant.

As to the Jesuits, and other English missionaries, in what manner they managed, and what hazards they ran in the enterprise, may be partly collected from Campian's letter to the general of his order.

*Part of
Campian's
letter to his
general.*

571.

"I got to London," says he, "and my good angel directed me to the same house which had formerly entertained father Robert (meaning Parsons). I was immediately accosted by several young gentlemen of figure, who, saluting me in a friendly manner, furnished me with a handsome disguise, and equipped me in a military habit. And thus being conveyed out of town, and my route assigned me, I am almost every day moving on horseback. I meet with strong encouragement, and abundance of people to work upon. While I am travelling the road, my method is, to strike out some heads, and prepare matter for a short sermon. This rough draught I touch over, and draw to farther length when I come to my journey's end. When any body makes me a visit upon the score of religion, I either discourse with them, or receive their confessions. In the morning after prayers, I preach to the company, and administer the sacraments to great numbers. For in this latter office I seldom want the assistance of some Catholic priests, my countrymen. These men, being remarkable for their learning and regularity, draw the regard of the people, and make our employment less burdensome. But there are so many snares set, so many spies upon us, that it is impossible to escape the heretics any long time. I am in a most whimsical dress: but this, and my name too, I am forced to change very often. I sometimes read letters, where at the first sight I meet with the report of Campian's being taken. This news is grown so common, wherever I go, that the frequency of the danger has almost made me disregard it, and grow more hardy.

"At this very time the persecution rages in a frightful manner: the family where I am receive nothing but melancholy advices. We scarcely hear of any thing but the absconding or imprisonment of our friends, or the punishing of them in their estates. However, our people move boldly on, and the satisfaction they meet with in doing their duty, is more than a counterpoise to what they suffer. A good conscience, a glorious undertaking, an ardour for the propagating truth, and an incredible number of proselytes of all ages, sexes, and condi-

tions, are wonderful encouragements. Heresy is generally decried, and nothing can be more despicable than their ministers. It would vex one to see such mean, illiterate, and scandalous parsons pretend to govern people of sense and education. But I am just now alarmed with immediate danger, and therefore can give you nothing farther¹.”

ELIZABETH.

These missionaries are said to have managed in a very seditious manner. Some of them were so hardy as to affirm the crown belonged to the queen of Scots : that queen Elizabeth ought to be deposed : that if the pope commanded one thing, and her majesty the contrary, his holiness was to be obeyed. Now when men declared thus openly against the government, it is no wonder if they drew a storm upon themselves. To prevent the danger from such a mission, the queen published a proclamation, commanding that all those who had either children, relations, or wards beyond sea, should certify their names to the ordinary, and recal them home within four months. And in case they refused to return, not to supply them with remittances by bills of exchange, or any other way. They were likewise forbidden to entertain or support any Jesuits or seminary priests : and that those who failed in taking due notice of the proclamation, should be prosecuted as abettors of rebellion. And lastly, when they knew where any such persons might be found, they were commanded to discover them, and put them into the magistrates' hand, under the penalties above-mentioned. And that the strictness of the order might not be surprising, the proclamation sets forth, “that the business of these missionaries was not only to gain proselytes to their church, but embroil the kingdom, and draw off the subjects from their allegiance.”

Some of the missionaries dangerous to the government.

Heylin's Hist. Presbyt. lib. vii. Cambrden, Eliz.

June, 1580.

Cambrden, Eliz.

Before this proclamation came out, the Roman Catholics found themselves embarrassed with the excommunicating bull, and seemed very uneasy at so rough an expedient. They took care to suppress Sanders's defence of this censure, and forbid disputing upon the pope's power to excommunicate and depose princes : but all this caution was not sufficient to silence the controversy. When Parsons and Campian were coming for England, they procured a faculty from pope Gregory XIV., to make the bull more inoffensive to their own communion.

Pius V.'s Bull softened at the instance of the missionaries.

¹ If Campian had duly appreciated the amount of talent, loyalty, virtue, and courage displayed by the British in defending the supremacy of the crown against the grinding despotism of the popes, he would have written with more liberality.

GRINDAL
Abp. Cant.

Idem.

They desired his holiness would please to explain and qualify the bull published by Pius V. They desired this instrument might be declared in force only against queen Elizabeth and her adherents : and that the Catholics might not be affected with the censure, until the juncture should present fair, and the sentence might be executed without danger. Their request was granted, and the bull qualified to this construction on the 14th of April this year.

Idem.

Parsons, a warm rugged-tempered man, was very bold and seditious in his discourse, went such extravagant lengths as to propose the dethroning the queen ; insomuch that Roman Catholics designed to seize him, and deliver him up to justice. Campian, though more modest, and of a smother disposition, offered to dispute with the English clergy, and sent them a public challenge. He likewise published his "Decem Rationes" in defence of the Roman communion. The book is penned in elegant Latin, and managed to advantage. It was answered by Dr. Whitaker. About this time one Howlet printed a tract to dissuade the Papists from going to our churches.

Regist.
Grind.
fol. 193.

Archbishop Grindal, being thought too gentle and remiss in his management, the privy council wrote to him to complain of the relaxation of discipline. The letter stands thus :

"Whereas the queen's majesty has been informed that divers persons within the province of Canterbury, both of the common and better sort, who of late time have been conformable to the laws of this realm concerning religion, are now fallen away, and have withdrawn themselves from coming to church, to the evil example of others her majesty's good subjects, and to the great offence of her highness, who does not a little marvel, by what means this relapse should happen, having delivered sufficient authority unto your lordship, and others joined unto you, by virtue of her commission ecclesiastical, warranted by the laws of this realm. Whereby you might at all times have repressed the insolency and corrected the disobedience of such as therein should have presumed to offend, if such care and vigilancy had been used within your charge as appertaineth. Her highness's pleasure therefore is, that for the present reforming and punishing of those that have had and do herein disobey the laws, that you give order to have them forthwith convented, before such as do attend the execu-

tion of her majesty's high commission, and proceeded with according to the direction of the said high commission. And to the end her majesty may understand what shall be from time to time done in the execution of the said commission, to give order that certificate be made of the proceedings in the said commission unto us of her majesty's privy council. From Nonsuch, 18th June, 1580.

ELIZABETH.

572.

“THO. BROMLEY, Canc.

W. BURGHLEY.

E. CLINTON.

T. SUSSEX.

FRANC. BEDFORD.

R. LEISTER.

J. HUNSDON.

J. CROFT.

F. WALSINGHAM.

T. WILTON.

W. MILDMAY.”

This year the lord D'Aubigny came from France to Scotland to make that court a visit. He was nearly related to the queen, and well recommended by his behaviour. The young king (for so I shall call him after the queen's resignation, without pretending to determine any thing concerning that dispute,) much pleased with his conversation, made him earl of Lenox, and refused to part with him. This unexpected favour drew envy; and being a Roman Catholic, those who grudged him his good fortune, spread a report that his business in coming from France was only to proselyte the king to the Church of Rome. And thus he became the aversion of the preachers. These men taking the alarm, declaimed warmly from the pulpits that he was tampering with the king's conscience; that there was a secret design against the Church; and that popery was growing upon them. However, in the late parliament there were several acts passed in favour of the Reformation. To mention one of them relating to jurisdiction:

“Our sovereign lord, with advice of his three estates of this present parliament, has declared and granted jurisdiction to the Kirk, quhilk consistis and stands in the preaching of the trew word of Jesus Christ, correction of manners, and administration of the halie sacraments, and declairis that there is na uther face of Kirk, nor uther face of religion, than is presentlie be the favour of God established within this realme, and that there be na uther jurisdiction ecclesiastical acknow-

An act of parliament in favour of the Kirk.

Jac. 6.
6 parl. c. 69.

GRINDAL Abp. Cant. lodged within this realme, uther than that that quhilk is, and sall be, within the sammin Kirk, or that quhilk flowis theirfra, concerning the premisses."

But this act was drawn in general terms, and neither the persons in whom the jurisdiction was lodged, nor the extent of their authority, is stated. This statute therefore came short of satisfaction to the assembly. The court looked upon these divines as too forward and enterprising. To bring them to more sobriety, the king not long since sent them a letter to forbear all innovations in the polity of the Church, to let things rest till the meeting of the estates, and not overrun the parliament. But they gave little regard to this letter: they were resolved to reform upon their own authority, and not wait the leisure of the government. For instance, they called the archbishop of St. Andrew's to account for granting collations to benefices, and voting in parliament, without commission from the assembly. This hardy incomppliance lost them the king's favour, made him arrest their motion, and supersede their censures and process.

*The king
displeased
with the
assembly.
Spotswood.*

This misunderstanding between the court and the assembly, encouraged the Roman Catholics to declare their belief more openly. Several seminary priests came over; and in Paisley some of that persuasion took the freedom to sing a *requiem* for the Reformation. These sallies of indiscretion raised a great clamour, and filled the country with complaints; and the court was charged by the pulpits for countenancing popery.

*The earl of
Lenox re-
cants popery.*

To undeceive the people, and allay these heats, the king sent for the ministers to Edinburgh, told them what pains he had taken to convert his cousin Lenox; and that he had prevailed with this earl to entertain a protestant divine in his house. He desired therefore that one of their number might be pitched on for this employment. Mr. David Lindsay being master of the French language, and a person of temper and address, was recommended, and the choice approved by the king. Lindsay performed to satisfaction, and in a short time gained the nobleman, and brought him to recant his error in St. Giles's church: but all this was not sufficient to remove the people's jealousies. It seems some dispensations from Rome were intercepted about this time. They indulged a scandalous latitude, and gave the Roman Catholics leave to comply to what lengths they pleased, and subscribe any articles put upon them:

but with this proviso, that their mind should not go along with their practice; that though their caution moved more at large, their zeal should continue the same; and that they should act behind the scene for the old interest.

ELIZABETH.

Spotswood,
p. 308.

These dispensations, whether genuine or forged, being brought to the king, he ordered his preacher, Mr. John Craig, to draw up a short confession of faith. In this instrument, which mostly turned upon negatives, the doctrine and ceremonies peculiar to the Church of Rome were particularly abjured, and a clause inserted to meet with the dispensations: for the subscribers call God to witness that they signed heartily and sincerely, and without any reserve or dissembling. And to set an example to the subjects, the king, the court, and the council, publicly swore, and subscribed the confession. And one part of this form was, that they would keep close to the belief and constitutions of the Scottish Church. But when this was done, the government of the Church was in the hands of bishops and superintendents: and therefore the swearing this confession cannot fairly be urged for the presbyterian model.

*The negative
Confession.*

Refut.
Libell. de
Regim.
Eccles. Sco-
tic. p. 36.
A. D. 1580.

Upon the 12th of July this summer the assembly met at Dundee: and here the Presbyterians, after a long contest, carried their point. Their decree against episcopacy is strict, and very remarkable. The reader therefore shall have it in the words of the manuscript.

“Forasmuch as the office of a bishop, as it is now used, and commonly taken within this realm, has no sure warrant, authority, or good ground, out of the Scriptures, but brought in by the folly and corruption of men’s inventions, to the great overthrow of the true Kirk of God; the whole assembly of the Kirk in one voice (after liberty given to all men to reason in the matter, none opposing himself in defence of the said pretended office) finds and declares the same pretended office used and termed, as is above said, unlawful in itself, as having neither foundation, ground, nor warrant, within the word of God: and ordains, that all such persons as enjoy, or shall hereafter enjoy, the said office, shall be charged simpliciter, to demit, quit, and leave off, the same, as an office whereunto they are not called by God. And siclike to desist and cease from all preaching, ministration of the sacraments, or using

MS. Acts of
the Assem-
bly, fol. 898.
*The assembly
decree
against epis-
copacy.*

GRINDAL any way the office of pastors, till they receive *de novo* admission
 Abp. Cant. from the general assembly of the Kirk, under the pain of ex-
 573. communication to be used against them. Wherein if they be
 found disobedient or contravene this act in any point, the
 sentence of excommunication, after due admonition, is to be
 executed against them."

*They pre-
 tend to call
 the bishops to
 an account.*

Thus to pronounce against the universal practice of the
 Church for 1500 years together, was a hardy stroke, and
 peculiar to the courage of these assemblies. And, besides,
 their decree was no less impolitic than novel: for, had their
 order taken immediate effect, as it did not, it would only have
 given a fresh opportunity for sacrilege; for when the bishops
 were once set aside, and their sees left vacant, they might
 easily imagine the laity would fly upon the spoil, as it after-
 wards happened. However, these Presbyterian reformers
 were resolved to try their credit, and push the matter. To
 this purpose they ordained, "that a synodal assembly shall be
 holden in every province where any usurping bishops are. The
 synod was to begin the 17th day of August, next ensuing.
 Hither the bishops were to be summoned by the visitors of
 the said country. The bishop of St. Andrew's was to compear
 in St. Andrew's; the bishop of Aberdeen, in Aberdeen; the
 bishop of Glasgow, in Glasgow; the bishop of Murray, in
 Elgin:—to give obedience to the said act: which, if they
 refuse to do, the said synodal assemblies shall appoint certain
 brethren of the ministry to give them public admonition in
 their pulpit, and warn them, in case they disobey, to compear
 before the next general assembly, at Edinburgh, upon the
 20th of October, next ensuing, to hear the sentence of
 excommunication pronounced against them for their disobe-
 dience. To this act," as the manuscript goes on, "the bishop
 of Dumblane submitted himself."

1bid.

The earl of Lenox, being desirous to gain the good opinion
 of the Church, sent sir William Steward to the general assem-
 bly with a letter, importing, "that they were not unacquainted
 with his being brought over to a right persuasion in religious
 matters; that he preferred this blessing to all secular advan-
 tage whatsoever; that he had publicly renounced his mistakes,
 and subscribed the negative confession; and that, if anything
 farther was required, he was ready to perform it." But all this

profession of clear dealing, all this resigning to their pleasure, could not make him believed: he was still charged with hypocrisy, and roughly treated by the preachers.

ELIZA-
BETH.

Spotswood's
Hist. p. 311.
*Nichols, a
Jesuit,
recants.*
May, 1581.

John Nichols, a Jesuit, committed to the Tower, renounced the communion of the Church of Rome before a considerable audience. He likewise published the reasons which brought him off from his former persuasion. The privy council gave archbishop Grindal an account of this matter in a letter, and desired him to write to his suffragans to provide for this convert till some preferment fell. This Nichols, as Sanders relates, preached in the Tower-chapel to several Roman Catholic priests, who were forced to hear him; that he was cried up by the Protestants as one of the most learned of his order; that he was particularly regarded by the pope; that he used to preach before the cardinals; that he was an eminent philosopher and divine, and master of almost all learning and languages: but that all this was nothing but a flourish; that, in his printed recantation, he had misrepresented the pope, the cardinals, the English college, the Jesuits, and all the orders of the religious and clergy, in a scandalous manner; and that, within a month after the publishing his narrative, there came out a book called "Nichols' Detection;" that, in this answer, it was clearly proved that he was neither divine nor philosopher, Jesuit nor priest; that he had neither learning nor languages; that he had never preached before the pope or the cardinals, unless his abjuring Calvinism at Rome in the inquisition-court may be called preaching.

Grindal's
Regist.
fol. 234.

This summer, in July, Cox, bishop of Ely, departed this life.

Sanders de
Schism.
Anglic.
p. 450.
July, 1581.

The queen, as she had reason, was much displeased with the "Gaping Gulph." She published a proclamation against the libel, in which she declares the duke of Anjou had a friendly disposition to the Protestants; that she deeply resented the outraging a prince of such quality and merit,—a prince, who never so much as desired the least alteration in Church or State; and that Simiere, who had a public character, and attended the duke, was a prudent inoffensive person: and, in short, the subject was admonished to look upon this libel as no better than the production of treason; and that it was

GRINDAL written on purpose to embroil her kingdoms, and misreport Abp. Cant. her abroad.

*Stubbs and
Page pun-
ished for a
libel.*

This book, being written by a Puritan, as hath been observed, made the queen more disaffected to that party. Not long after, John Stubbs, of Lincoln's Inn, who married Cartwright's sister, was seized for the author of this pamphlet. Page, who dispersed the copies, and Singleton, the printer, were likewise committed. They were tried upon the statute of the 1st and 2nd of Philip and Mary, and had judgment to lose their right hand. The sentence was executed upon Stubbs and Page, but the printer was pardoned. Some of the long robe pretended the statute was expired, and cried out against the illegality of the sentence; but sir Christopher Wray, lord chief justice of England, maintained the judgment of the court, proved that the act pointed expressly against those that should write any seditious pamphlet against the king, and that the king of England never dies. He observed, farther, that this statute was revived in the first year of the present reign, and was to continue in force during the queen's life and the heirs of her body.

1 Eliz. c. 6.
Cambden,
Eliz.

The duke of Anjou being now at the English court, continued to solicit his marriage: as for the queen, she was willing to quiet the apprehensions of the people, and silence the reports touching the toleration of Popery. For this purpose, after great importunity, she consented to proceed to some extremities. And thus, to stop the clamours against the government, Edmund Campian, Jesuit; Ralph Sherwin, Luke Kirby, and Alexander Briant, priests, were tried for high treason upon the 25th of Edward III. They were charged in the indictment with compassing the queen's death, and adhering to the bishop of Rome; and that they came into England to raise a rebellion, and subvert the government. In short, the jury brought them in guilty, and they were executed soon after. Sanders reports, that Campian was betrayed by one Elliot, of the same religion; that he was laid in irons, set three or four times upon the rack in the Tower, and miserably tortured; and that, after the trial, both this Jesuit and the other three priests had the promise of pardon and preferment, provided they would own the unwarrantableness of their mission, and that the queen was head of the Church. Cambden, who is an author of

Dec. 1,
1581.

Sanders de
Schism.
Anglic.

credit, is more particular in the narrative, and falls in with Sanders in some measure. He relates that these prisoners were very stubborn and unrelenting in maintaining the pope's authority against the queen; that Campian, after he was cast, being asked whether Elizabeth was a lawful sovereign or not, refused to answer. And being demanded farther, that in case the pope invaded the queen, whether he would side with him or her majesty? He openly declared that he would stand by his holiness, and gave his opinion under his hand. Not long after, several other Papists suffered upon the same score; whereas but five of that persuasion had been executed for the last ten years. Cambden takes notice that the necessity of the time forced the queen upon these severities; that she declared herself always averse against punishing people for their conscience; but when principles and Catholic religion were made a pretence for plotting and treason, she was forced to strike; that as for the greatest part of these popish priests, she did not believe them directly engaged in a practice against the state; but being absolutely under command, they might be made tools at the pleasure of their superiors; that many of them were miserably perverted in their principles, appeared by their answers to interrogatories; for being apprehended, and the question put, "Whether, by virtue of pope Pius V.'s bull, subjects were so far discharged from their allegiance as to make their rising upon the government lawful? Whether they thought her a rightful queen? Whether they would maintain Sanders and Bristoe's opinion touching the authority and obligatoriness of the bull? And whether, if the pope should furnish an expedition against the queen, they would join his forces?" To these interrogatories they either said nothing, or gave ambiguous, evasive, or provoking answers; insomuch, that some of the more candid Roman Catholics began to suspect them for foul practice. And to prevent the imputation of disloyalty upon the whole party, John Bishop, a hearty Papist, wrote against these highflyers of the court of Rome. This honest author made it plainly appear, that the canon of the council of Lateran, for absolving subjects from their allegiance, and deposing princes, was plainly a forgery; that this authority was nothing more than the decree of Pope Innocent III.; that it was never received in England; and, in fine, that there were no canons passed by the Fathers in that

ELIZA-
BETH.

574.

Campian, a Jesuit, and some others, executed. Cambden, Eliz. The queen's reasons for these extremities.

Bishop, a Roman Catholic, writes against the disloyal tenets of some of the missionaries. Idem.

GRINDAL
Abp. Cant.

See first
part of my
Church
Hist. p. 425.

Cambden.
Eliz. p. 326.
et deinc.

*The English
ambassador
endeavours
to rescue the
earl of Mor-
ton, but with-
out effect.*

council. Cambden goes on, and complains that the apprehensions of public danger increased by the numbers of seminary priests who were continually coming over; that these missionaries tampered privately with the people, and endeavoured to disengage them from their allegiance. They were so hardy, as this historian reports, as to pronounce that excommunicated princes ought to be deposed; that those who professed the Protestant religion had no right either to the title or authority of sovereigns; that the clergy were privileged from the cognizance of secular courts, and not bound by the laws of the state; that the pope was lord of the universe, and supreme even in temporals; that there was no lawful magistracy in England; and that whatever was done by the queen's authority since she stood excommunicated, was altogether void and unobligatory.

To go back, and begin the year in Scotland: the earl of Morton, the late regent, was charged with high treason by the earl of Arran, and afterwards tried and found guilty. This nobleman being all along in the English interest, queen Elizabeth endeavoured to preserve him. To this purpose, sir Thomas Randolph was dispatched with a public character to the Scotch court. He solicited strongly for Morton, urged his service to the kingdom, and hoped his mistress the queen should not be refused in so reasonable a request. The king answered, the stopping the course of justice was impracticable, and unbecoming a prince; that he was sensible of the queen of England's kind intentions, and should forbear doing any thing which might give a just occasion of displeasure.

Randolph having afterwards leave to come into the parliament-house, put the states in mind how much their nation had been obliged by queen Elizabeth, and endeavoured to discredit the evidence against Morton; but finding his rhetoric made little impression, he applied to another expedient; and addressing himself to Morton's friends, and those who envied the duke of Lenox, he began to lament the misfortune of their country, dilated upon the danger of the juncture, complained of the ingratitude in slighting the queen's intercession, and privately suggested the attempting by force what they could not carry by argument and reason; promising them, withal, that neither English money nor men should be wanting to the enterprise. Several of the nobility engaged upon this encouragement; but finding the king firm to the duke of Lenox,

and prepared to appear in the field, they grew most of them disheartened, and ventured nothing. By the way, queen Elizabeth had ordered some troops to march to the borders, for Morton's rescue; but these succours, and the plotting of his party, served only to hasten his execution. The queen's interposing thus far in favour of Morton has a singular aspect, and looks like a strain of politics. The earl of Morton confessed, at his death, that Bothwell and Archibald Douglas had acquainted him with their design of assassinating the late king; and that the times were then so nice, that he durst make no discovery. He likewise could not deny, but that after the murder was committed he took the regicide Douglas into favour and intimacy, and signed an instrument to stand by Bothwell in case he was prosecuted.

ELIZA-
BETH.

Cambden.
Eliz.

At the general assembly held at Glasgow, the Second Book of Discipline passed, and was ordered to be entered on record. the decree stands thus:—

Spotswood.
Cambden.
Eliz.
*The Second
Book of
Discipline
passed.
April 28,
1581.*

“Forasmuch as travels have been taken in the forming the policy of the Kirk, and divers suits made to the magistrate for approbation thereof, which albeit has not taken the happy effect which good men desire, yet that posterity should judge well of the present age, and of the meaning of the Kirk, the assembly has concluded that the book of policy, agreed to in divers assemblies before, should be registered in the acts of the Kirk; and to remain therein, ‘ad perpetuam rei memoriam;’ and the copies thereof to be taken by every presbyter.”

MS. Acts of
the Assem-
bly, fol. 951.
Refutatio
Libell. de
Regim.
Eccles. Scot.
*It is opposed
by several
persons of
character.*

It is pretended this “Second Book of Discipline” was passed by the whole assembly, *nemine contradicente*. But this is a great mistake, as may be made good from several instances. For instance, the laird of Dune, superintendent of Angus, a man of character, and a celebrated preacher, could never endure this democratical model to take place within his jurisdiction of Angus and Merne; and when Andrew Melvil pretended to meddle within his precinct, he expostulated sharply with him, and told him he would prove the bane of the Scotch Church. John Spotswood, superintendent of Lothian and Mers, always declared against the Presbyterian scheme, and used to say, those hot-headed ministers, unless timely reduced, would ruin all; and though he had nothing to object against the doctrine of the Reformation, yet he believed the doctrine of the ancient Church preferable to that in Scotland. John

575.

GRINDAL Windram, superintendent of Fife, and sub-prior of St. Andrew's; **Abp. Cant.** George Hayes, one of the commissioners, a person of extraordinary merit; Alexander Albutnot, rector of the university of Aberdeen; Robert Pont, moderator of this Glasgow assembly; David Lindesay, afterwards bishop of Ross; **Id. p. 43, &c.** Andrew Pollard, and Thomas Smeaton; all of them distinguished for learning and capacity, not to mention a great many others, opposed the passing this "Second Book of Discipline;" though at last, when they thought their struggling would be to no purpose, they went over to the ignorant majority. To these may be added, Patrick Adamson and James Boyde, archbishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow; David Cunningham, bishop of Aberdeen; and Nigell Campbell, bishop of Argyle. These prelates, who were all gentlemen of figure, and a credit to their order, made a handsome stand against the men of parity, and never dropped the point, until at last they were hooted by the mob, and found it necessary to decline the assemblies.

Idem.

About this time Walter Balcanquel, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, fell foul upon the duke of Lenox, and preached at an unmannerly rate. He said, "that these last four years popery had gained ground in the country and the court: that it was maintained in the king's hall by the tyranny of a great champion, who was called Grace." After this, he predicted the duke's misfortune, and made a gingle upon his title. The king sent James Melvil, a gentleman of his household, to complain of this rudeness to the assembly, and required them to call Balcanquel to an account. At his defence, he thanked God for the advantage the Church had gained upon the court; for when he was formerly questioned for a sermon, the council undertook the cognizance of the cause, and made themselves judges of the ministers' doctrine; but now he perceived the complaint was referred to the assembly. To this jurisdiction he willingly submitted: but desiring withal, that the Apostle's order might be observed in the process; and that the charge against an elder might not be received without two or three witnesses.

*Spotswood's
Hist. p. 317.
Balcanquel
complained
of for out-
raging the
duke of
Lenox.*

The issue.

The assembly acquainted the court they were ready to try Balcanquel; but that the privilege he insisted on could not be refused, upon the score of his being a presbyter. The king, finding the business would be embarrassed for want of the evi-

dence required, dropped the prosecution. But this would not satisfy Balcanquel: he was resolved to push for a triumph. Thus he pressed the assembly to declare whether he had delivered any thing scandalous or offensive in his sermon: for the members, it seems, made part of the audience. When the question was put, they came to a resolution, that the sermon was unexceptionable; at which the court was not a little displeased.

ELIZABETH.

Idem.

The next year, the Church of Scotland met with a rude shock. The occasion was this: master Robert Montgomery, a minister of Stirling, was nominated to the archbishopric of Glasgow. This man was not much practised either in men or books: and besides, nobody had appeared more strongly against episcopacy than himself. For at the late synod at Glasgow, when Mr. David Lindesay dissented to the vote for suppressing the jurisdiction of bishops, and moved the matter might be postponed to the next assembly, Montgomery stood up, and told him, that the motion went extremely against his conscience; and that Lindesay's pleading for so very corrupt an order was enough to discharge him from all business in the Church. The duke of Lenox recommended this Montgomery to the king, and got him preferred to the see of Glasgow. This was done at the instance of those who consulted the duke's interest more than his honour: for Montgomery being a mercenary man, conveyed the lordships and profits of the archbishopric to the duke of Lenox, upon the consideration of a thousand pounds per annum Scotch. The ministers resenting this scandalous alienation, summoned him to Stirling before the synod, and, upon his refusing to appear, suspended him from his function. Montgomery took no notice of the sentence, but managed his post as formerly. This being interpreted a high contempt, he was cited to the assembly at St. Andrew's. The king, who knew his crime lay only in taking the title and jurisdiction of bishop, ordered the process should be stopped, and, unless they acquiesced, to break up their assembly. Thus the dispute slept for the present. But the ministers wanting temper to govern their disgust, excommunicated him soon after, without going through the customary methods and forms of law. The king, taking these proceedings for an affront, declared the censure void, and sent Montgomery into his diocese, with orders not to disturb him.

Montgomery made archbishop of Glasgow.

He is cited before the assembly, declines their jurisdiction, and is excommunicated.

GRINDAL
Abp. Cant.

*The king
seized by a
faction at
Ruthven,
Aug. 1582.*

Not long after, a commotion happened of another kind. The nobility were now broken into parties, and the factious division pretending the interest of religion to cover their practice, some of the ministers joined them: for this they were charged with high misdemeanors, and put under bail. This piece of justice was construed persecution. The pulpits declaimed strongly upon the subject. They cried out, the Church was harassed, the court deserted from the faith, and the old superstitious ceremonies were returned upon them. This ferment gave the discontented part of the nobility a handle to execute their plot: and thus the king was surprised at Ruthven, and kept under restraint. The duke of Lenox was banished the court, the earl of Arran imprisoned, a great many of the royalists seized, and some of them dangerously wounded. This conspiracy was justified by the ministers in print: it was likewise unanimously approved by the assembly at Edinburgh, who voted the faction assertors of the public liberty, and menaced those with excommunication that should treat them with any marks of disadvantage. As for the duke of Lenox, he was forced to acquiesce under all this hardship, and return into France. He took his journey through England, where, either through the rigour of the winter season, or the uneasiness of his mind, he fell into a dysentery, and died soon after at Paris. He complained of the ill usage he received from the Scotch ministers, but died notwithstanding in the communion of the reformed.

Spotswood's
Refutat.
Libell. de
Eccles. Scot.
and Church
Hist.

To proceed: the lords of the Ruthven conspiracy forced the king to dissemble his restraint, and approve what was done in a letter to the queen of England: and, over and above, to declare the convention of the estates summoned by the faction, a lawful meeting.

*An embassy
from France
to Scotland.*

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When the French king was apprised of these disturbances, he dispatched monsieur Lamotte and monsieur Meneville with a public character to Scotland. Their instructions were to attempt the king's liberty, and bring the court to a closer correspondence with France. They were likewise to congratulate the king upon his mother's concessions: that her majesty, out of her tenderness, was willing to indulge him the royal style, and take him into a partnership in the government. That by the queen's cession thus far, he would be owned a lawful sovereign by foreign princes. All his own subjects likewise would

acquiesce in his title: and thus the divisions in the State would be perfectly closed.

ELIZA-
BETH.

Some time before the arrival of these ambassadors, the queen of Scots wrote a letter to queen Elizabeth. It is penned with great plainness and force, and contains a narrative of the hardships she had suffered. I shall translate it from Cambden, who abridged it from the original in French.

“ MADAM,

“ Being certainly informed the rebels have surprised my son, and afraid of his falling into the same calamity with myself, I could not help letting loose my grief, and trying to bring your majesty to a sympathy: that by a brief report of my misfortunes, my innocence may be transmitted to posterity, together with the infamy of those people who brought me into this condition. But since their practices, how wicked soever, have been favourably entertained by you, and gained a preference to my just complaints: since equity and right must stoop to your sceptre, and truth give way to force as the world goes, I shall make my appeal to God Almighty, who is only our sovereign. For with respect to ourselves, we are both princes, equal and independent of each other. To this God, who sees through varnish and false colours, I shall address myself, beseeching him to deal with us both at the last day according to our merits. For I am not afraid to put my fate upon this issue, notwithstanding my enemies have used a great deal of misrepresenting art, endeavoured to blacken me, and blanch their own proceedings. To refresh your memory therefore with this solemn introduction, I desire you would recollect what methods some of your agents have made use of to debauch my subjects, and raise a rebellion while I was in Scotland: and what pains they have taken to bring all the misfortunes upon me which have since happened. And for this point Morton’s confession, and other testimonies publicly produced, are sufficient evidence. As for Morton, his revolt was his merit, and raised him to his pretended regency. If this man had been left to the law, and you had not supported the rebels, they could never have distressed me in this manner, nor overturned the government.

*The queen of
Scots’ expostulating
letter to the
queen.*

“ While I was kept prisoner in Lochleven, your ambassador Throgmorton advised me to sign a resignation: this extorted instrument he solemnly declared would be of no force, and so

GRINDAL *Abp. Cant.* it was looked on by all mankind till you countenanced the contrivers of this compulsion, and reinforced them with your troops and exchequer. Now I desire you would consult your conscience, and tell me whether you will allow your own subjects any such authority upon yourself? But thus, by concerting with my enemies, and turning your arms against me, the government was seized, and the administration transferred upon my son, though then in the cradle. And when I lately intended to make him a rightful prince, he was surprised by a party of traitors, who, without question, design to serve him as they have done his mother, and, it may be, take his life over and above."

After this, she puts queen Elizabeth in mind of the diamond she sent her, and the encouragement she received from this princess to retire into England: but this having been mentioned already, needs not be repeated. After this she complains she was stopped in her journey, and guarded off into custody; and that her durance from that time forward has been more afflicting than death itself.

"To justify this usage," continues the queen of Scots, "I know you will object my correspondence with the duke of Norfolk: but I positively deny there was ever any harm intended you or your kingdom in that negotiation. Indeed that business was approved by the principal nobility of your council. I have their hands to produce for evidence: and besides, they expressly promised to procure your consent. Now I desire to know whether it is likely men of such quality and ministers of state should undertake to draw you to a ruinous compliance; should betray you to a business that would disserve your honour, and lay your life and government at mercy? And yet you are pleased to be willing all the world should believe this.

"And when some of my misled subjects began to recollect themselves, and repent their revolt; when the conference at York had convinced them how hardly I was used; when upon these motives they returned to their duty and declared for me, your forces marched down immediately upon them, besieged them in Edinburgh Castle: and here the issue was remarkably calamitous: for the governor was ignominiously executed, and another minister of state dispatched with poison. And all this was done after I had sent an order at your instance for a cessa-

*The queen means
Grange and
Lethington.*

tion of arms. This truce was agreed in prospect of a farther accommodation : but whether my enemies had ever any thoughts of peace, is best known to God Almighty.

ELIZA-
BETH.

“ I was now resolved to resign to my captivity : to submit to every thing imposed, and try if patience could mend my condition. But even here I was disappointed. For all communication between me and my son has been wholly cut off for this twelvemonth. And what can this be contrived for but to disconcert the nearest relation, and make the mother and son, if it is possible, strangers to each other ?

“ I have frequently proposed an accommodation between us : this was done at Chatsworth about eleven years since : it was afterwards undertaken by commissioners, by the French king’s ambassadors, and by mine : and last winter I treated myself with your agent Beale. But I have all along had the misfortune to have my terms rejected : new scruples have been started, and the treaties drawn out to unnecessary length. My offers have been looked on as insidious, and my sincerity always misunderstood. In fine, the long patience I have composed myself to, has turned to no other account than to set a precedent for future hardships, and make me ill treated by a sort of prescription : for at present I am used more like a mean slave, than a prisoner of quality. In earnest, I cannot hold out under this hardship much longer : but let the issue be what it will, I am tolerably prepared : if I die, I am resolved to declare who they are that sent me into the other world : but if I live, I hope to be in a condition to silence the calumnies, and disarm the malice of my enemies, and pass the remainder of my time in some better repose.

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“ To go to the bottom therefore of matters, and put an end to the misunderstandings between us, I desire the evidence of the Spaniards, lately taken in Ireland, may be brought into view : let the examination of the Jesuits be produced ; let everybody be encouraged to exhibit a public charge against me, provided I may have the liberty of defending myself, and not be condemned without a hearing. The vilest malefactors are allowed to plead against the indictment, and confront the witness : why is the privilege of the meanest and worst mortal denied to a queen ?—to one who is your nearest relation, and next in succession to the crown ? But this proximity of blood is the main grievance : this is that which disturbs my enemies,

GRINDAL. and puts them upon their utmost to create misunderstandings
 Abp. Cant. between us. One would think they need not afflict themselves upon this score. But, to set them at ease, I declare, before Almighty God, I have thought of reigning no where but in heaven, this long time. But, as for yourself, you are obliged, by all the ties of justice, blood, and religion, not to prejudice my son's right after my decease, nor to abet the underhand designs of those who make it their business to finish the ruin both of mother and son. That some of your own subjects are in this practice, is evident from the management of your ambassadors in Scotland, who endeavoured to throw things into a ferment, and mismanaged to a scandalous degree; and though, without doubt, you knew nothing of this, yet I am assured the earl of Huntingdon had a great share in their misbehaviour.

“ Is it reasonable a queen-mother should not only be barred assisting her son, but not so much as allowed to be acquainted with his circumstances? If the ambassadors despatched to Scotland meant him any service, their taking my directions by the way might have recommended their message,—at least, if this friendly method had been taken, I should have looked on it as a favour from the queen of England. I cannot perceive any reason why the journey of your agents should have been so privately carried, or why I was kept under so strait a confinement at that time. To speak clearly, I entreat you would change your ministry for the Scotch affairs: for, though I believe Carey will do nothing unbecoming his quality, yet Huntingdon has misbehaved himself so far that I have no reason to expect any good from his management.

Lord Huntingdon.

“ I conjure you, therefore, by the near relation between us, that you would provide in earnest for my son's preservation, and not interpose in the affairs of Scotland without consulting me or the French king; and that you would look upon those as no better than traitors who keep my son under confinement, and drag him about the country against his will. And, lastly, by the death and passion of our blessed Saviour, I beg of you I may be enlarged upon honourable terms, after so long a restraint, and be permitted to live somewhere out of England; that, being thus restored to liberty and ease, I may recover some part of my health, which has suffered so much by the duress I have lain under. By your granting this request, both

myself and my friends, and particularly my son, will be ever obliged to you. Neither shall I ever cease to importune you till my request is granted : my very ill health puts me upon soliciting thus earnestly. Be pleased, therefore, to give order I may be treated with more humanity, for otherwise it is impossible for me to hold out. And let the appointment be settled by yourself ; for I desire not to be referred to the disposal of anybody else. Whatever share of good or ill fortune happens to me for the future, I shall reckon it all to your majesty. I entreat you would favour me with your pleasure, either in a line or two, or by the French ambassador. The earl of Shrewsbury's proposals can give me no satisfaction, for they are altered every day. When I wrote lately to your privy council, your order was, I should apply to none but yourself. I am afraid this direction came from some unfriendly hand ; and that those who are my enemies at the board advised this method to preclude me from justice and a fair hearing : for had my complaints been laid before the whole council, these men, it is likely, were apprehensive some of the lords would have thought themselves bound in honour to dissuade the hardships put upon me. And now, since my thoughts ought to be mostly on the other world, my principal request is, that I may have some Catholic priest to assist me in the direction of my conscience. This charitable office is never denied to the meanest wretches. You allow the ambassadors of foreign princes the exercise of their religion ; and I freely granted the same liberty to my own subjects. If this is refused me, I hope God will pardon my imperfect preparation, and am afraid my enemies will not go unpunished upon this score. If I, who am an independent queen, and your near kinswoman, am used in this manner, it may be of ill consequence to Protestantism in foreign countries : it may serve for a precedent of rigour to other princes to treat their own subjects accordingly. That I am your nearest relation, I shall not forget to suggest, though my enemies are never so much disturbed about it. I do not desire any large household ; but two women more, to assist me under my ill health, are altogether necessary. I move for nothing but bare humanity. Pray do not let my enemies have the malicious pleasure in seeing me disappointed in so slender a gratification. I perceive lord Shrewsbury has charged me with somewhat of

ELIZABETH.

GRINDAL
Abp. Cant.

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a failure; and that I promised Beale not to transact about resigning to my son without your knowledge. I desire you would not give credit to Beale's report. I promised nothing but upon certain conditions; and, therefore, there is no reason I should be tied till your part of the stipulation is performed. However, I have never received any answer touching the proposals, neither has the least notice been taken of them; but, on the other hand, the designs in Scotland for ruining me and my son have been all along carried on. This silence I could interpret to nothing but a repulse; and, that I took it in this sense, I acquainted your council in a letter. What advices I received from the French king and his mother I laid frankly before you, and desired your opinion upon the case; but a word of answer was never returned. As for resigning my affairs and my country to your award, without knowing how you stood affected, was never my intention. To have delivered up myself thus absolutely, could not have been done without great indiscretion. How my enemies in Scotland triumph over me, and the captive prince my son, is not unknown to you. I have offered at nothing there that can do you any disservice. My aim has been only to settle a solid peace in that kingdom, for which I may be supposed as heartily concerned as your council, in regard my interest in that affair is much greater than theirs. In short, I had a mind to give my son the title of a king, to settle him in the government, and put an end to all misunderstandings. This, I conceive, was putting the crown on his head, and not taking it off, as some people would have it. But my enemies grudge us this happiness, and, being conscious of misbehaviour, are afraid of an accommodation.

"Do not let these men, and the rest of my enemies, impose upon you by misrepresentation: do not give them leave to destroy your nearest relations, as it were, in your sight; it is possible their wicked designs may be more mysterious than you imagine: it is possible the project may reach beyond the ruin of me and my son, and terminate in yourself. What account, either in interest or honour, can you find, in suffering these men to keep my son and me, and yourself too, at so long and unhappy a distance? Be pleased to refresh your good nature, act by your own impulse, and oblige yourself; and since you are queen, discharge your disgust towards a person of the same dignity: one who is nearly related, and loves you heartily:

that by this means things being adjusted, I may die better satisfied, and that my doleful complaints may not come up to God Almighty; whose majesty I daily address, that my very compassionate case may at last be considered by you.

"From Sheffield, Nov. the 8th, 1582."

ELIZABETH.

Camden,
Eliz. edit.
Latin. Lond.
1615.

She takes her leave thus :

"Vostre très désolé plusproche parente et affectionnée seure,
"MARIE R¹."

This letter affected queen Elizabeth, and put her thoughts in somewhat of a ferment. Her first step was the dispatching Robert Beale, clerk of the council, to expostulate with the queen of Scots upon her remonstrance. Beale, a warm, sour-tempered man, was joined in commission with the earl of Shrewsbury, to treat the enlargement of this princess. This affair was afterwards laid before the council-board, where the majority gave their opinion for her being set at liberty upon the following articles :

"That she should put up no claim to the crown of England, during queen Elizabeth's life, and that afterwards she should refer her right of succession to the English parliament."

This was a hard article.

There are several other articles which have been mentioned already : "but in the last place, to secure clear dealing, and that she might not pretend herself a prisoner, and under du-
rance, she was not only to swear the treaty herself, but to get it confirmed by the states of Scotland, sworn and signed by the king, and that hostages should be given."

But these overtures miscarried ; for the Scots of the English faction would endure nothing which looked towards their queen's restoration : though at the same time she moved for no more than reigning jointly with her son. However, these men clamoured strongly against an accommodation : they gave out that some Scotchmen, sworn enemies to the English nation, had been recalled from France at their queen's instance. And particularly, that one Holt, a Jesuit, was sent thither to concert an invasion upon England.

And now the English and French ambassadors were busy in practising upon the king : and here they played their countermines, and put by each others' attempts with dexterity enough.

The misbehaviour of the Scotch preachers.

¹ This letter gives us a high idea of Mary's intelligence and eloquence. If its statements are correct, the conduct of her enemies must appear extremely odious.

GRINDAL
Abp. Cant.

Idem.

The Genevians solicit for assistance.

JANUARY,
A. D. 1582.

Regist.
Grindal.

An inquiry into the rise of their republic.

579.

The king stood neuter, and delivered himself to the suggestions of neither side. The preachers and divines had no such command of temper, but discovered their aversion to the French untowardly enough. For when the ambassador Lamotte was invited to dinner by the burghers of Edinburgh, these men proclaimed a fast, railed in the pulpit against the king of France, the duke of Guise, and the ambassadors, in a scandalous manner, and were very near excommunicating all those who appeared at the entertainment. And thus these ambassadors being not only outraged by the ministers, but maltreated by some of the Scotch nobility, took leave of the court, and returned to France.

To go back a little to the English affairs. The republic at Geneva, being apprehensive of a siege from the duke of Savoy, who continued his claim, sent an agent to England for support. Their case had been recommended to secretary Walsingham, by Brook, the English ambassador at Paris. In short, reasons of state, besides other considerations, seem to have prevailed with the queen to interpose in their behalf. And since money was the most practicable way of assistance, the council wrote to archbishop Grindal to promote a contribution amongst the clergy. The archbishop sent a moving letter to his suffragans, and endeavoured to excite their compassion from the present distress of the Genevians. He likewise put them in mind this city deserved some return for their former favours to the English Protestants.

Upon what foot the Genevian republic stood at present, and by what claim they defended their authority, I shall not examine: but it is plain their first establishment was founded on a revolt; and that either their bishop, or the duke of Savoy, was their sovereign. Frederick I., emperor of Germany, gave the see of Geneva the temporal jurisdiction; however, a contest was kept up between the earl and bishop: the latter, to prevent being overborne, applied to the earl of Savoy, who at first engaged only as a protector, but afterwards took upon him the title of lord in chief. In short, the bishops, after some struggle, were forced to do homage to the dukes of Savoy, and own them for their sovereigns. Thus the money was stamped with the duke's impression; capital offenders were pardoned by him; the keys of the town were presented him at his coming thither, and no alliance made without his allowance. However, the town was immediately subject to

the bishop. This prelate, as Calvin confesses, had the power of the sword, and other branches of civil jurisdiction.

ELIZA-
BETH.

Thus the government stood till the year 1528. About this time Viretus and Farellus, two warm men for the Zuinglian scheme, had gained some interest in Geneva. These men solicited the bishop for such alterations in religion as had been lately introduced in the Canton of Berne. But when they saw no hopes of success at this quarter, they practised upon the lower sort of the burghers, and brought them to a concert: and thus the mob rising, the bishop and the clergy were driven out of the town.

Calvin
Epist. ad
Cardinal
Sadolet.

And after having taken this bold step, they went on to reform the Church by the precedent of Berne. These singular advances of Viret and Farell were afterwards approved by Calvin, as is acknowledged by himself. But this revolution in the Church, it seems was not enough: they set up for an independent state, cast the government in a new mould, and renounced all allegiance to bishop or duke.

*Quæ a
Vireto et
Farello
facta sunt
suffragio
mea compro-
bavi.
Libertatis
sue patrem.
Cui se totos
debet Episc.
Calvin. 155.
Tigurinis
Ministris,
etc.*

Farell was the main spring of this extraordinary motion, for which reason Calvin calls him the father of the public liberty: and affirms that their new acquisitions were entirely owing to him.

Now since the constitution was thus outraged and overborne, why did not Calvin use his interest for some reparation? Why did he not press the Genevians to repent their rebellion, and restore the government to the bishop? All this might have been done without resigning their belief, and coming into his communion. But Calvin says the bishop was a thief and a robber. Why so? because he did not come fairly by his authority. Granting that, which is more than appears; himself and his predecessors had been in a long time, which is a much better claim than the burghers could pretend. But Calvin's main reason for calling the bishop a robber, was his being a papist, his refusing to come into the reformation. And if so, he must found dominion in grace, and falls into the heresy of the German Anabaptists. In short, it is pretty plain the government belonged either to the bishop, or the duke of Savoy, and therefore the Genevians ought to have submitted to one of them.

*In his letter
to cardinal
Sadolet.*

See Heylin,
Hist. Pres.
p. 4 & 5.

And since the case stands thus, it may be, Grindal's soliciting so earnestly for this republic, was not so commendable as

GRINDAL
Abp. Cant.

is sometimes supposed. If it is said Geneva had been a shelter to the Reformation, entertained the English refugees, and deserved a return for their charitable protection: to this it may be answered, that the best requital had been to exhort them to their duty, and suggest the giving up their usurpation. This relieving them in their principles, and making a contribution for their honesty, had no doubt been the most charitable assistance. If it is urged Popery would have broke in, and the Protestant religion have been lost, by such a cession: to this it may be replied, that if the Protestant religion will not bear justice, we ought to throw it up, and get a better. Robbery and wrong is certainly no part of the Christian religion. Such practice stands condemned by the law of nature, and mere pagan philosophy is ashamed of it. And therefore St. Paul puts the question by way of admiration; "Know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God! Neither thieves nor covetous," &c. can expect any benefit from the Christian dispensation. All this is spoken upon supposition that the Genevians had not mended their title, when they applied to the English for succour.

1 Cor. vi.

*Grindal's
submission.*

*Life of
Archbishop
Grindal.
This submission is dated
Aug. 21,
1580.
Dr. Aubrey
grants a
preaching
licence to a
Scotch mi-
nister, and
approves his
ordination.*

The latter end of this year, Grindal gave out a commission in his own name for visiting the diocese of Lichfield, from whence we may conclude his sequestration was taken off. It is probable his late submission might recover him the queen's favour thus far. For the archbishop, finding some farther satisfaction was expected, drew up a paper importing his grief, for falling under her majesty's displeasure; "entreating her not to interpret his incomppliance to obstinacy. And to give farther proof of his willingness to obey, he acquaints her that since her majesty had forbidden the 'exercises of prophesying,' he had suffered none of them either in his diocese or peculiars." It is possible this acknowledgment, though it was some time before Grindal found the effects, might soften the queen's temper. Before the archbishop's jurisdiction was returned, Dr. Aubrey, his vicar-general, granted a preaching license to one John Morrison, a Scotchman, in which he allows the orders of a presbyter, given him by the Scotch Church.

Part of the instrument runs thus:—

"Wilhelmus Aubrey, legum doctor, etc. Cum uti ex fide digno testimonio acceperimus, tu præfatus Johannes Morrison

ELIZA-
BETH.

circiter quinque annos elapsos in oppido de Garvet in comitat. Lothien. regni Scotiæ per generalem synodum sive congregationem illius comitatus in dicto oppido de Garvet congregatam, juxta laudabilem ecclesiæ Scotiæ reformatæ formam et ritum ad sacros ordines et sacrosanctum ministerium per manuum impositionem admissus et ordinatus fueras; cumque etiam dicta congregatio illius comitat. Lothien. orthodoxæ fidei et sinceræ religionis, in hoc regno Angliæ modo receptæ eo auctoritate publica stabilitæ, sit conformis.

“ Nos igitur formam ordinationis et præfectionis tuæ hujusmodi, modo præmisso factam, quantum in nobis est, et de jure possumus, approbantes et ratificantes, tibi, ut in hujusmodi ordinibus per te susceptis, in quibuscunque locis congruis, in et per totam provinciam Cantuarien. divina officia celebrare, sacramenta ministrare, necnon Verbum Dei sermone Latino vel vulgari, juxta talentum tibi a Deo traditum, pure et sincere prædicare, libere et licite possis et valeas, licentiam et facultatem, de consensu et expresso mandato reverendiss. in Christo Patris Domini Edmundi Divina providentia Cantuarien. Archiepiscopi totius Angliæ Primatis et Metropolitan, nobis significato, quantum in nobis est, et de jure possumus, ac quatenus jura regni patiuntur benigne in Domino concedimus et impertimus. In cujus rei testimonium, sigillum, quo in similibus utimur, præsentibus apponi fecimus. Dat. sexto die mensis Aprilis, ann. Dom. 1582.”

Regist.
Grindal.

By the mention of imposition of hands, it appears this Morison was ordained by the Second Book of Scotch Discipline, for the first will not allow of this ceremony. Farther, by the clauses of “ Quantum in nobis est, et de jure possumus, et quatenus jura regni patiuntur,” it is pretty plain Aubrey was somewhat conscious of a strain upon the English constitution: and that the archbishop was not so firm to episcopal right and apostolical succession, as might have been expected.

Grindal having now lost his sight, was somewhat disabled for his function. He had formerly desired the queen for leave to relinquish his charge and retire. This motion, though then refused, was now thought reasonable. For this purpose the bishop of Salisbury, Pierce, was sent to him from court, to propose a resignation with a promise of an honourable pension. The archbishop acquainted the lord treasurer he was ready to quit: and not long after he is said to have transmitted a draught of his resignation to this minister. If matter of fact

580.

April 12,
1583.
Life of
Archbishop
Grindal.

GRINDAL
Abp. Cant.

See Records,
No. 40.
*Grindal
offers to re-
sign, but dies
archbishop.*

*Part of his
character
and benefac-
tions.*

Sept. 23.

Godwin de
Præsul.
Angl.
Cambden
Eliz.

stands thus, it is likely the instrument was but imperfect, neither signed nor sealed, and only put in the treasurer's hands for his approbation. And in this condition we have it in the paper office without date, seal, or subscription.

That the resignation was not executed upon the 8th of May, is evident from the style of his will, in which he writes himself archbishop of Canterbury: and about two months after he died at Croydon. Neither does it appear the resignation was farther pressed during this interval. He died in the sixty-third year of his age. Cambden represents him a pious and venerable prelate, which is no more than his due. That he kept the queen's favour a great part of his time: and that he lost her majesty by the practice of some enemies at court, who reported him to his disadvantage. But that the true reason of their giving him an unacceptable character, was his declaring against the marriage of one Julio, an Italian physician: and because he refused to gratify the earl of Leicester, and connive at the scandalous engagement. However, this prelate is generally charged with remissness, with having too kind an opinion of the Calvinistical scheme, and warping a little to an over-indulgence. He left no great wealth behind him, which is an argument of a generous mind, and that money was nothing of his master. To mention some part of his benefactions. He founded a school at St. Beghse¹, in Cumberland, where he was born, and settled thirty pounds a year for the maintenance. He endowed Pembroke-hall, in Cambridge, where he was educated, with twenty-two pounds per annum. He likewise conveyed twenty pounds per annum to Queen's-college, in Oxford. He founded a scholarship of five pounds per annum in Magdalen-college, in Cambridge. To these may be added legacies in plate to Christ-college, in Cambridge, to the lord-treasurer, and secretary Walsingham: a hundred pounds to set the poor of Canterbury on work, with other charitable legacies to the poor of Lambeth, Croydon, and St. Beghse. He lies buried in the chancel, at Croydon. He was succeeded by John Whitgift, a prelate of great learning and vigour, who was translated from Worcester to Canterbury.

NOTE.—Elizabeth having restored the supremacy of the British crown, was determined to carry her monarchical theory into practice: she deserves much credit for the sagacity and energy by which she restored the independence and enhanced the glory of

¹ St. Bees.

Britain; but, had she combined so much of the "fortiter in re" with more of the "suaviter in modo," her memorial, bright as it is, would have been still more resplendent. In attempting to establish uniformity of religion, she appears to have treated the Roman Catholics and the Puritans with too much rigour. Had she exercised the divine right of kings with more benevolence and philanthropy, it is probable that she would have gained a vast multitude of religionists to the ecclesiastical establishment whom her severities repelled to opposite extremes.

The following is an extract of Mr. Tancred's "Historical Review of the British Government:"—

"The severities inflicted by Mary were followed by consequences which, however they might disappoint her expectations, a long and uniform experience has shown to be the natural result of persecution. At her death, the body of the people, instead of being reconciled, were still farther alienated, than at her accession, from any communion with the see of Rome. Elizabeth, at her very entrance upon government, was surrounded with many of those dangers which, through a long reign, attended upon her. Amongst these, the choice of a national religion was the most immediate; and, as so many others referred themselves into this, it was also the most formidable. She seems to have been less under the influence of religious bigotry than any of the great princes, her contemporaries; and though, from education, and perhaps conviction, disposed to favour the Reformation, yet, she did not regard with abhorrence the rites and ceremonies of the Romish Church. When she looked at home, she found her people divided into two religious factions, nearly balanced in power, inflamed by mutual injuries to the highest pitch of animosity, and equally inclined to appeal to the sword as the proper weapon for deciding theological controversy. Toleration would have exposed her to the suspicion of weakness and insincerity, and, perhaps, have left her without that cordial support from any portion of her subjects which the critical nature of her foreign relations absolutely required. The great Catholic powers were then engaged in an attempt to suppress the new opinions by an extermination of those who adhered to them; and they afterwards reaped the bitter fruits of their policy, in the dismemberment and ruin which it brought upon their empires. Experience from recent events proved to Elizabeth, that an alliance with Philip II. of Spain, or the king of France, cemented by a common religion, could not be purchased at a less price than with the loss of the affection of her subjects, and—what she valued as much—of her independence as a sovereign. The loftiness of her spirit, her love of popularity, the jealousy of any participation in her power, all these motives sufficiently disinclined her to any system of policy which was likely to expose her to such dangers. But the peculiar circumstances of her birth made any reconciliation with the see of Rome impracticable. If the authority of the pope were in any shape recognized, her legitimacy and title to the crown were immediately called in question. A sentence had been solemnly pronounced by two popes¹ against her mother's marriage, and it was easily seen that this could not be recalled without rendering papal decrees for ever contemptible. The haughtiness and extravagant pretensions of the Roman pontiff Paul IV. had already been fully manifested, and deprived her of all hopes of compromising these delicate points of discussion. Mary, queen of Scots, as grand-daughter of Margaret, eldest sister of Henry VIII., was next heir of blood to the crown, if Elizabeth's title had been invalidated. The degrading subservience to the royal will, so repeatedly displayed by the parliaments of this period, had naturally weakened their authority; and, in the eyes of many, particularly of the Catholics, Mary's title by blood had the preference before the parliamentary title of Elizabeth. Mary's mother was a sister of the house of Guise, and Mary herself was now married to the dauphin Francis, son of Henry II., king of France. Unfortunately for Mary's future happiness, at the instigation of her father-in-law, she had already assumed the arms and style of a queen of England. A foundation was thus laid for that incurable jealousy, which so many subsequent causes tended to exasperate. It was obvious, that, on the first opportunity, the ambition of the duke of Guise, and his

¹ Clement VII. and Paul III.

GRINDAL brothers, Mary's uncles, would prompt them to enforce, upon the pretext of religion, a claim in their niece to the crown of England.

Abp. Cant. "This, then, was the combination of circumstances which presented itself to Elizabeth, when she came to establish, by her will, a national religion. It must be allowed, that she was placed in a situation perplexing and full of dangers. Having made her choice, the conduct pursued by her will be best understood by a review of the penal statutes passed during her reign.

"By the 1st Elizabeth, c. 1, the supremacy was restored to the crown, in as extensive terms as it had been originally conferred by the 26th Henry VIII., c. 1, above recited.

"Upon the 18th section, the court of ecclesiastical commission was grounded, to the proceedings of which we shall hereafter have occasion to advert.

"The 19th section imposed the oath¹ of supremacy, not only upon all ecclesiastical persons, and upon every lay and temporal officer, but also upon all who in any manner received her highness's 'fee or wages.'

"By the 5th Elizabeth, c. 1, § 2, if any one by teaching should hold, or stand with, or by speech should advisedly attribute to the see of Rome the jurisdiction it had before exercised, he incurred the penalties of *præmunire*. The 5th section extended the description of persons who were to take the oath of supremacy, and imposed it by name upon all public and private teachers of children, upon all who should take degrees in any university, and upon all that had taken or should thereafter take any degree of learning in or at the common law.

"Without minutely tracing the provisions of the subsequent acts, most of which are now virtually or actually repealed, we must still, in order to comprehend the condition to which the Catholics were reduced by them, observe, that they aimed at the suppression of popery in the three following ways :—

"I. By conversion through the operation of penalties.

"By the 23rd Elizabeth, c. 1, § 5, any person, above the age of sixteen, absenting himself from church for a month, was liable to a penalty of 20*l.*; and, as a punishment for the obstinacy of those who forbore for the space of twelve months, they were, over and besides the said penalties, to be bound with two sureties to their good behaviour, in the sum of 200*l.*, and so to continue till they conformed.

"The 35th Elizabeth, c. 1, condemns to imprisonment, till they conformed, all those who absented themselves from church for forty days, and who afterwards were found at any unlawful assembly, conventicle, or meeting, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion.

"II. By debarring the Catholics from the exercise of their own religious rites and ceremonies.

"23rd Elizabeth, c. 1, § 4.—Every person who should say or sing mass, being thereof lawfully convicted, was to forfeit two hundred marks, and be committed to prison in the next gaol, there to remain by the space of one year. Every person willingly hearing mass to forfeit one hundred marks, and suffer imprisonment for a year.

"III. By depriving the children of Catholics of all means of instruction by teachers of their own persuasion.

"And this by the 5th Elizabeth, c. 1, § 5, above stated.

"By the 23rd Elizabeth, c. 1, § 6, any person keeping a schoolmaster, who did not repair to the church, or was not allowed by the bishop, should forfeit, for every month, 10*l.*, and the schoolmaster himself to suffer imprisonment for a year.

"By the 27th Elizabeth, c. 2, § 5, 'any person brought up in any college of Jesuits, or seminary of priests beyond the seas, who did not within six months after proclamation return and submit himself before a bishop, or two justices, and take the oath of supremacy, then any such person otherwise returning was adjudged a traitor, and was to suffer as in cases of treason.'

"¹ Repealed, 1st Will. and Mary, c. 8, sess. pri.

"The 6th section subjects to the penalty of *pæmuniere* those who send money to any person in such foreign college.

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"The object of Elizabeth's policy was clearly to disable those as enemies whom she thought she could not trust as friends; but her aversion to enormous cruelty prevented her measures from being effective. The Catholics were irritated, but not subdued, by these severities. Even at this period, when, unfortunately for religion and the peace of society, theology so much influenced the politics of Europe, princes, in their transactions with each other, avowed their conviction that temporal interests would always prevail over spiritual. Upon the treaty of Edinburgh, in the very commencement of her reign, Elizabeth scrupled not to appoint the bigoted Philip umpire between her and the crown of France. Thus also, at every period of her reign, an union between the great Catholic sovereigns of France and Spain would have been sufficient to overwhelm her power. Religion as much recommended this junction of interests as their political views opposed it; and Elizabeth, setting at nought their religious animosity, maintained the kingdom in security and independence. And when, upon the approach of the Armada, the Puritan Leicester proposed to her the same inhuman policy which the Catholic Alva had suggested to Catherine of Medicis, in her treatment of the Hugonots, and advised her to dispatch the leaders of the Catholic party, she rejected it with her usual good sense and magnanimity. Oppressed as they were, she thought that they would still institute a comparison between the evils of domestic and foreign subjugation; and she soon experienced how highly even this forbearance was appreciated by the zeal and activity they displayed in defence of their native country.

"It would have been happy for her had she possessed the benefit of our experience, and learned that the extension of the same enlightened policy is the true secret for appeasing domestic dissension.

"That, upon a total change of religion, and before any proof of the submission of her subjects, some criterion to distinguish the obedient from the Nonconformists should be adopted, could not, according to the principles of that age, be deemed unreasonable. It must be admitted, also, that the Catholics, from their declared maxims and recent conduct, were not entitled to any great indulgence at the hands of a sovereign of a different persuasion. Of that part, therefore, of the act of supremacy by which a test was required from all those who enjoyed a share in the administration and emoluments of the state, the Catholics had no great reason to complain. But here the most bitter exclusionist of the present day must admit that she ought to have stopped. When the oath was imposed upon all public and private teachers,—when conversion by penalties was attempted,—when the exercise of the Catholic religion in any manner, however private, was prohibited,—when its votaries were deprived of all means of educating their offspring,—we see legislation pushed beyond its proper limits, and an assumption of power in its principle as unjust as its operation is baneful. The Catholics, during this whole reign, were upon the brink of rebellion; and the eternal controversy will be, whether the penal laws were the cause or the consequence of their disaffection. The 5th of Elizabeth is the first statute which materially interfered with their rights. Lord Montacute opposed the bill, and asserted in favour of the Catholics, 'that they disputed not, they preached not, they disobeyed not the queen, they caused no trouble, no tumults among the people'.

"The detention of the queen of Scots was another circumstance which, resulting from a policy not easily reconcilable with either generosity or justice, was unavoidably attended with consequences which materially affected the tranquillity of the nation. If Mary could detach from his allegiance such a character as the duke of Norfolk, a Protestant, and indisputably the first subject of England, can we be surprised that such powerful motives combined as compassion for her misfortunes, a sense of their own degradation, and the hope of enjoying by her means their rights and religion in security, should have prompted the Catholics to look to her as their rallying point, and tempted them perpetually to disturb a government by which they were insulted? It is unques-

"¹ Hume, vol. v. p. 76.

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tionably true, that the Jesuits and foreign priests were most dangerous enemies of the state, and that Mary and her partizans considered assassination a legitimate mode of redressing their wrongs. But men are driven into these detestable opinions. Persecution is itself a violation of the essence of morality. This departure from the obligations which, independently of creeds and articles, connect human beings together, is uniformly encountered by a similar and equal departure on the side of the persecuted. When men suffer unjustly, they resist unwarrantably. Both parties, conscious that human reason condemns them, delude themselves by looking up to higher sources of justification; and thus principles fatal to human happiness become engrafted and incorporated with religion itself.

"Elizabeth successfully pursued that policy towards foreign states which the religious divisions of her own subjects enabled them to retaliate upon her. If the pope, Philip, or the king of France, instigated her Catholic subjects to revolt, was she one whit behind them in stirring up rebellions by her intrigues with the inhabitants of the Low Countries, the Hugonots, or the Scotch?

"In fact, the sovereigns of this age, making a portion of their subjects feel nothing of government but its terrors, exposed themselves unnecessarily to the machinations of their enemies. When Elizabeth had rendered it highly penal for the Catholics to rear a native priesthood, and even prohibited domestic education, she had reduced them to the miserable alternative of becoming brutes or apostates. If they went abroad for the purposes of education, that foreign influence was necessarily created, which was afterwards punished. Could it be matter of astonishment that colleges established at Douay, Rheims, or Rome, under the superintendence of Jesuits, and under the patronage of Philip, Guise, or the pope, should become seminaries of rebellion? And when, by the subsequent act, she required, upon the penalty of treason, that those so educated should return and make submission, what was it but visiting with outrageous severity an offence which she herself had caused, and punishing the inevitable effects of her own previous impolicy?

"That the penalties inflicted by these statutes were not vain terrors held over the heads of the Catholics, we have ample authority from history to prove. Hume informs us, that Elizabeth used to suffer the penalties to run on, and then levy them to the utter ruin of such Catholics as had incurred her displeasure. The Catholics, too, in order to evade them, had recourse to the usual expedient of men in a state of insecurity, and were in the habit of making over their properties, to be held by others in trust for them, and a statute was expressly made to prevent this practice¹.

"Upon the whole, in considering the Catholics under this reign, we see a body of men, in whose persons religious and civil freedom were equally and essentially violated. Between them and the state there was no association of interests, no protection on the one hand, to call forth attachment on the other. The object for which government was instituted, and upon the realizing of which it alone is entitled to support, was not answered, as far as they were concerned."

But if the Roman Catholics had thus just cause to complain of the harshness of Elizabeth, the Puritans, or Protestant non-conformists, had likewise their share of rigorous discipline to sustain. This will appear from the remarks of Mosheim, which well illustrate the rise and progress of this mixed multitude of Dissenters.

"The Church of England," says Mosheim, "could never be brought to an entire compliance with the ecclesiastical laws of Geneva, and retained, but for a short time, even those which it adopted. It is well known, that the greatest part of those English, who first threw off the yoke of Rome, seemed much more inclined to the sentiments of Luther concerning the eucharist, the form of public worship, and ecclesiastical government, than to those of the Swiss churches. But the scene changed after the death of Henry VIII., when, by the industrious zeal of Calvin and his disciples, more especially Peter Martyr, the cause of Lutheranism lost ground considerably; and the universities, schools, and churches became the oracles of Calvinism, which also acquired new vota-

¹ 1 29 Eliz. c. 6.

ries among the people from day to day¹. Hence it happened, that when it was proposed, under the reign of Edward VI., to give a fixed and stable form to the doctrine and discipline of the Church, Geneva was acknowledged as a sister church; and the theological system, there established by Calvin, was adopted and rendered the public rule of faith in England. This, however, was done without any change of the form of episcopal government, which had already taken place, and was entirely different from that of Geneva; nor was this step attended with any alteration of several religious rites and ceremonies, which were looked upon as superstitious by the greatest part of the reformed. This difference, however, between the two churches, though it appeared at first of little consequence, and, in the judgment even of Calvin, was esteemed an object of toleration and indulgence, was nevertheless, in after-ages, a source of many calamities and dissensions, that were highly detrimental both to the civil and ecclesiastical constitution of Great Britain.

"The origin of these unhappy dissensions, which it has not as yet been possible entirely to heal, must be sought for in the conduct of those persecuted fugitives, who, to save their lives, their families, and their fortunes, from the bloody rage and inhuman tyranny of queen Mary, left the places of their nativity in the year 1554, and took refuge in Germany². Of these fugitive congregations some performed divine worship with the rites that had been authorized by Edward VI.; while others preferred the Swiss method of divine worship as more recommendable on account of its purity and simplicity. The former were called Conformists, on account of their compliance with the ecclesiastical laws enacted by the prince now mentioned; and the denominations of Non-conformists and Puritans were given to the latter, from their insisting upon a form of worship, more exempt from superstition, and of a more pure kind, than the Liturgy of Edward seemed to them to be. These denominations became permanent marks of distinction, which still continue to denote those different religious communities which divide the British nation. The controversy concerning the ceremonial part of divine worship that had divided the exiles abroad, changed scenes, and was removed with them to England, when the auspicious succession of queen Elizabeth to the throne permitted them to return to their native country. The hopes of enjoying liberty, and of promot-

¹ Loscheri 'Hist. Motuum,' part II. lib. iii. cap. vii. p. 67.—Salig. 'Hist. Aug. Confession,' tom. ii. lib. vi. cap. iii. p. 317.

² I cannot help mentioning the uncharitableness of the Lutherans, upon this occasion, who hated these unhappy exiles, because they were Sacramentarians (for so the Lutherans called those who denied Christ's bodily presence in the eucharist), and expelled from their cities such of the English Protestants as repaired to them, as a refuge from popish superstition and persecution. Such as sought for shelter in France, Geneva, and those parts of Switzerland and Germany where the Reformation had taken place, and where Lutheranism was not professed, were received with great humanity, and allowed places of public worship. But it was at Frankfort that the exiles were most numerous: and there began the contest and division which gave rise to that separation from the Church of England which continues to this day. It is, however, a piece of justice due to the memory of the excellent Melancthon, to observe, that he warmly condemned this uncharitable treatment, and more especially the indecent reproaches which the Lutherans cast upon the English martyrs who had sealed the Reformation with their blood, calling them the Devil's Martyrs, 'Vociferantur quidam (says this amiable reformer) Martyres Anglicos esse Martyres Diaboli. Nolim hac contumelia afficere sanctum spiritum in Latimero, qui annum octogesimum egressus fuit, et in aliis sanctis viris, quos novi.' These are the words of this truly Christian reformer, in one of his letters to Camerarius, Epist. lib. iv. p. 959: and in another of his letters, speaking of the burning of Burgius at Paris, he thus severely censures Westphal's intolerant principles: 'Tales viros ait Westphalus esse Diaboli Martyres. Hanc judicii perversitatem quis non detestetur?' Ep. lib. ii. p. 337. Such were the humane and liberal sentiments of Melancthon, which have rendered his name so precious to the lovers of piety, probity, and moderation; while the zealots of his own church have treated his memory with obloquy, and composed dissertations 'de indifferentismo Melancthonis.' N.

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ing each their respective systems, increased their contests instead of diminishing them ; and the breach widened to such a degree, that the most sagacious and provident observers of things seemed to despair of seeing it healed. The wise queen, in her design to accomplish the reformation of the Church, was fully resolved not to confine herself to the model exhibited by the Protestants of Geneva, and their adherents the Puritans ; and, therefore, she recommended to the attention and imitation of the doctors, that were employed in this weighty and important matter, the practice and institutions of the primitive ages¹. When her plan was put in execution, and the face of the Church was changed and reformed by new rules of discipline, and purer forms of public worship, the famous Act of Uniformity was issued forth, by which all her subjects were commanded to observe these rules, and to submit to the reformation of the Church on the footing on which it was now placed by the queen as its supreme visible head upon earth. The Puritans refused their assent to these proceedings ; pleaded the dictates of their consciences in behalf of this refusal ; and complained heavily, that the gross superstitions of popery, which they had looked upon as abrogated and abolished, were now revived, and even imposed by authority. They were not, indeed, all equally exasperated against the new constitution of the Church ; nor did they in effect carry their opposition to equal degrees of excess. The more violent demanded the total abrogation of all that had been done towards the establishment of a national religion, and required nothing less than that the Church of England should be exactly modelled after that of Geneva. The milder and more moderate Puritans were much more equitable in their demands, and only desired liberty of conscience, with the privilege of celebrating divine worship in their own way. The queen did not judge it proper to grant to either the object of their requests, but rather intent upon the suppression of this troublesome sect (as she was used to call it,) permitted its enemies to employ for that purpose all the resources of artifice, and all the severity of the laws. Thus was that form of religion established in Britain, which separated the English equally from the Church of Rome, on the one hand, and from the other churches which had renounced popery on the other : but which, at the same time, laid a perpetual foundation for dissensions and feuds, in that otherwise happy and prosperous nation.

" The incident that gave rise to these unhappy divisions, which were productive of so many and such dreadful calamities, was a matter of very small moment, and which did not seem to affect, in any way, the interests of true religion and virtue. The chief leaders among the Puritans entertained a strong aversion to the vestments worn by the English clergy in the celebration of divine worship. As these habits had been made use of in the times of popery, and seemed to renew the impressions that had been made upon the people by the Romish priests, they appeared to the Puritans in no other light than as the ensigns of Antichrist. The spirit of opposition being once set on foot, proceeded, in its remonstrances, to matters of superior moment. The form of ecclesiastical government, established in England, was one of the first and main grievances of which the Puritans complained. They looked upon this form as quite different from that which

"¹ Dr. Mosheim seems disposed, by this ambiguous expression of the primitive ages, to insinuate that queen Elizabeth had formed a pure, rational, and evangelical plan of religious discipline and worship. It is, however, certain, that, instead of being willing to strip religion of the ceremonies which remained in it, she was rather inclined to bring the public worship still nearer the Romish ritual¹, and had a great propensity to several usages in the Church of Rome, which were justly looked upon as superstitious. She thanked publicly one of her chaplains, who had preached in defence of the real presence ; she was fond of images, and retained some in her private chapel² : and would undoubtedly have forbid the marriage of the clergy, if Cecil, her secretary, had not interposed³. Having appointed a committee of divines to review king Edward's Liturgy, she gave them an order to strike out all offensive passages against the pope, and to make people easy about the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament⁴.

¹ Heylin, p. 124.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Strype's Life of Parker*, p. 107, 108, 109.

⁴ *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. 1. p. 138.

had been instituted by Christ, the great lawgiver of the Church; and, in conformity with the sentiments of Calvin, maintained, that, by the divine law, all the ministers of the Gospel were absolutely equal in point of rank and authority. They did not indeed think it unlawful, that a person, distinguished by the title of a bishop, or superintendent, should preside in the assembly of the clergy, for the sake of maintaining order and decency in their method of proceeding; but they thought it incongruous and absurd, that the persons invested with this character should be ranked, as the bishops had hitherto been, among the nobility of the kingdom, employed in civil and political affairs, and distinguished so eminently by their worldly opulence and power. This controversy was not carried on, however, with excessive animosity and zeal, as long as the English bishops pretended to derive their dignity and authority from no other source than the laws of their country, and pleaded a right, purely human, to the rank they held in Church and State. But the flame broke out with redoubled fury in the year 1588, when Bancroft, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, ventured to assert, that the order of bishops was superior to the body of presbyters, not in consequence of any human institution, but by the express appointment of God himself¹. This doctrine was really adopted by many, and the consequences that seemed naturally to flow from it in favour of episcopal ordination, happened in effect, and gave new fuel to the flame of controversy. For they who embraced the sentiments of Bancroft, considered all ministers of the Gospel, who had not received ordination from a bishop, as irregularly invested with the sacred character; and also maintained, that the clergy in those countries where there were no bishops, were destitute of the gifts and qualifications that were necessary to the exercise of the pastoral office, and were to be looked upon as inferior to the Roman Catholic priests.

"All these things exasperated the Puritans, whose complaints, however, were not confined to the objects already mentioned. There were many circumstances that entered into their plan of reformation. They had a singular antipathy against cathedral churches, and demanded the abolition of the archdeacons, deans, canons, and other officials, that are supported by their lands and revenues. They disapproved of the pompous manner of worship that is generally observed in these churches, and looked, particularly, upon instrumental music, as improperly employed in the service of God. The severity of their zeal was also very great: for they were of opinion, that, not only open profligates, but even persons whose piety was dubious, deserved to be excluded from the communion of the Church²; and they endeavoured to justify the rigour of this decision, by observing, that the Church being the congregation of the faithful, nothing was more incumbent on its ministers and rulers than to watch against its being defiled by the presence of persons destitute of true faith and piety. They found, moreover, much subject of affliction and complaint in the rites and ceremonies that were imposed by the

¹ See Strype's 'Life and Acts of John Whitgift,' archbishop of Canterbury, p. 121. The first English reformers admitted but two orders of church officers to be of divine appointment, viz., bishops and deacons; a presbyter and a bishop, according to them, being but two names for the same office. But Dr. Bancroft, in a sermon preached at Paul's-cross, January 12, 1588, maintained, that the bishops of England were a distinct order from priests, and had superiority over them *jure divino*.

² The Puritans justified themselves in relation to this point, in a letter addressed from their prison to queen Elizabeth, in the year 1592, by observing, that their sentiments concerning the persons subject to excommunication, and also concerning the effects and extent of that act of church discipline, were conformable to those of all the reformed churches, and to the doctrine and practice of the Church of England in particular. They declared more especially, that according to their sense of things, the censure of excommunication deprived only of spiritual privileges and comforts, without taking away their liberty, goods, lands, government private or public, or any other civil or earthly commodity of this life: and thus they distinguished themselves from those furious and fanatical anabaptists, who had committed such disorders in Germany, and some of whom were now making a noise in England.

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order of the queen, and the authority of her council¹; among these were the festivals or holidays that were celebrated in honour of the saints, the use of the sign of the cross more especially in the sacrament of baptism, the nominating godfathers and godmothers as sureties for the education of children whose parents were still living², and the doctrine relating to the validity of lay-baptism³. They disliked the reading of the apocryphal books in the church; and, with respect to set forms of prayer, although they did not go so far as to insist upon their being entirely abolished, yet they pleaded for a right in every minister, of modifying, correcting, and using them in such a manner as might tend most to the advancement of true piety, and of addressing the Deity in such

"¹ By this council our author means the high commission court, of which it is proper to give here some account, as its proceedings essentially belong to the ecclesiastical history of England. This court took its rise from a remarkable clause in the act of supremacy, by which the queen and her successors were empowered to choose persons 'to exercise, under her, all manner of jurisdiction, privileges, and pre-eminences, touching any spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the realms of England and Ireland, as also to visit, reform, redress, order, correct, and amend all errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, contempts, offences, and enormities whatsoever. Provided that they have no power to determine any thing to be heresy, but what has been adjudged to be so by the authority of the canonical scripture, or by the first four general councils, or any of them; or by any other general council, wherein the same was declared hereby by the express and plain words of canonical scripture, or such as shall hereafter be declared to be heresy by the high court of Parliament, with the assent of the clergy in convocation.' Upon the authority of this clause, the queen appointed a certain number of commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, who, in many instances, abused their power. The court they composed was called 'The Court of High Commission,' because it claimed a more extensive jurisdiction, and higher powers, than the ordinary courts of the bishops. Its jurisdiction reached over the whole kingdom, and was much the same with that which had been lodged in the single person of Lord Cromwell, vicar-general of Henry VIII. These commissioners were empowered to make inquiry, not only by the legal methods of juries and witnesses, but by all other ways and means which they could devise; that is, by rack, torture, inquisition, and imprisonment. They were invested with a right to examine such persons as they suspected, by administering to them an oath (not allowed of in their commission, and therefore called *ex officio*), by which they were obliged to answer all questions, and thereby might be obliged to accuse themselves or their most intimate friends. The fines they imposed were merely discretionary; the imprisonment to which they condemned was limited by no rule but their own pleasure; they imposed, when they thought proper, new articles of faith on the clergy, and practised all the iniquities and cruelties of real inquisition. See Rapin's and Hume's Histories of England, under the reign of Elizabeth, and Neal's 'History of the Puritans,' passim.

"² Other rites and customs displeasing to the Puritans, and omitted by our author, were,—kneeling at the sacrament of the Lord's supper, bowing at the name of Jesus, giving the ring in marriage, the prohibition of marriage during certain times of the year, and the licensing it for money, as also the confirmation of children by episcopal imposition of hands.

"³ The words of the original are, 'nec sacris Christianis pueros recens natos ab aliis, quam sacerdotibus, initiari patiebantur.' The Roman Catholics, who look upon the external rite of baptism as absolutely necessary to salvation, allow, consequently, of its being performed by a layman, or a midwife, where a clergyman is not at hand, nay, (if such a ridiculous thing may be mentioned) by a surgeon, where a still birth is apprehended. The Church of England, though it teacheth in general that none ought to baptize but men dedicated to the service of God, yet doth not esteem null baptism performed by laicks or women, because it makes a difference between what is essential to a sacrament, and what requisite to the regular way of using it. The Puritans, that they might neither prescribe, nor even connive, at a practice that seemed to be founded on the absolute

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terms as were suggested by their inward feelings, instead of those that were dictated by others. In a word, they were of opinion, that the government and discipline of the Church of England ought to have been modelled after the ecclesiastical laws and institutions of Geneva, and that no indulgence was to be shown to those ceremonies or practices which bore the smallest resemblance to the discipline or worship of the Church of Rome.

"These sentiments, considered in themselves, seemed neither susceptible of a satisfactory defence, nor of a complete refutation. Their solidity or falsehood depended upon the principles from whence they were derived; and no regular controversy could be carried on upon these matters, until the contending parties adopted some common and evident principles, by which they might corroborate their respective systems. It is only by an examination of these that it can be known on what side truth lies, and what degree of utility or importance can be attributed to a contest of this nature. The principles laid down by the queen's commissioners on the one hand, and the Puritans on the other, were indeed very different.

"For, in the first place, the former maintained, that the Reformation,—that is, the privilege of removing the corruptions, and of correcting the errors that may have been introduced into the doctrine, discipline, or worship of the Church,—is lodged in the sovereign, or civil magistrate alone; while the latter denied that the power of the magistrate extended so far; and maintained, that it was rather the business of the clergy to restore religion to its native dignity and lustre. This was the opinion of Calvin, as has been already observed.

"Secondly. The queen's commissioners maintained, that the rule of proceeding, in reforming the doctrine or discipline of the Church, was not to be derived from the sacred writings alone, but also from the writings and decisions of the Fathers in the primitive ages. The Puritans, on the contrary, affirmed, that the inspired Word of God being the pure and only fountain of wisdom and truth, it was from thence alone that the rules and directions were to be drawn, which were to guide the measures of those who undertook to purify the faith, or to rectify the discipline and worship of the Church; and that the ecclesiastical institutions of the early ages, as also the writings of the ancient doctors, were absolutely destitute of all sort of authority.

"Thirdly. The queen's commissioners ventured to assert, that the Church of Rome was a true Church, though corrupt and erroneous in many points of doctrine and government; that the Roman pontiff, though chargeable with temerity and arrogance in assuming to himself the title and jurisdiction of head of the whole Church, was, nevertheless, to be esteemed a true and lawful bishop; and, consequently, that the ministers ordained by him were qualified for performing the pastoral duties. This was a point which the English bishops thought it absolutely necessary to maintain, since they could not otherwise claim the honour of deriving their dignities, in an uninterrupted line of succession, from the apostles. But the Puritans entertained very different notions of this matter; they considered the Romish hierarchy as a system of political and spiritual tyranny, that had justly forfeited the title and privileges of a true Church; they looked upon its pontiff as Antichrist, and its discipline as vain, superstitious, idolatrous, and diametrically opposite to the injunctions of the Gospel; and in consequence of this they renounced its communion, and regarded all approaches to its discipline and worship as highly dangerous to the cause of true religion.

"Fourthly. The court commissioners considered, as the best and most perfect form of ecclesiastical government, that which took place during the first four or five centuries; they even preferred it to that which had been instituted by the apostles, because, as they alleged, our Saviour and his apostles had accommodated the form, mentioned in Scripture, to the feeble and infant state of the Church, and left it to the wisdom and discretion of future ages to modify it in such a manner as might be suitable to the triumphant progress of Christianity, the grandeur of a national establishment, and also to

necessity of infant baptism, would allow that sacred rite to be performed by the clergy alone.

GRINDAL the ends of civil policy. The Puritans asserted, in opposition to this, that the rules of
 Abp. Cant. Church government were clearly laid down in the Holy Scriptures, the only standard of spiritual discipline¹; and that the apostles, in establishing the first Christian Church on the aristocratical plan that was then observed in the Jewish Sanhedrim, designed it as an unchangeable model to be followed in all times, and in all places.

"Lastly. The court of reformers were of opinion, that things indifferent, which are neither commanded nor forbidden by the authority of Scripture, such as the external rites of public worship, the kind of vestments that are to be used by the clergy, religious festivals, and the like, might be ordered, determined, and rendered a matter of obligation by the authority of the civil magistrate; and that, in such a case, the violation of his commands would be no less criminal than an act of rebellion against the laws of the State. The Puritans alleged, in answer to this assertion, that it was an indecent prostitution of power to impose, as necessary and indispensable, those things which Christ had left in the class of matters indifferent; since this was a manifest encroachment upon that liberty with which the Divine Saviour had made us free. To this they added, that such rites and ceremonies as had been abused to idolatrous purposes, and had a manifest tendency to revive the impressions of superstition and popery in the minds of men, could by no means be considered as indifferent, but deserved to be rejected without hesitation as impious and profane. Such, in their estimation, were the religious ceremonies of ancient times, whose abrogation was refused by the queen and her council²."

"¹ By this they meant, at least, that nothing should be imposed as necessary, but what was expressly contained in the Holy Scriptures, or deduced from them by necessary consequence. They maintained still farther, that supposing it proved that all things necessary to the good government of the Church could not be deduced from Holy Scripture, yet that the discretionary power of supplying this defect was not vested in the civil magistrate, but in the spiritual officers of the Church.

"² Dr. Mosheim, in these five articles, has followed the account of this controversy given by Mr. Neal, in his 'History of the Puritans.' This latter adds a sixth article, not of debate, but of union. 'Both parties (says he) agreed too well in asserting the necessity of a uniformity of public worship, and of calling in the sword of the magistrate for the support and defence of their several principles, which they made an ill use of in their turns, as they could grasp the power into their hands. The standard of uniformity, according to the bishops, was the queen's supremacy, and the laws of the land; according to the Puritans, the decrees of provincial and national synods, allowed and enforced by the civil magistrate: but neither party were for admitting that liberty of conscience, and freedom of profession, which is every man's right, as far as is consistent with the peace of the government under which he lives.'"

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